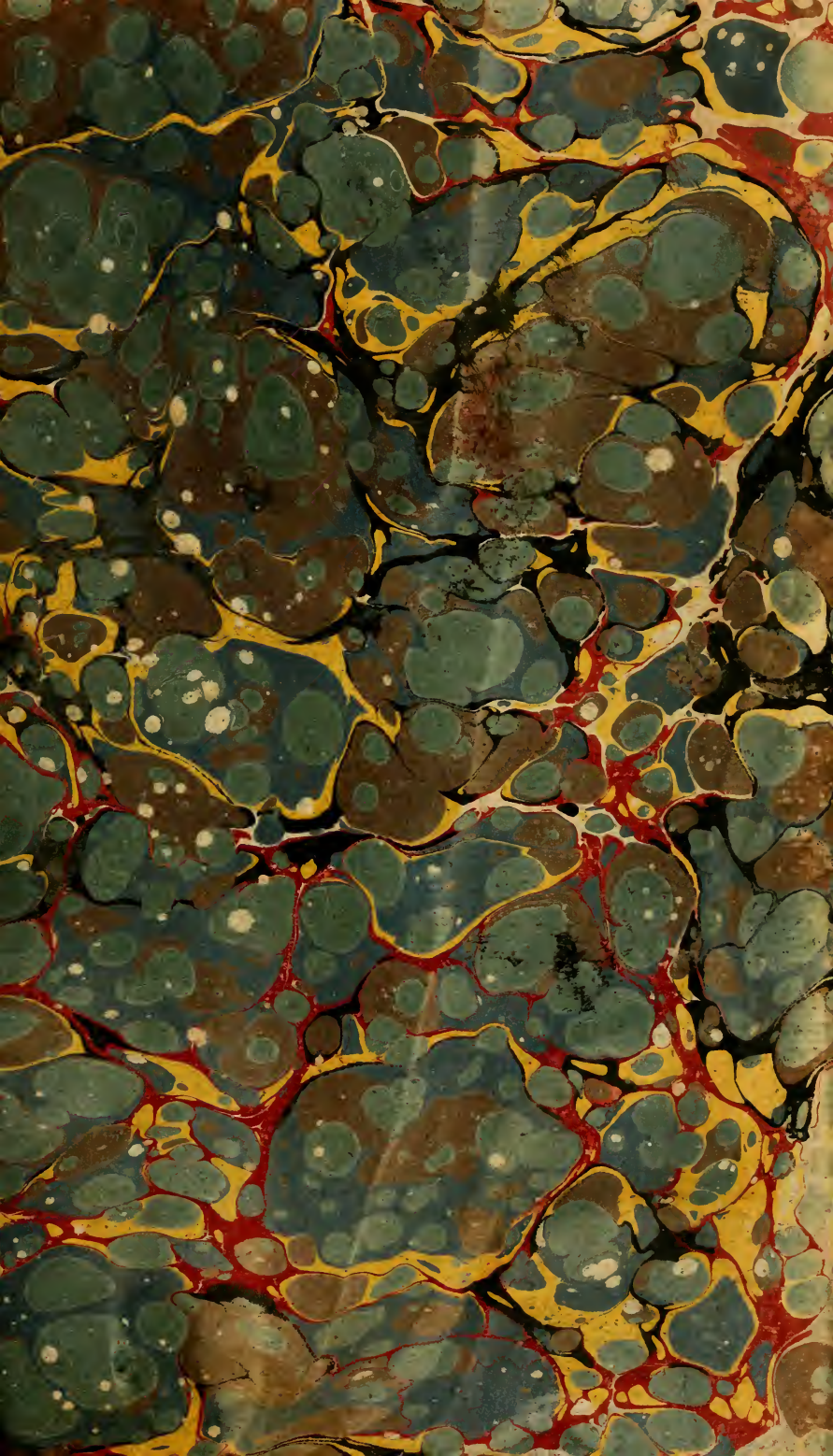




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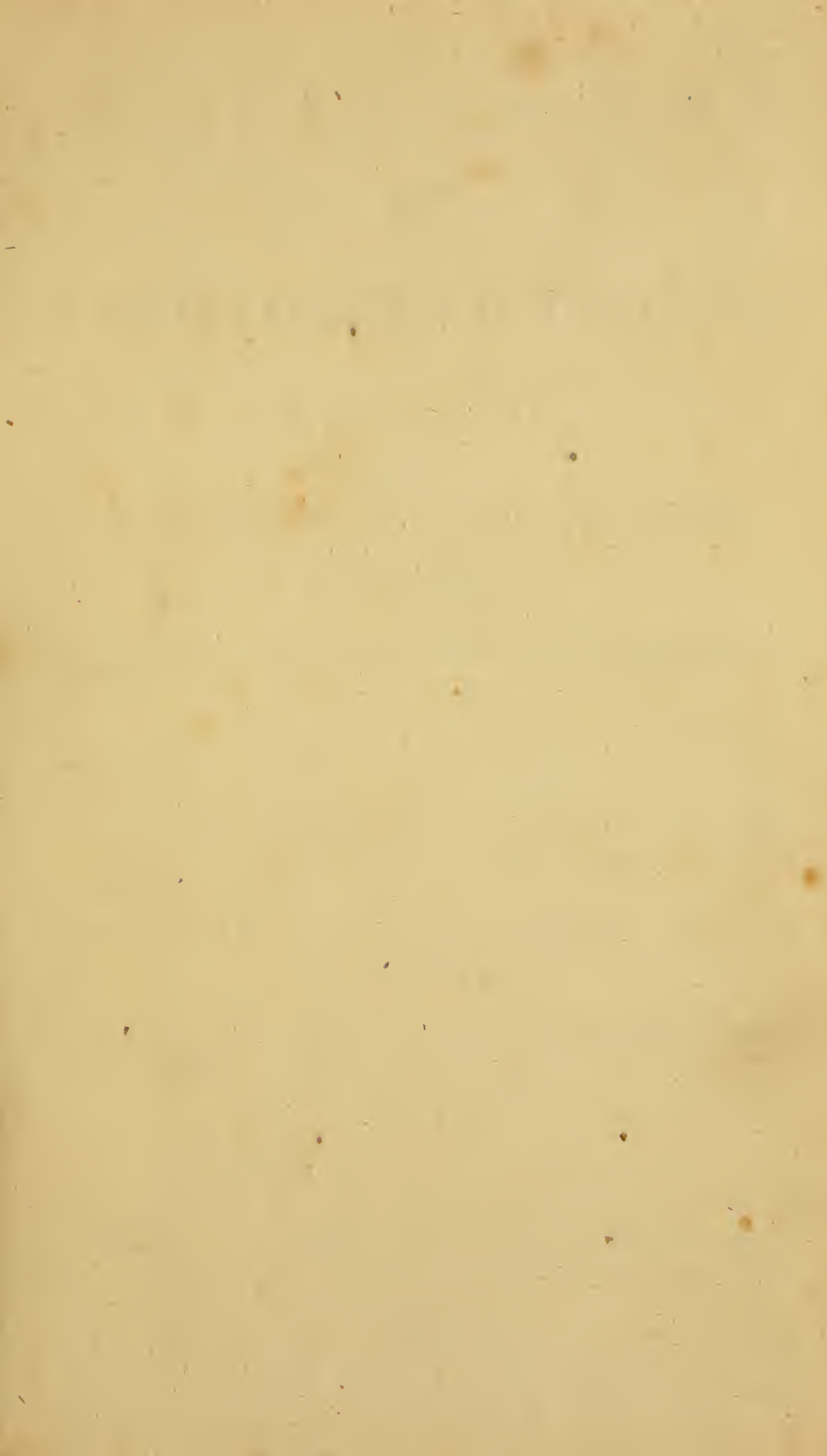
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COLLECTION
OF
THEOLOGICAL TRACTS,
IN SIX VOLUMES.

By RICHARD WATSON, D.D. F.R.S.
LORD BISHOP of LANDAFF,
AND,
REGIUS PROFESSOR *of Divinity in the University of*
CAMBRIDGE.

SECOND EDITION.

VOL. III.

L O N D O N:

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COLLECTION

THEOLOGICAL TRACTS

ON THE SUBJECT

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C O N T E N T S.

A Dissertation on the Ancient Versions of the Bible; shewing why our English Translation differs so much from them, and the excellent Use that may be made of them towards attaining the true Readings of the Holy Scriptures in doubtful Places. In a Letter to a Friend. The second Edition, prepared for the Press by the Author before his Death, and now printed from his own Manuscript. By the late Rev. Dr. THOMAS BRETT. Lond. 1760. p. 1.

In the Year 1729, Doctor Brett published a Chronological Essay in Defence of the Computation of the Septuagint. In that Tract he observes, that if the Reader “compares the xivth Psalm in his Bible, which is translated from the Hebrew, with the same Psalm in his Common-Prayer-Book, translated from the Septuagint, he will find that in his Common-Prayer-Book, there are four whole Verses more than are in his Bible, viz. ver. 4, 5, 6, 7. Yet these Verses are every one of them cited by St. Paul in the same Words, Rom. iii. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.” For the clearing up of this and similar Difficulties, he wrote, in the same Year, the Essay which is here republished; the first Edition of it came out in 1742, several Years after it had been composed. It is an excellent Dissertation, and cannot fail of being very useful to such as have not Leisure or Opportunity to consult Dr. Hody’s Book de Bibliorum Textibus; Bishop Walton’s Prolegomena to his Polyglot; Du Pin’s Canon of Scripture; Dean Prideaux’s Account of the Hebrew Scriptures in the 2d Vol. 8vo of the Old and New Testament connected; the 2d Book of Lamy’s Apparatus Biblicus; Lewis’ Origines Hebrææ; and other Works of a like Nature. Dr. Owen’s Inquiry into the present State of the Septuagint Version, Lond. 1769, is very deserving of the Reader’s Attention.

An Historical Account of the several English Translations of the Bible, and the Opposition they met with from the Church of Rome. By ANTHONY JOHNSON, A. M. Lond. 1730. p. 60.

In the Preface to Poole’s Annotations on the Bible, there is a short Account of the English Translations of it; and a Tract was printed in London, 1778, intitled, A List of various Editions of the Bible, and Parts thereof, in English, from the Year 1526 to 1776. If the Reader wishes to make a deeper Inquiry into this Subject, he will find full Information, not only with respect to various Translations of the Bible into English, but into a great many other Languages, in Mr. Le Long’s *Bibliotheca Sacra*.

C O N T E N T S.

An Introduction to the Reading of the Holy Scriptures, intended chiefly for young Students in Divinity. By Messrs. BEAUSOBRE and L'ENFANT. Camb. 1779. p. 101.

This is a Work of extraordinary Merit; the Authors have left scarcely any Topic untouched, on which the young Student in Divinity may be supposed to want Information. *Macknight's* Preliminary Observations; &c. prefixed to his Harmony; *Lamy's* Apparatus Biblicus; *Pritii* Introductio ad Lectionem N. Testamenti; *Harwood's* Introduction to the Study of the New Testament; *Percy's* Key to the New Testament; and *Collyer's* Sacred Interpreter, may be properly read along with this Introduction.

A Key to the Apostolic Writings, or an Essay to explain the Gospel Scheme, and the principal Words and Phrases the Apostles have used in describing it. By J. TAYLOR. Lond. 1754. p. 315.

This Work, which is prefixed to the Author's Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistle to the Romans, is greatly admired by the Learned, as containing the best Introduction to the Epistles, and the clearest Account of the whole Gospel Scheme, which was ever written. The Doctrine of a double Justification was disliked by Bp. Bull; and it has lately been animadverted on, as not founded in Scripture: however that may be, it has had, in modern Times, other Supporters besides Dr. Taylor; and it seems to have been well understood by *Crellius*, above 150 Years ago. *Justificatio nostra vel accipitur pro ejusmodi a reatu ac pœna, quam peccatis promeruimus, absolutione ac liberatione, qua fit, ut nolit nos Deus punire, sed potius nobiscum perinde velit agere, ac si justi et innocentes essemus: vel accipitur pro ipsa salute nostra quam aliquando consecuturi sumus. Illa Justificatio simul ac fidem in Christum complectimur nobis contingit, et tam diu durat, quamdiu in nobis durat fides, eaque viva et per charitatem efficax, seu quæ Obedientiam, qualem Christus a nobis requirit, habeat conjunctam. Hæc vero posterior Justificatio quæ ex illa prima fluit in adventu Domini Jesu nobis continget. Crel. in Rom. c. v. and in his commentary, on 1 Cor. c. i. he says, Justificamur simul atque Doctrinæ Christi fidem adjungimus, id est jus adipiscimur ad immunitatem ab omnibus pœnis et ad vitæ æternæ adeptionem. Verum hoc jus nondum est plenum, sed adhuc a conditione, quæ sequi debet, pendet, nempe ut constantes in fide simus, ac sanctitati vitæ in posterum studeamus, itaque justificatio partim antecedit sanctificationem, partim sequitur. Hinc patet, quid sentiendum de illo tristissimo dicto (of St. Augustine): Bona opera non antecedunt justificandum, sed sequuntur justificatum; antecedunt enim justificandum plenè, sequuntur justificatum inchoatè, &c.*

Plain Reasons for being a Christian. Lond. 1730. p. 456.

The Merit of this Tract will not be seen by an hasty Reader; every Article of it contains Matter for much Consideration, and shews the Author to have been well acquainted with his Subject. It was written by Dr. Chandler, but not published till it had been revised by some other Dissenting Ministers.

A
D I S S E R T A T I O N
O N T H E
A N C I E N T V E R S I O N
O F T H E
B I B L E.

REVEREND SIR,

YOU desire to know, " Since the *Greek Septuagint* and the *English Bible* are Translations from the Original *Hebrew*, how " it comes to pass that these two Translations have such Variations " from each other ? I do not mean in some few Words only, but in " whole Sentences ; many being in our *English* Translation which are " not to be found in the *Septuagint*, and some again in the *LXX* which " are not to be found in our *English Bible*."

I do not at all wonder at your asking such a Question ; for a Clergyman who has but a small Benefice, which will not afford him Means to buy Books of a large Price, and lives in an obscure Place in the Country, near no Library from which he may borrow such Books, or have Opportunity to consult them, is not to be blamed, if he should not know how to answer this, or other Questions relating to ecclesiastical Matters. For although he came from the University well versed in the learned Languages, (as you shew yourself to be, or you could not have compared our *English Bible* with the *LXX*, and so would never have thought of the Matter) yet for want of Books to inform him how the Scriptures have from Time to Time been copied, translated and published, he may not be able to answer such a Question, and satisfy himself in such a Point as this.

And I must confess for myself, that if I had not the *Polyglot Bible*, before which Bishop *Walton* (the learned Editor of that noble and useful Work, consisting of six large Folios) has put several excellent *Prolegomena*, and *Du Pin's Compleat Canon of Scripture*, with some other Books relating to the Editions and Translations of the Holy Scriptures, I could not have answered your Question. But by the Assistance of

these Books, I hope I may do it to your Satisfaction. And I can give you a plain, short, and easy Answer, which is, that there were different Copies of the *Hebrew Original*, and the *LXX* translated from one Copy, and our *English* Translators from another; so as the Copies differed, the Translations differed also.

But another Question may arise. How came there to be so much Difference between several Copies of the same Book? I answer, the same will always happen in all Books frequently transcribed by several Hands. Now, I believe no Book ever had so many Transcripts as the Bible. As the *Jews* had several Synagogues in *Judea*, so had they in all Countries where they were dispersed after the Captivity. For they did not all return to *Judea* at the Restoration of *Jerusalem* and the Rebuilding of the Temple, but very many continued in those Parts of the *Chaldean*, *Persian*, *Grecian* and *Roman* Empires where they had obtained Settlements, where also they increased and multiplied. This we may be convinced of from what we find in the New Testament, where we read that in every Place unto which the Apostles went to preach the Gospel they found Numbers of *Jews* and a *Jewish* Synagogue. And every Synagogue had at least one Copy of the Bible, beside the many Copies written for the Use of private Persons. Every one of these Copies was written singly by itself, (the Invention of Printing, by which ten Thousand Copies coming out of the same Press shall not differ so much as a Letter or a Comma, being yet scarce three Hundred Years old) and therefore could hardly fail to differ in some Particulars even from the Copy from which it was taken, unless more than once carefully revised, compared and corrected, which we may reasonably suppose was not always done. These Copiers therefore could hardly keep free from making many Mistakes, such as often to omit a Word, or to write one Word for another: which last Mistake might easily be made in *Hebrew* Books, where the Letters ו and ו, ד and ד, ה and ה, and some others are so near alike, that very often in Writing one can hardly be distinguished from the other; and the mistaking such a Letter changes the Word, and gives it another Signification.

Copiers also, in the transcribing so large a Book as the *Hebrew* Bible, might easily mistake so far as to be guilty of considerable Overights, even to overlook and omit a whole Sentence, especially when they wrote in Haste, as, no Doubt, many of them did, who made it their Business to copy Books for their Livelihood. Where therefore the *LXX* want a Period or Sentence which is in our *English* Bibles, we may suppose it was wanting in the Copy from whence they translated: And where they have a Sentence which is wanting in our *English* Bibles, we may suppose it was in the Copy from which their Translation was made, but left out in the Copy from whence our present *Hebrew* Copies were taken, and from which we have our *English* Translation: And so *vice versa*. This I think is a natural and rational Account how these Diversities arose; that is, from different Copies of the Original. Which Differences could hardly be avoided, and might easily happen through the Carelessness and Overights or Mistakes of Transcribers, who could scarce avoid them in so long a Work.

Some indeed will tell you that the *LXX* in their Translation took great

great Liberties, and departed from the original Text with Design, adding some Things, and leaving out others wilfully to serve some private Views of their own. And others will tell you that this has been done by the *Jews*, who out of Hatred to the *Christians* have maliciously altered the *Hebrew* Copies. But I think it is unjust to charge either the *Jews*, who were the Keepers and Preservers of the Original *Hebrew*, or the LXX, who translated the *Hebrew* Scriptures into *Greek*, with any wilful Variations from the true and authentic Text, where those Variations may be otherwise accounted for in the Manner I have shewed they may be. However, I confess, there are some Variations which I think cannot be so accounted for; the Difference being such as could hardly proceed from mere Mistake or Oversight. This particularly appears in the Genealogies of the Patriarchs in the fifth and eleventh Chapters of *Genesis*: Where almost every Patriarch is said to have lived an hundred Years longer before he begat his Son according to the LXX, than he is according to the present *Hebrew* Bibles. Such a long, regular Difference as this could not proceed from the Carelessness or mere Oversight of any Transcriber. However, we cannot say that the LXX did here wilfully vary from the Original, or that this Variation was not in the *Hebrew* Copies before the LXX made their Translation, and that these hundred Years might be in that *Hebrew* Copy from whence they translated; though at this Distance of Time we cannot account for it. We have just Reason to believe that in the Chronology of those Genealogies there was a Variation in the *Hebrew* Copies before the Days of *Josephus*, who lived at the Time when *Jerusalem* and the Temple were destroyed by the *Romans*: And therefore also might be in those Copies before the Version of the LXX.

For as *Josephus* was a Priest, who in his Course attended on the Temple to perform the Service of the Temple, we can scarce doubt but he had an *Hebrew* Copy of the Bible; nevertheless, in his Chronology, he differs from the present *Hebrew* Text, as he does also from the LXX. The *Samaritan* likewise (which is but another Copy of the Original *Hebrew*, written in the more ancient *Hebrew* Letter; that which is now used by the *Jews*, being what they learned from the *Chaldeans* during their Captivity in *Babylon*) differs in its Chronology from the other three. From whence we may reasonably conclude, that the LXX were not the Authors of this Difference, but followed that *Hebrew* Copy from whence they translated.

Another great Difference between the present *Hebrew* Copies and the LXX, which may also seem to have been done with Design, is the Transposition of Chapters or Parts of Chapters towards the latter End of the Book of *Exodus*. After you come to the End of the seventh Verse of the 36th Chapter in the LXX, you will find immediately following, what follows not in the present *Hebrew*, consequently not in our *English* Bibles, until you come to the 39th Chapter. And so through the 36, 37, 38 and 39th Chapters, you will find that put in one Place of the LXX which stands in another Place in the present *Hebrew* and *English* Bibles. The Occasion of these Transpositions, and of the like in some other Places, Dr. *Grabe*, in his Letter to Dr. *Milles*, conjectures might probably proceed from those who made up or stitched

together the Rolls or Leaves of the Books after they were written, and by Mistake placed one Roll or Leaf where another should have been: Such Mistakes we find Bookbinders sometimes make now. And this Mistake having been made in the *Hebrew* Copy from whence the Version of the LXX was made, these Dislocations are found in all the Copies of the LXX.

Another Ocoasion of various Readings, particularly as to whole Sentences or Periods, is supposed to have risen from marginal Notes, which private Persons sometimes made in their Bibles; some Copier transcribing from such Book, believing these Notes to have been set there to supply an Omission of a Sentence by the former Copier, has put it into the Text of the Copy he writes, from whence other Copies being taken, this marginal Note becomes Part of the Text in those Copies which are transcribed from it. This might be done in *Hebrew* Bibles, before the Translation of the LXX, and from thence might be taken into that and other Translations.

Many various Readings also with regard to Words only between the LXX and other ancient Translations, and that of our *English* Bible and other modern Translations made from the present *Hebrew* Copies, have proceeded from the *Jewish Majorites*, who having invented a Number of Vowel Points and Pauses, have thereby affixed a particular Reading and Sense to many Words, different from that Reading and Sense in which they were understood by the LXX, and other ancient Translations made before the Invention of these Points. But of these *Masoretic* Points I shall have Occasion to say more hereafter.

As I said before, various Readings, and considerable ones too, will be found in all Books written before Printing was invented. And the more Copies of such Books have been written, the more various Readings there will be. And as more Copies of the Holy Scriptures have been written than of any other Books, it is no Wonder if more various Readings be found in them, than in Books less often transcribed. For except the Transcribers of the Holy Scriptures were all inspired, and preserved from Error by the Spirit of God, as the first Penmen of those sacred Books were, it is morally impossible but they should be guilty of some slight Mistake or Oversight in so long a Work. And therefore we find like various Readings in the *Greek* Copies of the New Testament, which you (by comparing the LXX and the *English* Versions) have done in the Old, though perhaps not so considerable. The learned and industrious Dr. *Milles* has collected a very great Number of various Readings from several Manuscripts, in his excellent Edition printed at *Oxford* and published 1707. To give an Instance of one or two considerable ones. The Doxology at the End of the Lord's Prayer, *Matth.* vi. 13. is omitted in several MSS. And eleven whole Verses at the Beginning of the eighth Chapter of St. *John's* Gospel. Also the 7th Verse of the fifth Chapter of the first Epistle of St. *John* is omitted in almost all the MSS. now remaining in these western Parts of the World. So that the Doctor could not procure or be informed of one MS. that had it. Though *Robert Stephens* declares it to have been in some of the MSS. from which he published his neat and correct Edition of the New Testament 200 Years ago: Which Edition our present printed

printed *Greek Testaments* have generally followed. And as there are such Omissions in some Copies, so there are also some Additions of whole Periods or Sentences: As *Act. vi. 18.* at the End of the Verse is added *καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἑκάστου εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν.* Now if our *English Translation* had been made from one of these Copies, you would have seen a Difference as to whole Periods or Sentences between our Translation and our common *Greek Testaments.* And I doubt not but our common *Greek Testaments* may be corrected from some of the various Readings.

There is no Doubt but the Holy Scriptures, as written by the divinely-inspired Penmen, were without the least Mistake or Oversight. Therefore the five Books of *Moses*, which were written with his own Hand, and repositied first in the Tabernacle, and from thence transferred to the Temple, were perfectly free from all Error, so much as in a single Letter. The same we are to believe of the other Books of the Old Testament, written by the Prophets or inspired Writers. The Originals of which we may also believe were from Time to Time repositied in the same Place, from whence Copies were taken, for publick Use. For we read *Deut. xvii. 18.* that the King (when they should have one) was commanded to *write him a Copy of the Law in a Book, out of that which is before the Priests and Levites.* And *2 Chron. xvii. 7, 8, 9.* *Jehoshaphat sent his Princes, and with them he sent Levites, and they taught in Judah, and had the Book of the Law of the Lord with them, and went about throughout all the Cities of Judah, and taught the People.* From hence it is manifest that there were many Copies of the Law, or of the five Books of *Moses.* And no Doubt but Copies were taken of the other sacred Books from Time to Time as they were written.

But when the Temple was destroyed, and the whole Nation of the *Jews* carried into Captivity by *Nebuchadnezzar*, then all the original Books written by *Moses* and the Prophets perished together with the Temple, and only Copies remained. However at their Return from the Captivity, when *Cyrus* had not only permitted, but gave them Protection and Encouragement to rebuild their City and Temple, God raised up Prophets at the same Time to encourage them in their Work, and to teach and direct them how to restore the divine Worship according to the Law; which could not be done without having the Books of the Law, that is the *Pentateuch*, or five Books of *Moses.* And, I think, it is not to be supposed that they had not also Copies of all the other Books of Holy Scripture written before that Time, and to which the Prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, who returned with the first, added their own Books. After this, as we read *Ezra vii. 1. 6.* *Ezra a ready Scribe in the Law of Moses went up from Babylon, and came to Jerusalem, in the Reign of Artaxerxes King of Persia, above seventy Years after the Restoration granted by Cyrus.* He, as is confessed both by *Jews* and *Christians*, together with the Prophet *Malachi* and *Nehe-miah*, another inspired Writer, having added their own Books to the former, did, together with the great Synagogue, collect all the inspired Writings, and compleat the Canon of the Old Testament. No

phet being raised up amongst the *Jews* from the Death of *Malachi* until the Coming of St. *John Baptist*.

Ezra then and his Companions of the great Synagogue, *First*, made a Collection and Canon of the sacred Books. *Secondly*, As he and some others who joined with him were divinely inspired, that is, guided by the Holy Ghost, who preserved them from Error in this great Work, the Copy written by them and lodged in the Temple was perfect and without Mistake. *Thirdly*, They changed the old *Hebrew* Letters for those of the *Chaldeans*, as better known to the *Jews*, who had lived so long at *Babylon*: And besides, as they resolved to have no Dealings with the *Samaritans*, who, as much as they were able, had hindered the rebuilding of *Jerusalem* and the Temple, they would not write with the same Letters which the *Samaritans* made use of, that the *Samaritans* might not read the *Jewish* Books, nor the *Jews* any of the *Samaritans*. *Fourthly*, They added some Connections and Explications. Thus we find in the *Pentateuch* several Things which we may be convinced were not written by *Moses*. As *Gen. xxxvi. 31. These are the Kings that reigned in the Land of Edom, before there reigned any King over the Children of Israel.* The Author of this Verse and of the Catalogue of the Kings of *Edom* preceding it, must live at the Time when there were or had been Kings of *Israel*, since he denotes the Time, when the *Israelites* began to have Kings. Again, it is said *Gen. xiv. 14. That Abraham pursued the Kings he had overcome unto Dan.* Now the Name of *Dan* was not given to this Place until a long Time, not only after *Abraham's* Days, but also after the Days of *Moses*, when 600 Men of the Tribe of *Dan* took *Laish*, as we read *Judges xviii. 29.* These and many other like Passages have been urged by some Persons to prove that *Moses* was not the Writer of the *Pentateuch*, since even in the historical Parts there are several Things mentioned which happened not until after his Death. But these Things may reasonably be supposed to have been put in by *Ezra*, an inspired Writer, and the great Synagogue, for the better Information of their Contemporaries, when they made this new and compleat Edition of the Canon of all the Holy Scriptures as delivered to the *Jews*. Which contained those, and only those, which our Church in her sixth Article holds to be Canonical in the Old Testament. This Edition of *Ezra*, an inspired Writer, being written by him, a ready Scribe, and repositied in the Temple, was certainly without Fault or Mistake. And from thence many Copies were soon taken for the Use of the Synagogues and private Persons.

But this Original Book of Holy Scripture written by *Ezra*, and repositied in the Temple, was destroyed by that bloody Persecutor of the *Jews* (the only Church of God at that Time) *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who, as we read *1 Maccab. i. 21. 56. entered proudly into the Sanctuary, and took away the golden Altar, and the Candlestick of Light, and all the Vessels thereof. And when they had torn in Pieces the Books of the Law, they burnt them with Fire.* But when *Judas Maccabeus* recovered the City and the Temple, (*2 Maccab. x. 1.*) and cleansed and purified the Temple, we cannot doubt but he provided a Book of the Law and the Prophets to be there repositied as before; either one which belonged to
his

his Father *Mattathias*, or one very fairly and correctly transcribed from the best Copies that could be procured: And took good Care also to supply the Synagogues whose Books were destroyed as well as those of the Temple. But none of these could be equally free from all Mistakes, as was that of *Ezra*, an inspired Writer. And these also were for the most Part destroyed by the *Romans*, when the Temple and Synagogues of *Judea* were burnt by the Soldiers of *Vespasian* and *Titus*. Whether that particular Book, which to the Time of this final Destruction had been repositied in the Temple, was any where preserved, is uncertain.

Josephus, who was taken Prisoner by the *Romans* at that Time, and was an Eye-witness of the Desolation and Destruction of his Country, in his Account of his own Life (c. 75.) tells us, that having had Leave given him by *Titus*, to take whatever he pleased out of the Ruins of his Country, says, that he valued nothing so much, after Liberty for himself and Family, as the sacred Books which he accepted as a Present from *Titus*. Again, in his seventh Book of the Wars of the *Jews*, (c. 5.) he makes mention, that the Copy of the Law, which they had taken from the Temple, or out of some Synagogue, was last in order carried in Triumph at *Rome*, after the golden Table and Candlestick; and that *Titus* commanded the same Copy, together with the purple Veils of the most holy Place, to be carefully repositied in the Temple of Peace. The former Passage gives not the least Hint, that *Josephus* sought or took out of the Temple the sacred Books granted him by the Favour of *Titus*: And the latter Testimonies do directly contradict and deny it. Which I think proper to observe, because some have asserted that *Josephus* obtained from *Titus* the authentick Copy repositied in the Temple. But I conceive it is evident from *Josephus's* own Account of the Matter, that neither he nor any of the *Jews* had the Happiness to preserve the Copy there repositied.

I have already observed to you, that in Books copied by writing from others, there will be Mistakes made, unless the Transcribers are guided by an infallible Spirit. I must now also observe that this has also actually happened in the *Hebrew* Bibles, as well as other Books. This has not only been asserted by *Ludovicus Capellus*, and others, who may be thought not to have that due Respect which we ought to have for the present *Hebrew* Copies: For even *Buxtorf*, *Arnold Boot*, and the Lord Primate *Usher*, the most zealous Assertors of the Integrity of the present *Hebrew* Text, have acknowledged that Text has not been free from such Errors as Transcribers are liable to make: And this they have been obliged to, by the various Readings which are found in the several Manuscripts of the *Hebrew* Bible.

Some have indeed gone so far as to have accused the *Jews* of having wilfully altered the *Hebrew* Text. But this is certainly an unjust Accusation. Had they made any such Alterations before the Coming of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, he and his Apostles, who so freely taxed the Scribes and Pharisees with their other Crimes, would not have failed to have taken Notice of one so heinous as the corrupting the Holy Scriptures, by changing the Text to support their false Doctrines. But our blessed Saviour was so far from laying any such Thing to their Charge,

that he plainly intimates the contrary, when, *Job. iii. 39.* he directs his Followers to *search the Scriptures*; which he would not have done in such general Words, if they had been falsified, without taking Notice of such Falsifications, if there had been any. Also *Mat. xxiii. 2, 3.* he says, *The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses Seat, whatsoever therefore they bid you observe, that observe and do.* Can any one believe that our blessed Lord would direct any Persons to read corrupted or falsified Scriptures, or give his Followers a Charge to hear those who had corrupted them?

There is just Reason also to believe, that the *Jews* have not wilfully or maliciously altered or corrupted their Scriptures since the Days of *Christ* and his Apostles; because we still find those Texts of the Old Testament, which are cited in the New, in our present *Hebrew* Bibles. If the *Jews* had been disposed to alter their Scriptures, would they not have changed those Texts, that they might have had a Pretence to have accused *Christ* and his Apostles with Misquotations and Misrepresentations of their Scriptures? Again, if the *Jews* had wilfully corrupted the Scriptures, through Hatred to the *Christians*, as some suppose them to have done, they would, no Doubt, have done it in those Prophecies which particularly relate to *Christ*, and in such Places as relate to the Mysteries of the *Christian* Religion. Yet learned Men have observed, in some Places where the *Hebrew* Books differ from the *Greek* and *Latin*, the *Hebrew* is more opposite to the *Jews*, than either the *Greek* or *Latin*: As in *Psal. ii. 12.* where the *Greek* and *Latin* read, *Lay hold of Discipline, lest the Lord be angry.* The *Hebrew* has it, *Kiss the Son, lest he be angry.* Which Reading more plainly refers to *Christ*, than the other. Who can believe the *Jews* would wilfully make Alterations in those Places, where there is no Controversy between them and us, yet change nothing in those Passages which make so plainly for us against themselves? Besides, as the *Jews* are dispersed into so many distant Countries, it is morally impossible they should all meet together, and agree to corrupt their Books, or that any should do it, without some general Agreement with the rest, who might, and no Doubt would, complain of such Alterations. And as such Complaints of one Party of *Jews* against the other have not been made, we may for these Reasons believe the *Jews* have made no wilful Alterations in the Holy Scriptures since the Coming of *Christ*.

But although the *Jews* have not wilfully corrupted the *Hebrew* Text, that is the Letters, yet they have affixed such Vowel Points and Pauses to the Letters, as give a Sense to many Words, very different from the Sense those Words were judged to bear by the *LXX*, and other ancient Translators. About *A. D. 500*, or later, the *Jews* of *Tiberias*, where that People had then their chief School of Learning, taking all the *Hebrew* Letters as Consonants, invented several Points, which they put under every Letter to serve instead of Vowels, in order to direct how every Word should be pronounced. Some have maintained, that these Vowel Points are at least as old as the Time of *Ezra*, if not of *Moses*. But the Generality of the Learned, I think, are of Opinion that they are no older than *A. D. 500*, if so old. The Matter has ben controverted pretty much, and the late Dean *Prideaux* (in his *Connections*

Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, Part I. Book v. p. 346. Edit. 8°) has given us all the Arguments *pro* and *con* upon this Question: And declares himself to be of Opinion that the Vowel Points were used, if not in the Time of *Ezra*, yet very soon after, and long before the Destruction of the second Temple. Yet he confesses that they are not mentioned by any Author, either *Jew* or *Christian*, until some Hundreds of Years after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. That neither *Origen*, who gave us the *Hebrew* Scriptures in one Column written in *Hebrew* Characters, and in another Column in *Greek* Characters; nor *St. Jerom*, who translated the whole Bible from the *Hebrew*, take any Notice of these Points. Also, that to this Day all the Bibles used in the *Jewish* Synagogues are written without any Points either of Pause or Lession. Likewise, that he himself, or any other Master of the *Hebrew* Language, would at this Time choose to read in an *Hebrew* Book that was unpointed. The Reason which he gives for this Opinion of his, is, that although when a Man is acquainted with a Language, he may read it without Vowels, yet until he has learned the Language, it is impossible for him to read it so written. And as the *Hebrew* was become a dead Language from very near the Return of the *Jews* from the *Babylonish* Captivity, that is from *Ezra's* Days, and to be learned from Books only, it was impossible to be learned without the Vowel Points: Consequently those Points must have been in Use from *Ezra's* Time, or soon after.

But all this fine Reasoning is overthrown, not only by the Silence of the Ancients, both *Jews* and *Christians*, but also by the positive Testimony of *St. Jerom*, who lived 800 Years after *Ezra's* Time, and after the *Hebrew* was become a dead Language, yet was taught that Language by a *Jew*, without the Assistance of any Points. For this Father, in his Epistle to *Evagrius* concerning *Melchisedeck*, says, *Non refert utrum Salem an Salim nominetur, cum vocalibus in medio literis perraro utantur Hebræi: Et, pro voluntate lectorum atque varietate Regionum, eadem verba diversis sonis atque accentibus proferantur.* And lest you should think that by his saying *perraro utantur*, he may mean that Vowel Points were then sometimes used, though but seldom, consequently that this is a Proof of their being used in his Time, and long before, I must inform you, that he cannot mean Vowel Points in this Place; but real literal Vowels, such as all Languages in these western Parts of the World make use of: And such the *Hebrews* always had, though most of their Words be written without any of them. These Vowels are א, י, ו, יוּ, that is, *a* short, *o*, *ou*, or *u*, *i* and *a* long; to which some add ם and ן, that is, *e* short and long. But the *Masorites*, who invented the Points, make all these Letters to be Consonants; but give them no other Sound than what belongs to the Points placed under them, or, if any, it is no more than an Aspirate. These Letters indeed *perraro utantur in medio*: But that cannot be said of Points, which are now affixed to all initial and middle Letters. Besides *St. Jerom* says, *vocalibus literis*, but the Points are not *literæ*, neither are called so by those who have pleaded the most for them. This positive Testimony of *St. Jerom*, that the *Hebrews* seldom placed a Vowel in the Middle of a Word, and that it was indifferent what

Vowel

Vowel you made Use of in the Pronunciation, is a plain Testimony that no Vowel Points were used in his Time, that is, until the Beginning of the fifth Century after *Christ*. Those therefore who place the Invention of the Points to about the Year 500, place it early enough.

The Inventors of these Points are called *Masorites*, and their Work *Masora*, or the *Masore*, which is derived from the *Hebrew* Word מָסַר *Masar*, *tradidit*, because, after the *Hebrew* became a dead Language, these *Masorites*, from Age to Age, delivered down the Manner how the *Hebrew* Words were to be written, read and pronounced. And that these might be preserved to all future Ages, they invented a great Number of Points for Vowels, Pauses, and Accents, which the Reader should observe. I shall not trouble myself nor you concerning the nice Curiosity and needless Labour of these *Masorites*, not only to number the Verses contained in every Book of the Law and the Prophets, and in all of them together, but likewise the Words, and even the Letters. The Points are all I shall take Notice of; because the Learned, until of late, have thought them to be of great Use, and that the *Hebrew* Language cannot be learned without the Knowledge, at least of the Vowel Points. Even those who have thought the Vowel Points, as well as those of Pause or Accent, deserve no Regard to ascertain or fix the Sense of a Word, yet think a Beginner must learn them, the Language not being otherwise to be learned. But *Masieles*, a Priest and Canon of *Amiens* in *France*, has, not many Years since, published a *Hebrew* Grammar, whereby he tells us, that Language may be learned without any Knowledge of the Vowel Points; and that he himself, being puzzled with the many Rules given with Relation to the Points, threw them all aside, and found it much easier and better to learn the Language without them.

It is pretended by those who lay a great Stress on the Points, that the same Word, as most of the *Hebrew* Words are, being written with Consonants only, has various Significations, according to the Vowels with which you read or pronounce it. For Consonants alone cannot be read or pronounced without the Assistance of Vowels: And the Signification of Words in all Languages depends upon the Pronunciation of the Vowels, as well as of the Consonants; and that in the *Hebrew*, though most of the Words are written without any Vowels, as must be confessed by those who will not allow all the Letters to be Consonants; therefore, where Words are written with Consonants only, and yet have different Significations according to their different Pronunciation, they must have different Vowels affixed to them, and for this Reason the *Masorites* have done well to affix different Vowels to the same Word, to ascertain the Sense of it. Thus, for Instance, the three Letters דבר *dlr* have at least five different Significations. 1. *He spake*. 2. *Speaking*. 3. *A Word*. 4. *A Pestilence*. 5. *A Fold for Sheep or Cattle*. No Doubt, but while the *Hebrew* was a living Language, the Word composed of these three Letters was understood in its different Significations by the different Vowels they used when they spake it. And such Vowel Points the *Masorites* have now affixed to it, by which we may know when and where those three Letters signify one Thing and when another. When it signifies *he spake*, they affix the Points

Points which denote a short and a long, and say *dabar*. When it is a Participle, and signifies *Speaking*, by their Points they read *dober*. When it is a Noun, and signifies a *Word*, they put it under two *a*'s short, and read *dabar*. When it signifies a *Pestilence*, they put two *e*'s under, and read *aiber*. When it signifies a *Fold*, they put the Points which denote *a* and *e*, and read it *daber*. And the like have they done with Regard to all other Words.

What has been done, in this Case, by the *Masorites*, would certainly be of great Use and Service to the Church for understanding the *Hebrew* Text, if they had lived while the *Hebrew* was a living Language, and these Vowel Points had been then used, and we could have been assured of their Knowledge of the true Pronunciation of all Words, according to their different Significations: But as the *Hebrew* was become a dead Language many hundred Years before their Time, the true ancient Pronunciation was as much unknown then as now. We have St. *Jerom*'s Testimony before cited, that different Vowels were used in the Pronunciation of the same Word in different Countries. And this was at least a hundred Years before the *Masorites* began the Invention of their Points, either for Vowel, Pause or Accent. I say, *began*, because they were not all invented at once, but Improvements continued to be making for some Centuries. It is also manifest, from the LXX, that the ancient *Jews* read with different Vowels from those which the *Masorites* have affixed.

This is very well proved by *Maslef* in his Arguments for his New Grammar, p. xxxviii, &c. which I will give you in his own Words. He says therefore

“ Rem ipsam accuratius & per partes evolvamus. In duobus sita est pronuntiatio Massorethica. 1^o. In valore seu sono quem singulis Alphabethi literis tribuit. 2^o. In Vocalibus, quas punctis exprimit. Atqui quoad utramque partem à veteri norma non parum recedit punctatio seu pronuntiatio Massorethica.

“ Quod ad literas, hæc pauca è multis annotamus. Docent Veteres literam פ non ut *p* sed ut *ph* pronunciari. Nulla apud eos Mentio duplicis ש, nullibi aiunt literas בִּרְכַּכּת duplici modo efferri. Tria Argumenta quibus evincitur Massorethicam pronuntiationem à veteri & genuina non parum deflexisse.

“ Quoad alteram Pronuntiationis partem, scilicet vocales quas suppleant, æque aberrant Massorethæ. Discrepant enim a Veteribus tam circa vocales supplendas, quam circa loca in quibus supplendæ sunt. Primò in eorum systemate nulla, ut aiunt, vocalis frequentior occurrit quam *Scheva*. Atqui in Pronuntiatione istius Motionis longe a Veteribus discedunt Massorethæ. Punctorum Massorethicorum Mysteriis haud initiatus eum hic Mystagogum adhibebo, quem nemo mihi favere voluisse causabitur. D. Guarinum dico novæ Methodi acerrimum hostem, qui Grammaticæ suæ Tom. 1. p. 37. sic loquitur.

“ *Antiqui Interpretes Græci lectione τὴ Scheva regulas longè diversas ab iis quas tradunt hodierni Grammatici sequebantur.* 1^o. Enim illud sæpè non legebant initio *Dictionis*, ut Gen. i. 1. בְּרֵאשִׁית *Bereschit* in principio; *Græci* βερισθ. *Levit.* xiii. 19. שֶׁת *Seeth*, tumor; *Græci*,
“ αἶμα,

“ *σνθ*, &c. e contra quando duo Scheva initio Dictionis concurrunt, prius secundum Grammatices hodiernæ canones vulgò mutatur in *hhiriq qaton*, id est in *i*: posterius vero quiescit, id est, mutuum est, illi vero interdum utrumque legebant.—Ex his aliisque plurimis exemplis quæ passim occurrunt in Origenis Hexaplis a nostro D. Bernardo de Montfaucon editis, videtur constare variam admodum et incertam fuisse apud Veteres Scheva legendi rationem. Huc usque Guarinus.

“ Secundò idem colligitur è nominum propriorum diversâ prolatione. Legunt Recentiores *Nebuchadnetsar*, *Rechabgam*, *Pinchas*, *Chiskia*, *Jirmeia*, *Jechezchel*, *Achashcheros*, *Dariavesh*, *Kisles*, &c. LXX. Josephus & alii *Nabuchodonosor*, *Roboam*, *Phinees*, *Ezechias*, *Jeremias*, *Ezechiel*, *Affuerus*, *Darius*, *Casleu*, &c. Eo argumento utitur Bochartus Epistola ad Jacobum Capellum de linguæ tum Chaldaicæ tum Syriacæ pronunciatione: Extat Tom. 3. Col. 853. Recentiores *Hebræi*, inquit, a Veteribus in Hebraici sermonis pronunciatione multum differunt ut ex nominibus huic linguæ propriis, si cum antiquis versimilibus conferantur, discimus.

“ Atqui si a veteri pronunciatione ita discordant in nominibus propriis, quorum pronunciatio facilius potuit conservari (omnium enim ore semper trita fuerunt ista nomina) quid existimandum contigisse in vocibus, quæ (utpote rarius in quotidiano sermone occurrentes) promptius potuerunt ad aliam pronunciationem detorqueri? Dicent Adversarii emollita esse a LXX Interpretibus nomina propria, quo Græcis auribus minus barbara apparerent.

“ Esto. At quantumvis emollita dicantur, fieri non potest ut a pronunciatione Massorethica tam discrepent, si eodem modo & LXX & Massorethæ ea in Fontibus Hebraicis legerunt. Potuerunt quidem inflecti posteriores Syllabæ, ut istis nominibus daretur Græca terminatio; at quid causæ fuit, cur non ubique servaretur idem Syllabarum numerus, prioresque & intermediae Syllabæ tam turpiter deformarentur?

“ Non in solis nominibus propriis, sed & in aliis diversitas illa conspicitur. Habemus aliquot fragmenta Hexaplorum, in quibus Textum Hebraicum literis Græcis descripserat Origines ad eam normam, qua tunc a Judæis pronunciabatur. Scimus similiter quomodo plurima loca ejusdem Textus legerit & pronunciavit Hieronymus. Si conferantur ea loca cum Massorethica pronunciatione, nec rarò nec parum a veteri videbitur Massorethica discrepare. Nullus est Scripturæ Interpres Massorethis vetustior, quem non deprehendas haud rarò secutum esse diversam a Massorethica pronunciationem; ita tamen ut quo quisque proprius fuit Massoretharum temporibus, eo propius illius lectio ad eorum punctationem accedat. LXX omnium antiquissimi longissimè recedunt.”

But if nothing more than the bare Pronunciation of *Hebrew Words* was concerned in the Case, the Matter would not be worth the least Dispute. We know not how the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans* pronounced the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues. Every Nation now gives the same Sound to the *Latin* and *Greek* Letters, which they give to those of their own Language, which occasions those Languages to be differently pronounced by different People. However, all write and interpret

pret them in the same Manner; which Difference in Pronouncing or Speaking is of little or no Consequence. But the Case is different with regard to the *Hebrew*, most of the Words in that Language (as has been observed) are written without Vowels, and the Question is, what Vowels the Words require to make the Sense understood; not how the Words are to be pronounced in Speaking, when Vowels are affixed to them. Therefore we say, that as it appears from the *LXX*, that the *Jews*, before our Saviour's Time, and from *Origen* and *St. Jerom*, that for 400 Years at least after our Saviour's Time, used other Vowels, by which they spake their Words, than those which the *Masorites* have used; the Consequence is, that the Points which the *Masorites* have now affixed to every *Hebrew* Letter, whether for Vowel, Pause, or Accent, are of little or no Authority, and deserve not to be regarded by us: And that the true Sense of an *Hebrew* Word, written only with Consonants, is not to be fetched from the Points of the *Masore*, and the Rules given concerning them, but from the Context and Construction, and the Assistance of the *LXX*, and other ancient Translations.

Now though (as before observed) we cannot charge the *Jews* with wilful Falsification of the *Hebrew* Text, that is, they have not of set Purpose changed the Letter of their Bibles, yet we cannot say that they have not in some Places wilfully falsified the Sense by their Points, of which *Mascler* gives us a notable Instance in his Arguments for his New Grammar, p. lxvi.

“ Anno 1712 circa Augusti initium aliquot dies Ambiani commo-
 “ rati sunt Judæi duo Metenses. Seniori & doctiori nomen erat *Daniel*
 “ *Zei*, alteri *Elias Prag*. Collocuti simul pluries de Religione; veni-
 “ mus tandem ad celebre Jacobi Vaticanum, Gen. xlix. *non auferetur*
 “ *sceptrum de Judâ*. Asserebam inde manifestò sequi, jam præterisse
 “ tempus adventui Messæ præsignatum: Nihil tenes, inquit *Daniel*
 “ *Zei*; male enim pausas & distinguis hunc versum. Et unde hoc,
 “ inquam? *Non auferetur sceptrum de Judâ*, Virgula, & *Dux de femore*
 “ *ejus*, Virgula, *donec veniet qui mittendus est*, Punctum. Nunquid non
 “ finitur sensus in voce רגלי, & כִּי עַד incisi novi initium est? Id cer-
 “ te & loci contextus & Veterum consensus exposcit. Quin & id probat
 “ accentus *Athnach* sub voce רגלי etiam in vestris Bibliis collocatus
 “ hoc modo רגלין. Erant præ manibus Biblia Rabini *Manasseh Ben*
 “ *Israel*. Tum subridens *Daniel*, nondum Mysteriis nostris plenè ini-
 “ tiatus es, inquit. Vide accentum sequentem sub voce עַד. Munus
 “ illius est efficere ut vox cui subjacet præcedenti connectatur. Et
 “ quanquam id per se non indubie præstaret, præstaret tonus Musicus
 “ hujus vocis. Cum enim a nobis decantatur versiculus ille, vocem
 “ attollimus ad vocabulum עַד, & aliquantulum pausamus: Deinde
 “ cum particula כִּי hemistichium aliud inchoamus. Unde fit ut hujus
 “ loci sensus iste sit. *Non auferetur Sceptrum de Judâ & Dux de femore*
 “ *ejus in æternum*, Virgula, *quando venerit Messias*, &c. Argumentare
 “ nunc quantum volueris, quid inde aut pro te, aut contra nos in-
 “ feres? Instabam ut facile erat; sed frustra novitatem lectionis, vete-
 “ rumque

“runique Rabbiorum in isto versu nostro more legendo consensum
 “regerebam homini vim argumenti ne quidem sentienti.—Cum hæc
 “primum scribebam nondum noveram interpretationem modo allatam
 “scripto fuisse traditam a Rabbinò Abraham Israel Pilzaro Judæo
 “Batavo.”

The late learned Mr. *Johnson* of *Granbrook*, in his posthumous Discourse on *Daniel's* seventy Weeks, has also observed how the *Masorites* have endeavoured to marr that Prophecy also, by their Points, by putting a Stop, which they call an *Athnach*, which answers to our Semicolon, in the Place where there ought to have been no more than a Comma. And in this Place our *English* Translators have followed them, though in the former, concerning *Shiloh*, they have not. “For (as Mr. *Johnson* also observes) those great Men, who translated our Bible, took the present *Hebrew* Text, as it is pointed by the *Masorites*, to be the only Sense and Meaning of the Old Testament.” Now by this *Masoretic* Pointing they have endeavoured to make the Text unintelligible. For thus it stands, *Dan.* ix. 25. *Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the Commandment to restore and build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven Weeks; and threescore and two Weeks the Street shall be built again, and the Wall, even in troublesome Times.* Now by placing their *Athnach* or Semicolon after the seven Weeks, and thereby cutting off the seven Weeks from the threescore and two Weeks, they make the Prophecy wholly unserviceable to the *Christians*. For it is most certain that *Jesus*, whom the *Christians* have received for the *Messias*, did not come at the End of seven Weeks, or 49 Years, after the Commandment went forth to restore and build *Jerusalem*, whether we understand it of the Edict of *Cyrus* or *Artaxerxes* for that Purpose. And the *Masorites* have left themselves at Liberty to apply the Prophecy to any *Messiah* or anointed Prince or High Priest of their own. But had they joined the sixty-two Weeks to the seven Weeks, as the Context plainly shews they ought to have done, and read the Text, as no Doubt it ought to be read, *From the going forth of the Commandment to restore and build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven Weeks, and threescore and two Weeks*, that is, 69 Weeks, or 483 Years, and there placed their *Athnach* or Semicolon, the Number of Years would exactly point out the Time when the *Christian Messiah* came. Therefore they fixed their Point of Pause so, as to make what they pleased of the Words.

These two Prophecies of *Jacob* concerning *Shiloh*, and of *Daniel's* Weeks, do so clearly prove that the true *Messiah*, so long and often foretold by the holy *Jewish* Prophets, must have been long since come, and done and suffered what was prophesied concerning him, and so exactly point to the Time when our blessed Lord *Jesus* did actually come, that it is not to be wondered at that the *Jews*, who are so obstinately bent not to believe in *Jesus* as the *Christ*, should use all their Endeavours to render these two Prophecies wholly unserviceable to our proving *Jesus* to be the *Christ*, the Son of the living God, and Saviour of the World. But no *Christian*, I believe, has been so weak as to understand those Texts in the Manner the *Jews* shew by these Points they would have them understood. For although our, and it may be other

other modern Translators, have pointed according to the *Masorite* Copy, yet I have never heard of any *Christian*, but who has esteemed those two Prophecies to be demonstrative Proofs that the true *Messiah* has been long since come, and that these Prophecies do particularly point out the Time when our Lord *Jesus* became Man.

Neither is there any Reason why we should give much Heed to their Vowel Points, or condemn the LXX, or any other ancient Version, when they have translated a Word differently from the Signification which the *Masoretic* Points have now affixed to it. Mr. *Johnson*, at the End of his *Holy David, and his old English Translators cleared*, has given us a long Catalogue of Passages wherein our Translators of the *Psalms* in the Common-Prayer Book have varied from the LXX, and followed the present *Hebrew* Copies. Yet I believe in most of those Places the *Hebrew* Text, if read without the *Masoretic* Vowel Points, will be as agreeable to the LXX, and other ancient Translations, as to our *English* Version. To give an Instance or two. *Psal.* ix. 20. our Translation is, *put them in Fear*: The LXX and *Latin Vulgate* is, *set thou a Lawgiver over them*. The *Hebrew* Word here is *נֹרָה*, which if you derive it from *נִרָא* *timuit*, signifies *Fear*, but derived from *יָרָה* *docuit*, signifies an *Instructor*, a *Giver of Rules*, or *Lawgiver*. And very properly may refer to *Christ*, who was to come to give a new Law, which should take the *Gentiles* into his Fold; and therefore no Wonder that the *Masorites* should choose the other Interpretation. *Psal.* lxxviii. 26. our Translation is, *The Singers go before*: The LXX and *Latin Vulgate* read, *The Princes go before*. The *Hebrew* Word *שָׂרִים* signifies both *Singers* and *Princes*. The *Masorites* have distinguished the different Significations of this Word, by putting a Point on the right Side of the first Letter שׁ when it signifies *Singers*, and on the left שׁ when it signifies *Princes*. But no one is obliged to think *Singers* the most proper Signification in this Place, because the *Masorites* have by their Point fixed it to that Sense. For those solemn Songs of Praise, here spoken of, were generally composed by the Princes or Heads of the People, and they went before in the Procession. Thus *Moses*, *Exod.* xv. composed and began the Song which the People sung when they saw the *Egyptians* drowned in the Sea. And *Miriam*, the Sister of *Moses* and *Aaron*, went before the Women in the Dance on the same Occasion. So *Deborah* also and *Barak* were Leaders in the Song they composed for their Victory over *Jabin* and his General *Sisera*, as we read in the 5th Chapter of *Judges*. So also we find, 1 *Sam.* xix. 20. that when the Company of Prophets prophesied, that is, sung divine Hymns and *Psalms*, *Samuel*, who was a Prince, stood as appointed over them. And 1 *Chron.* xv. 27. when the Ark was brought to *Jerusalem*, *David* himself, the King of *Israel*, sung and danced before it. As therefore in the solemn publick Rejoicings the Princes, who were also Singers, led the Choir, the holy Penman has used a Word which signifies both *Princes* and *Singers*, and for that Reason, I think, the *Hebrew* should not be pinned down (as it is by the *Masoretic* Point) to one Sense, though a Translator into another Language cannot give it that double Sense in one Word.

One might be apt to think the LXX differed very much from the present

present *Hebrew Copy* in *Psal.* lxxxiii. 1. where the *LXX* and *Latin Vulgate* read, *Who shall be compared unto thee, O God?* And our *English Bibles*, *Hold not thy Tongue, O God:* Yet this Difference arises only from the Ambiguity of one *Hebrew Word*, דָּמִי, which signifies both *Similitude* and *Silence*; and may be literally translated into *Latin*, *Deus non est Similitudo tibi*, or *Deus non est Silentium tibi.* *Psal.* cxxxii. 1. the *LXX* and *Latin Vulgate* read, *Lord, remember David and all his Humility:* But our Translation has it, *and all his Trouble.* This likewise proceeds from the Ambiguity of the *Hebrew Word* עָנָה, which signifies both *Humility* and *Trouble* or *Affliction*, and the Context will bear either of these Words. But the *Masorites* by their Points have fixed the Signification to *Trouble* or *Affliction*, and our *English* has followed them, and the *LXX* have taken the other Sense of the Word. I will give you one Instance more from *Gen.* xlvii. 31. where our Translation renders, *Israel bowed himself upon the Bed's Head.* But the *LXX* render, *he bowed himself* or *worshipped upon the Top of his Staff.* And so the Apostle cites it, *Heb.* xi. 21. The *Hebrew Word* מִטָּה signifying either a *Bed* or a *Staff.* Which different Significations the *Masorites* have distinguished by their different Vowel Points. But whether they have always rightly distinguished their ambiguous Words is the Question. Nor are the *LXX* to be blamed, if they often differ from them with regard to the true Meaning of ambiguous Words. For where Words have various Significations, different Translators will translate them variously.

But the various Readings between the *LXX* and our *English Bibles* do not arise only or chiefly from the Ambiguity of many *Hebrew Words*, and to which the *Masorites* by their Points have fixed a Sense different from that in which they were understood by the *LXX*: Many Differences have also risen from a Change in the *Hebrew Letters*, as well as from the Points. For although, as before observed, the *Jews* have not wilfully altered the Letters of the *Hebrew Text*, yet Variations have arisen in them through the Likeness of one Letter to another, which has occasioned the Transcribers to mistake, and put the one for the other. Transcribers also, sometimes writing hastily, have by Carelessness or by Oversight transposed a Letter, and put that Letter before, which should be behind the other, of which I will give you some Instances.

Psal. xxii. 16. The present *Hebrew Copies* read, *Dogs have compassed me; the Assembly of the Wicked have enclosed me* AS A LION my Hands and my Feet. A Reading one can hardly tell how to make Sense of. But in the *LXX* and all ancient Translations, and in our *English Bibles* also, it is, *THEY PIERCED my Hands and my Feet.* Yet we cannot say that the *Jews* did originally corrupt this Text wilfully; the Corruption might easily proceed from a Mistake of the Transcriber, or his Carelessness in writing י and ל, which might easily happen in hasty Writing, and so instead of כָּאֵרִי *foderunt*, they wrote כָּאֵרִי *sicut Leo.* This Reading being got into one Copy, many other Copies followed it, and the *Jews* finding this Reading (though a very absurd one) deprived the *Christians* of a prophetick Text relating to the Passion and Death of the blessed *Jesus*, have stuck to, and still retain, this corrupt Reading

Reading in their Bibles. So *Habac. i. 5.* our Bibles from the present Hebrew read, *Behold ye among the Heathen*: But the LXX, *behold ye Despisers*. Which plainly proceeded from a Mistake occasioned through the likeness of two different Letters, ך and ך. The present Hebrew Copies have גוים in *gentibus*, and that from which the LXX translated had גרים *contemptores*.

2 Chron. xx. 1. We read in our Bibles, *the Children of Moab, and the Children of Ammon, and with them other beside the Ammonites, came against Jehoshaphat to Battle*. But you may observe, as the Word *other* is printed in the *Italick* Letter, it is not in the Hebrew Text, but put in by the Translators; for in the Hebrew it is, *the Children of Ammon, and with them of the Ammonites*: So the Translators put in the Word *other*, and changed the Word *of* to *beside*, in order to make it good Sense. But the LXX have translated it, *and with them of the Minæans*. The learned *Bochart* has judiciously observed (*Geogr. Sacr. part 1. l. 2. c. 22.*) that this Mistake has happened in the Hebrew Text through the Oversight of a Transcriber, who through Carelessness transposed the Letter ך, and instead of setting it after the Letter ך, as he ought to have done, set it before that Letter. So instead of writing מרמעונים, he wrote מהעמונים, and others transcribing from this Copy propagated the Mistake. The Hebrew Word which the LXX translates *Minæans*, is, according as now pointed by the *Masorites*, read *Mebunim*, as appears from our Bibles, 2 Chron. xxvi. 7. And the Place of their Habitation is called *Maon*, *Joshua xv. 55.* and gave Name to the Wilderness near which they lived, 1 Sam. xxiii. 24, 25.

There are a great many various Readings in the Hebrew Bibles arising from the Points: For there were two eminent Jews, one at *Tiberias* called *Ben Ascher*, the other at *Babylon* called *Ben Naphtali*, who about the same Time undertook to publish each of them a correct Edition of the Hebrew Scriptures with the Points, wherein they differ much: The *Eastern Jews*, for the most Part, follow the Edition of *Ben Naphtali*, and the *Western* that of *Ben Ascher*. There are also other different Readings between the *Eastern* and *Western Jews*. But this chiefly concerns the Points. However, the Jews also acknowledge many various Readings, even with regard to the Letters; which various Readings are noted in the Margin of the Hebrew Bibles, and are called קרי *Keri*, כתיב *Ketib*. *Keri* signifies *read*, and *Ketib*, *written*. The Word which stands in the Text is not to be read, and therefore is called *Ketib*, i. e. *the written*: But the other is called *Keri*, *the read*, because though it is not written in the Text, but in the Margin, yet it is to be read instead of that in the Text. This *Keri* and *Ketib* is the Work of the *Masorites*, and is supposed to have proceeded from hence. Designing to publish a correct Edition of their Bible, they took that which they esteemed their most authentick Copy, and not daring to make any Alterations in the Text of that Copy, yet finding in other Copies a different Reading, which they judged to be the more genuine, they placed it in the Margin, and gave Directions to their Scholars to read that marginal Word instead of the other, thereby giving the Preference to that Word, though they feared to put it into the Text. Bishop *Walton*, in his Appendix to his *Polyglot*, has given us all those

various Readings of *Ben Apher* and *Ben Naphtali* of the *Oriental* and *Occidental Jews*, and of the *Keri* and *Ketib*. But those who are skilled in the *Hebrew*, even those who are most zealous for the Integrity of the *Hebrew Text*, tell us, that there are many other various Readings in the Manuscript Bibles, though I know of none who has taken the Pains to make a Collection of them, as *Dr. Milles* and others have done the various Readings of the New Testament.

The *LXX* is the most ancient Translation of the Scriptures that has been made. Some indeed pretend that there was an elder Version of the *Jewish Scriptures* into *Greek*, made about the Time of the *Babylonish Captivity*, or soon after, before the Reign of *Cyrus*, from whence *Pythagoras* and *Plato* learned many Things, for which they cite one *Aristobulus*, some Fragments of whose Books have been preserved, and handed down to us by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Eusebius*, and others of the ancient Fathers, who generally accuse the Philosophers of having stolen many of their Doctrines from the holy Scriptures, and corrupted them with a Mixture of their own Notions. But though *Aristobulus* and the Fathers accuse them of this Theft, they do not say that the Scriptures, but only some small Parts of the Law, were translated into *Greek*. And this is said only on Conjecture, and not historical Authority. They tell us, that *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and other Philosophers, travelled into *Egypt* and *Babylon*, and others Parts where the *Jews* were dispersed, from conversing with whom they learned many of those Things which were written in the Scriptures, and which could not be known but from thence. All this might easily be done, without a Translation of any Book of the Scriptures into *Greek*. No Question can be made but that *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and other Philosophers who travelled into *Chaldea* and *Egypt* to obtain the Learning of those Countries, and for which Purpose they sojourned there many Years, would, in order to attain that Learning, endeavour to attain a tolerable Knowledge in the Language of the Country where they sojourned, that they might freely converse with the learned Men of those Countries, who before the *Macedonian Conquests* had no Occasion to learn *Greek*: The Learning of that Age residing amongst them, and they had no Occasion to seek any from the *Greeks*. But when the *Macedonians* had conquered the *Persian Empire*, and after the Death of *Alexander* had there erected their several Kingdoms, the *Greek* became the Court-Language in all those Nations, and the Learning of *Egypt* and *Chaldea* was translated into *Greek*, which by that Means became an universal Language over all those Parts of the World.

When the *Greeks* were thus become Masters of all those Countries, and had there for a considerable Time firmly established their Empire, *Ptolemy Lagus*, the first *Macedonian King of Egypt*, gave great Encouragement to all learned Men to settle in his Dominions: And his Son *Ptolemy Philadelphus* erected a noble Library for their Use at *Alexandria* his capital City. *Demetrius Phalereus*, his Library Keeper, acquainted that Prince, that the Law of the *Jews* ought to have a Place in his Library. The King answered him, that it was his Fault if it was not put there. *Demetrius* replied, that it must be translated first, because it was written in a Language and Characters unknown to the *Egyptians*.

tians. Hereupon the King resolved to write to the High Priest of the Jews to send him the Book, with Interpreters to translate it. Then *Aristeas*, a great Officer in the Court, and who wrote the History of this Transaction, represented to the King, that he could not send Ambassadors to the Jews, while he kept so many Jews in Slavery in his Kingdom, being no less than 100,000; all which, with their Wives and Children, the King redeemed from their Masters, paying out of his Treasury twenty Drachmas a Head for every one. Then *Demetrius* acquainted him, that it would be convenient to write to the High Priest at *Jerusalem*, to send him six Men out of every Tribe, noted for their Learning, Virtue and Age, to make an exact Version of the Books of the Jews. *Aristeas* gives us a Copy of the King's Letter to *Eleazar* the High Priest, and the Names of the 72 Persons sent to translate the Law, with an Account of the magnificent Presents the King made to the High Priest, to the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and to the 72 Interpreters, so that, as *Dean Prideaux* has computed, the whole Expence the King was at on this Occasion amounted to near two Millions of our Money. *Demetrius* conducted the Interpreters to a House prepared for them in the *Island Pharos*, where in 72 Days they finished their Version.

Aristobulus, who was Tutor to *Ptolemy Physcon*, *Philo* also, who lived in our Saviour's Time, and was Contemporary to the Apostles, and *Josephus*, who saw and wrote the History of the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by the Romans, all speak of this Translation as made by 72 Interpreters, by the Care of *Demetrius Phalereus*, under the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. And all Christians, who mention how this Translation was made, for 1500 Years, speak of it as made by 72 Interpreters (or by 70, which is the nearest round Number to 72, and from thence gave it the Name of the *Septuagint*) in the Time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, without any Exception. It is true, they have differed in several Circumstances relating to the Manner of their Translating, as whether they were shut up every Interpreter in a Cell by himself, or whether there were two in one Cell, or whether they conferred all together as often as they pleased, and other Circumstantial: But in the main both Jews and Christians were agreed until after the Year 1500, that this most ancient Greek Translation was made by 72, or, as called for the Sake of the round Number, 70 Interpreters, in the Time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. But since that Time Criticks are arisen who question every Thing; and not only the Circumstances wherein the Ancients both Jews and Christians differ in their Relation, but even where they all agree, are denied. They question whether this Version was made in the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, by 72 Persons. And say, were not 12 enough, and more than sufficient?

Du Pin, who, in his *Compleat History of the Canon of Scripture*, has rejected all the Accounts given by *Aristeas*, *Aristobulus*, *Philo*, *Josephus*, and the Ancient Fathers concerning this Translation, as fabulous Stories, yet grants the Translation to be as old as the Reign of *Philadelphus*. For, speaking of the History of *Aristeas*, the ancientest and most particular of all that is written concerning this Matter, he says, "That how fabulous soever it be in its Circumstances, it has a true

“ Foundation: *Aristeas*, and the other *Jews of Alexandria*, would never
 “ have wrote such Things, had not the Law been translated into *Greek*
 “ by the *Jews* in the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. There must be
 “ some Truth that hath given Rise to this Fable, and that this Prince
 “ did in Effect demand, and cause to be made a *Greek* Version of the
 “ Books of the Law.” Well then, thus much is granted by one of
 the greatest Adversaries to this Version; and I know of none that have
 absolutely denied this Antiquity. Dean *Prideaux*, who seems to be
 one of the greatest Adversaries to this Translation, allows the five
 Books of *Moses* to have been translated in the Time of *Ptolemy Phila-*
delphus by the *Alexandrian Jews*, and repositied in his Library. But if
Philadelphus, or his Library-Keeper, desired to have these Books of
 the *Jews*, why should they not rather desire to have them from *Jeru-*
salem, the Fountain-Head, than from the *Alexandrian Jews*? Dr. *Pri-*
deaux himself tells us, “ That they seized all the Books, that were by
 “ any *Greek* or other Foreigner brought into *Egypt*, and sending them
 “ to the *Museum*, caused them there to be written out by those of that
 “ Society, whom they there maintained, and then sent the Transcripts
 “ to the Owners, and kept the Originals to lay up in the Library.”
 This shews that they were curiously nice to have the best and most
 authentick Copies in their Library. Can we think then, that when
 they wanted the Books of the *Jews*, they would not rather send for
 them to *Jerusalem*, which was in a bordering Country, and under
Ptolemy’s Jurisdiction, than take it from an *Alexandrian* Copy? And to
 desire a Copy immediately taken from the Original repositied in the
 Temple? And as that Copy was in a Language the wise Men of *Egypt*
 understood not, to desire a Number of Translators well versed both in
 the *Hebrew* and *Greek*, who might soon make a faithful Translation of
 it? This was certainly the best Method to secure a good Translation
 of this Book.

But says *Du Pin*, “ Why must 72 Persons be sent to make this
 “ Translation? Were not 12 enough, and more than sufficient to
 “ accomplish it? This great Number was fit for nothing but to con-
 “ found the Work.” It may be answered, that such a Number of
 Persons was convenient, and would be so far from confounding the
 Work, that it would forward it very much. Indeed, in a Number
 of Years one Man might translate the whole, as we know St. *Jerom*
 did, and others have done since: But where a Translation is soon
 wanted, a Number is necessary. When our King *James I.* ordered
 a new Translation of the Bible, no fewer than 54 Persons were ap-
 pointed for, and laboured in that Work. Each Man had his Part
 allotted him to translate, and then it was supervised and corrected until
 it was approved by the rest. And 72 Persons might very well do the
 same. The Number 70, or 72, is therefore no Argument against that
 Number of Interpreters. But says Dean *Prideaux*, it was done by
Alexandrians, for it is in the *Alexandrian* Dialect. But I conceive the
Alexandrian and *Jewish Greek* Dialect was the same at that Time: For
 both learned that Language from the *Macedonians*, which was hardly
 formed into different Dialects between the Conquest made by *Alexander*
 and the Reign of *Philadelphus*. Then he also pretends that only the
 Law,

Law, and not the rest of the Scriptures, were translated at that Time, because the different Books are found written in different Styles, and the same *Hebrew* Word and Phrases are differently translated in different Places. Now as to different Styles, I believe the several Books of Scripture, though they were all to be translated by one Man, would not in all Places bear the same Style, much less when they are translated by several Men: And, in like Manner, several Men translating the same Words and Phrases, will not turn them into the same Words and Phrases of the Language into which they translate. Let but two Men be employed to translate a Chapter of the Bible from the Original into *English*, and I dare say, though they both translate at the same Time, and their Sense be the same, the Words and Phrases shall be different. But here are supposed to be 72 Translators, each of which translated the Part assigned him: What Wonder then, if in translating the same *Hebrew* Words and Phrases they should do it different Ways?

But Dean *Prideaux* has another stronger Argument to prove that the Law only, and not the rest of the Scriptures, were translated for *Ptolemy*, and that is, *Aristeas*, *Aristobulus*, *Philo* and *Josephus*, do all directly tell us that the Law only was translated. Now these four being the most ancient of all that have written concerning this Matter, their Testimony is of the greatest Weight. But in the first Place I must observe, that the learned Dean was under a great Mistake when he named *Aristobulus* as telling us that the 72 interpreted the Law only: For in a Fragment cited from him by *Eusebius* (*Præp. Evan.* l. i.) he asserts the direct contrary, saying, *That the whole sacred Scripture was rightly translated through the Means of Demetrius Phalereus, and by the Command of Philadelphus the King.* And what *Aristeas* and *Philo* call the Law, may very well be understood to comprehend the whole *Jewish Scripture*: It is certain that Word did often comprehend the whole Scripture in our Saviour's Time, and no Doubt before. Thus our Lord says, *John* xv. 25. *It is written in their Law, they hated me without a Cause*: Yet this is no where written in the *Pentateuch*, but *Psal.* xxxv. 19. Again, *John* x. 34. *Is it not written in your Law, I said, ye are Gods?* These Words refer to *Psal.* lxxxii. 6. And *1 Corinthians* xiv. 21. *St. Paul* says, *In the Law it is written, with Men of other Tongues, and other Lips, will I speak unto this People.* Yet there is no such Text in the Law of *Moses*, but in *Isaiah* xxviii. 11. This is a sufficient Answer to what is alledged from *Aristeas* and *Philo*, who mention only the Law when they speak of this Translation: Since that Word may very well be understood to comprehend all the Scriptures of the *Jewish Church*.

But then, as to *Josephus*, the learned Dean says, that *He more expressly tells us in his Preface to his Antiquities, that they did not translate for Ptolemy the whole Scriptures, but the Law only.* But to this Testimony we may justly oppose that of *Aristobulus*, who says, *they did translate all the holy Scriptures at the Command of Philadelphus the King*, as before observed. Now *Aristobulus* was an *Alexandrian Jew*, Tutor to an *Egyptian King*, consequently it cannot be doubted but he had free Access to the *Musæum*, and saw the Translation made by the 72, and there

repositèd; and therefore could not but know whether all the Books of Scripture were contained in it or not. Besides, he lived, according to the learned Dean's own Computation, within 100 Years after the Translation was made; whereas *Josephus* lived not until 300 Years or more after this Translation was made, and many Years after it was burnt with all the rest of that noble Library: So that he could never see the original MS. there repositèd by *Demetrius Phalereus*, as *Aristobulus* did. It is certain, from what he relates of this Matter, that he took his Account of it from *Aristleas*; who having mentioned only the Law, *Josephus* took that Word in the strict Sense, as if it implied only the *Pentateuch*, whereas the *Jews* (for *Christ* and his Apostles were *Jews*, and spake what I have before cited to *Jews*) often comprehended the whole Scriptures under that Word, and so might *Aristleas*, though *Josephus* mistook him. And the positive Testimony of *Aristobulus* is certainly preferable to that of *Josephus*, both as he lived so much nearer to the Time when this Translation was made, and saw the original Book which was repositèd in the *Ptolomæan* Library.

But Dean *Prideaux* seems to make it a Question, Whether there ever was such an Author as *Aristobulus*, who wrote Commentaries upon the five Books of *Moses*: Consequently *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Eusebius*, who have cited large Extracts from him, were imposèd upon by a spurious Author; who, as Dr. *Hody* conjectures, lived in the second Century after *Christ*, and forged a Book under the Name of *Aristobulus*, which he imposèd upon *Clemens*, who lived and wrote in that Century, as the Work of a more ancient Author. But is it likely that so learned a Man as *Clemens*, so well versèd in all ancient Authors, should be imposèd upon, and made believe that a Book which never appeared until his own Time, was written by one who lived some hundred of Years before? But let us hear the Reasons why they could not be written by that *Aristobulus*, whose Name they bear.

“ He is said, 2 *Maccab.* i. 10. to have been King *Ptolemy*'s Master, “ in the 188th Year of the *Æra* of Contracts, when it was by no “ Means likely he could have been in that Office. For the *Ptolemy* “ that then reigned in *Egypt* was *Ptolemy Physcon*, and the 188th Year “ of the *Æra* of Contracts was the twenty-first Year of his Reign, and “ the fifty-sixth after his Father's Death, and therefore he must then “ have been sixty Years old, if not more.” But when the Dean wrote, *if not more*, he had forgot that he had before told us that *Philometer Physcon*'s elder Brother was but six Years old when their Father died, consequently *Physcon* might not have been one Year old at that Time. But to proceed with the Dean's own Words. “ Which is an Age past “ being under the Tuition of a Master. If it be said he might still retain the Title, though the Office had been over many Years before; “ the Reply hereto will be, that he must then have been of a very great “ Age, when mentioned by this Title: For Men use not to be made “ Tutors to Princes, till of eminent Note, and of mature Age; forty “ is the least we can suppose him of, when appointed to this Office, if “ he ever were at all in it. And supposing he was first called to it “ when *Ptolemy Physcon* was ten Years of Age, he must be ninety at “ least at the Time when this Title was given him in the Place above “ cited.”

“ cited.” And is ninety an improbable Age for a Man to live? Must not a Man be at a Loss for Argument that uses such a one as this? Who has lived in the World that has not seen or heard of a Man ninety Years old, or more? The 188th Year of the *Æra* of Contracts, the Dean tells us, was 152 Years after the Version of the LXX was made. *Aristobulus* was then ninety Years old, consequently born about sixty-two Years after that Version was made; and as *Greek* was his Mother-Tongue, and he a *Jew*, bred to the Reading of the Scriptures, he must know by the Time he was ten or twelve Years old, whether the *Jews* had all the Scriptures in the *Greek* Language or not; and before he was twenty, might have Opportunity to see that Copy which was repositied in the *Musæum*. This will make but about eighty Years from the Time of making the Translation of this LXX.

Now the Dean places the making the Translation to the eighth Year of *Philadelphus*, 277 before *Christ*. *Aristobulus* was capable of examining this Translation so far as to know what Books were translated with; in eighty Years after, and he tells us they were all the Holy Scriptures. These eighty Years subtracted from 277, bring down *Aristobulus*'s Testimony to the Year before *Christ* 197. This was at least ten Years before *Antiochus Epiphanes* prohibited the reading of the Law in the *Jewish* Synagogues, which brought them to the Custom of reading the Prophets in their Synagogues of *Judea*. From whence the Dean supposes the *Alexandrian Jews* took up that Custom also; and then, and not till then, translated the Rest of the Scriptures into *Greek*, having only a Translation of the Law until that Time. But the positive Testimony of *Aristobulus* fully refutes the Conjecture.

But another Objection is, “ If he had been *Præceptor* to *Ptolemy Physcon*, how came it to pass, that he should dedicate his Book of “ Commentaries on the Law of *Moses* to *Ptolemy Philometer*, who “ reigned before *Physcon*?” If we could give no Reason for this, it is certainly a very weak Argument to prove a Book to be spurious, because the Author has dedicated it to one Man, and we think he should rather have dedicated it to another. Do we know what private Reasons an Author has to choose one Man for his Patron rather than another? And suppose we could not at this Distance of 2000 Years tell why *Aristobulus* dedicated his Book to *Philometer* rather than to *Physcon*, would that be any Reason to reject it as spurious? A Man must be at a great Loss for Arguments, who uses so weak a one as this. Yet even at this Distance Reasons may be given why *Aristobulus* chose to dedicate to *Philometer* rather than to *Physcon*, notwithstanding *Physcon* had been his Pupil. For, in the first Place, it is most reasonable to believe that *Aristobulus* wrote his Book before he was seventy Years of Age, until which Time *Physcon* reigned only in *Lybia* and *Cyrene*, and *Philometer* reigned in *Egypt*, where *Aristobulus* lived: And it is more likely that a Man would choose to dedicate to his own King, than to a King of another Nation. And in the next Place, though *Physcon* had been Pupil to *Aristobulus*, yet he proved such a cruel and vicious Tyrant, that *Aristobulus* might very well have more Respect for his Brother than for him.

Another Objection is, “ As to what he is said to have written in

“ those Commentaries, of there being a *Greek* Version of the Law before that of the LXX, and that the *Greek* Philosophers borrowed many Things from thence, it looks all like Fiction.” I grant it to have been a mistaken Conjecture. *Aristobulus* in reading the *Greek* Philosophers, particularly *Pythagoras*, who lived before the Rise of the *Persian* Empire, and *Plato*, who lived before *Alexander the Great*, had said many Things which, he conceived, they could learn only from the Holy Scriptures; this induced him to think that some Parts of the Scriptures must have been translated into *Greek* before their Time: But considering, as the learned Dean rightly observes, that “ The Light of Reason, or else Tradition, might have led them to the saying of many Things, especially in moral Matters, which accord with what is found in the Writings of *Moses*; and if not, yet there were other Ways of coming at them without such a Version. Converse with the *Jews* might suffice for it, and particular Instruction might be had from some of their learned Men for this Purpose: And such, *Clearchus* tells us, *Aristotle* had from a learned *Jew* in the *Lower Asia*.” *Aristobulus* thought not of these Reasons, and from thence was drawn into a groundless Conjecture. But because a wrong Argument, and from thence a wrong Conclusion, appears in a Book, does it therefore follow that it must be spurious, and not belong to the Author whose Name it bears? If this be an Argument to reject a Book, and condemn it as spurious, what human Writing can escape? But though *Aristobulus* has made such a Mistake in what he has written concerning ancient Times, he has given us no Reason to question the Truth in Matters wherein he could not be mistaken. He could not but know whether all the Scriptures of the Old Testament were translated into *Greek* before he was born: And as he was born but sixty Years after the LXX Translation was made, the Tradition concerning that Translation was of so short a Date, that no Man bred to Learning, as he was, could be imposed upon, and made believe, that the LXX did translate the whole Scriptures, if they had translated the Law only. As soon as he could read, he saw the whole Scriptures written in *Greek*; when he was admitted into the *Musæum*, he saw them in the Library, and was informed by his Tutors who they were that translated them. They, questionless, were some of them old Men, who if they were not themselves of an Age to remember the Making of the Version, yet might be just born at the Time it was made: And therefore as soon as they could read, could not but know whether they had only the Law in *Greek*. And if they had the rest of the Scriptures also, no Doubt but the LXX translated the Whole. These Men could not be deceived in the Matter, and from them *Aristobulus* had his Information.

I know the learned Dean and others suppose *Aristobulus* to have taken his Account of this Matter from *Aristeas*; That Book, it seems, says he, *having been forged before his Time*. Now that the Book which bears the Name of *Aristeas* was forged by an *Hellenistical Jew*, I do not dispute: But that it was forged before the Time of *Aristobulus*, I deny. For Men dare not offer such Forgeries to the World while there are living Witnesses to contradict them; and there were certainly many such living

living at *Alexandria*, as were above eighty Years of Age when *Aristobulus* was born. But where does it appear that *Aristobulus* has followed the counterfeit *Aristeas*? He only tells us, as *Aristeas* also does, that this Version was made at the Command of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, under the Care and Direction of *Demetrius Phalereus*; that is, he has only told a Truth, to which the pretended *Aristeas* and several others afterwards added many fabulous Circumstances. For *Du Pin*, no Friend to the general ancient Opinion of the *Jews* and *Christians* concerning the LXX, yet says, “There must be some Truth that has given Rise to the Fable of *Aristeas*, and that *Ptolemy Philadelphus* did in Effect command, and cause to be made, a *Greek* Version of the Law.” How then does it appear that he took his Account from *Aristeas*? He had certainly Opportunity of being truly informed of the whole Matter, and we have no Ground to believe that any of the fabulous Stories concerning it were invented, at least not published in Writing before his Time. But *Aristobulus* speaks of the Version being made not only by the Command of *Philadelphus*, but also under the Direction of *Demetrius Phalereus*. But we are told this could not be, for *Philadelphus*, as soon as he came to the Crown, committed *Phalereus* to Prison, because he had endeavoured to persuade *Ptolemy Lagus*, the Father of *Philadelphus*, to settle the Succession to the Crown on one of his Sons by *Eurydice*, and not upon him; and that soon after his Imprisonment he was bit by an Asp, and died: Therefore he could have no Concern in a Translation made in the Reign of *Philadelphus*. This Story *Diogenes Laertius* tells from one *Hermippus*. But the same *Diogenes* also tells us that *Sotion*, in his *Epitome of Successions*, says *Demetrius* only counselled *Lagus* not to make any Son King so long as he lived; saying, “*Ἀν' ἄλλω δῶς· σὺ ἐχ' ἐξείης*.” Which Counsel, as it expressed no ill Will to *Philadelphus*, could not be greatly resented by him, at least no more than might easily be reconciled during the two Years *Ptolemy Lagus* lived afterwards: Or which *Philadelphus*, out of his great Love to Literature, might easily forgive: Since there was no Man so well qualified as *Demetrius* (the greatest Grammarian, Orator and Philosopher of his Age) to furnish his Library with Books. And as *Hermippus* gave a wrong Account of the Counsel given by *Demetrius* in the former Part of the Story, it is reasonable to believe his Account may be wrong as to the latter Part. And we have no Reason upon so weak an Authority to reject the Testimony of so many *Jewish* and *Christian* Writers, who speak of *Demetrius Phalereus* as having the Care and Direction of this Version in the Reign of *Philadelphus*.

But says the learned Dean, “*Clemens Alexandrinus* is the first Author that mentions him. But if there had been any such Commentaries, *Philo* and *Josephus* could not have escaped making Use of them.” But why not? *Aristobulus* was a *Peripatetic* Philosopher, and *Philo* was a *Platonist*: Their Notions were therefore different, and for that Reason *Philo* might not make Use of him. *Josephus* was an *Historian*, whose Business was to relate Matters of Fact. And he had no Occasion to meddle with Commentaries on the Law, except when Matters of Fact might happen to be related in it. And though *Aristobulus* does speak of the Translation of the LXX, yet as *Josephus* supposed *Aristeas* to be genuine,

genuine, and as he was, upon that Supposition, the eldest and the most authentick, and had most fully written the History of that Version, he took what he thought proper to say from him, and so had no Occasion to mention *Aristobulus*.

He then objects the different Times in which both *Clemens* and *Eusebius* say *Aristobulus* lived. For, says he, " Sometimes they tell us " he dedicated his Book to *Ptolemy Philometer*, at other Times to *Ptolemy Philadelphus* and his Father together. Sometimes they will have " it, that he is the same who is mentioned 2 *Maccab.* i. 10. And " sometimes they make him one of the seventy-two Interpreters 152 " Years before." It is very difficult to account how Authors fall into such Contrarieties in their Works, and even in historical Matters say in one Book the contrary to what they have wrote in another. The most probable Account I can think of, is, that sometimes they write by Memory, without consulting the Author they received their Information from, and their Memory fails them. Thus *Clemens* and *Eusebius*, when they had *Aristobulus* before them, and read how he addressed himself to the King in his Dedication, saying, *The whole Interpretation of the Law was made under King Philadelphus your Ancestor*, they rightly spoke of the Book as dedicated to *Philometer*. At another Time, having Occasion to mention *Aristobulus*, and not looking on the Dedication, but trusting to their Memory, they mistook the King to whom the Dedication was made; and called him *Philadelphus*; and *Anatolius* finding him spoken of as living in the Reign of *Philadelphus*, might suppose him to be one of the seventy-two Interpreters: But *Clemens* and *Eusebius*, knowing that he lived in the Time of *Philometer*, might very well think him the same with the *Aristobulus* spoken of 2 *Maccab.* i. 10.

There is no Mistake therefore made by *Clemens* and *Eusebius*, when they speak of *Aristobulus* as living under, and dedicating his Commentary to, *Ptolemy Philometer*, as appears by the Words of *Aristobulus* himself, which *Eusebius* cites from him: And therefore their putting him down under *Ptolemy Philadelphus* must be looked upon as such a Mistake as a Man may easily commit in a large Work. But I must observe that *Clemens* does not say (whatever *Eusebius* may have done; whose Book *De Præparatione* I have not to consult) that *Aristobulus* dedicated his Book to *Philadelphus* and his Father, as the Dean represents him to have done. His Words are, Ἀριστοβούλου δὲ τῷ κατὰ Πτολεμαίου γενομένῳ τὸν Φιλαδέλφου, that is, *Aristobulus, who was at, in, or with Ptolemy Philadelphus, or who lived in his Time*. And so it is interpreted by the Latin Translator of *Clemens*, who renders it, *Ab Aristobulo autem qui fuit tempore Ptolemæi Philadelphi*: And then adds, that he is mentioned by him who epitomized the Acts of the Maccabees. However, the Mistake here might easily proceed from the Carelessness of a Transcriber, who might easily write *Philadelphus* for *Philometer*, the three first Letters being alike, and having perhaps *Philadelphus* in his Thought. Or if it was thus written by *Clemens* himself, then; as I observed before, the Mistake might proceed from a Failure in his Memory: For he here quotes nothing particularly from *Aristobulus*; only says in general, that he wrote several Books to shew that the Peripatetic Philosophy was taken from

from the Law of Moses, and other Prophets. And whereas the learned Dean further urges, that the two first Chapters of the second Book of *Maccabees*, where *Aristobulus* is mentioned, are all Fable and Fiction; yet the Author of that Fable and Fiction would hardly have put the Name of *Aristobulus* into his Fable, if there had never been such an eminent Jew as *Aristobulus* in the Court of *Philometer* and *Physcon*: I cannot therefore be of the learned Dean's Opinion, that all these Things put together create a just Suspicion, that the Commentaries of *Aristobulus* were forged under his Name by some *Hellenistical Jew* long after the Date they bear: Consequently he is a good Witness of the Translation of the whole Old Testament out of *Hebrew* into *Greek* by seventy-two Interpreters in the Time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, which was the unanimous Belief of *Jews* and *Christians* for more than 1500 Years, a few *Talmudical Jews* only excepted; and was never called in Question until within 200 Years past: St. *Jerom* himself, though no Friend to the Translation, making no Question about it.

There is no Reason why we should not believe that these seventy-two Interpreters had a most correct Copy of the *Hebrew Bible*, from whence they might make their Translation. The Original, written by *Ezra*, an inspired Writer, which was afterwards destroyed by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, remained then in the Temple, from which they might, and no Doubt did, take a most correct Copy, which *Aristeas* (if he may be believed in any Particular) assures us they did. And therefore we have no Reason to question but they made a faithful Translation, though not perfectly literal; for no Language will always bear a direct literal Translation from another. And had we this Translation now as faithfully delivered to us by Transcribers, as it was made by the Interpreters, we might certainly prefer it to the present *Hebrew Copies*, as pointed by the *Masorites*. It was very highly esteemed about 400 Years by the *Jews* first, and afterwards by *Christians*: It was read in all the Synagogues of the *Jews* in all those Parts of the World where the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* had spread their Language; even in *Judea* and *Jerusalem* itself the Scriptures were read in diverse Synagogues, not in the *Hebrew*, but in the Translation of the LXX: Our Saviour and his Apostles, as appears from the New Testament, made use of it, the Citations there from the Old Testament being frequently made according to this Version. And it was in high Esteem in the *Christian Church* during that and the following Age: And several Translations into other Languages were made immediately from it, the Original *Hebrew* not being consulted.

The *Jews* were the first who sunk the Reputation of the LXX, through their Hatred of the *Christians*, and the *Christian Religion*. This appears, 1. From the Author of a New Version of the Old Testament into *Greek*. A little before the Middle of the second Century, *Aquila*, who had been a *Christian*, but cast out of the Church for some Misdemeanor, became a *Jewish Proselyte*, and was circumcised. And having then learned the *Hebrew Tongue*, he made a New Translation of the Old Testament into *Greek*, in Opposition to the LXX, translating many Passages concerning the *Messiah* otherwise than they had been rendered by the LXX, that they might not be applied to the Holy

Jesus.

Jesus. This was the Design of the Translations of *Aquila*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion* (of whom I shall have Occasion to speak again) as *St. Jerom*, who saw their Translations, informs us, *qui multa Mysteriorum Salvatoris subdola Interpretatione celarent*. Nothing therefore is more certain than that this second Version, and the two other that followed it, which were made by *Judaizing Hereticks*, as *St. Jerom* calls them, were made out of Hatred to *Christianity*. This also appears in the next Place from the *Jews* changing the Feast, which they had kept in Memory of the Translation of the LXX unto the Time that *Christianity* began to be received, into a Feast, on Account that such a Translation had been made. For *Philo the Jew*, who lived in the Time of *Caligula* the Roman Emperor, when the Apostles were going about and publishing the Gospel in all Parts, tells us, in his *Life of Moses*, that *to that Time they yearly kept a Feast in the Isle of Pharos, in Memory of the Scriptures having been there translated into Greek by the seventy-two Interpreters*. But after *Philo's* Days, the *Jews* turned that Feast into a Fast, lamenting that such a Translation had been made. And *Dean Prideaux*, though no great Friend to the LXX, tells us, that “As this Version grew into Use among the *Christians*, it grew out of Credit with the *Jews*. For they being pinched in many Particulars urged against them by the *Christians* out of this Version, for the evading thereof, they were for making a new one, that might better serve their Purpose.”

But that which justly depreciated the *Septuagint*, and made it of less Authority even among the *Christians* as well as the *Jews* and *Judaizing Hereticks*, proceeded not from any Unfaithfulness or Ignorance in the first Translators (as some pretend) but from the Ignorance, Boldness, and Carelessness of Transcribers. An ignorant Transcriber, copying from a Book in which many marginal Notes have been written, might think they belonged to the Text, and accordingly bring them into it. A bold Transcriber, meeting with a Passage which he thought did not express the Sense he took it in, might alter the Words in order, as he supposed, to make it plainer: And a careless Transcriber might heedlessly write one Word for another, and also leave out, not only Words, but whole Sentences. And as *Christianity* spread, Multitudes of Copies were written for the Use of the Numbers that were daily converted; and as in the Times of Persecution, the *Heathens* destroyed all the Copies they could get, and thereupon new Transcripts were made; so many Transcripts made, sometimes by ignorant, bold and careless Copiers, caused the LXX to become so faulty, that the *Christians* judged it needed Correction.

Hereupon *Origen*, in the former Part of the third Century, put out a new Edition of the LXX, made with great Labour and Accuracy: Yet not singly by itself, but joined with other *Greek* Translations. For, as observed before, *Aquila*, an *Apostate Christian*, and afterwards a *Jewish Proselyte*, and, not long after him, *Symmachus*, a *Samaritan* by Birth (who first turned *Jew*, then *Christian*, then *Ebionite*, or *Judaizing Christian*), and about the same Time *Theodotion* (who for some Time had been an heretical *Christian* and afterwards became a *Jew*), all these made Translations of the *Old Testament* out of the *Hebrew* into *Greek*.

Greek. Origen therefore made a *Tetrapla* of these four Versions, which he placed one against the other in four different Columns. To these he added two Columns more, containing the *Hebrew* Text twice written, one Column in *Hebrew* and the other in *Greek* Letters. This containing six Columns, *Epiphanius* calls it *Hexapla*. Afterwards he put out another Edition of two Columns more, adding thereto two other *Greek* Versions; the one found at *Nicopolis*, a City near *Actium* in *Epirus*, and the other at *Jericho* in *Judea*. These were called the fifth and sixth Versions, which, being added to the other, made an *Octapla* in the Columns; and a seventh Translation of the *Psalms* being also added, made it there an *Enneapla*. But as the two Editions made by Origen generally bore the Names only of the *Tetrapla* and *Hexapla*, Dr. *Grabe* judges they were so called, not from the Number of the Columns, but of the Versions, which were six, the seventh containing the *Psalms* only. How the whole was disposed in this Edition of Origen will be best understood by the following Scheme.

1st Column.	2d Column.	3d Column.
The <i>Hebrew</i> Text in <i>Hebrew</i> Letters.	The <i>Hebrew</i> Text in <i>Greek</i> Letters.	The <i>Greek</i> Version of <i>Aquila</i> .
4th Column.	5th Column.	6th Column.
The <i>Greek</i> Version of <i>Symmachus</i> .	The <i>Greek</i> Version of the <i>LXX</i> .	The <i>Greek</i> Version of <i>Theodotion</i> .
7th Column.	8th Column.	9th Column.
The Fifth <i>Greek</i> Version.	The Sixth <i>Greek</i> Version.	The Seventh <i>Greek</i> Version.

Origen himself tells us in his Comment on St. *Matthew* (Tom. I. Oper. Græco-Lat. p. 381.) "That his Purpose was to correct the Differences in the several Copies of the Old Testament; using the other Translations for a Rule whereby to form his Judgment, preserving what he found agreeable to them. And some Passages which he did not find in the *Hebrew* Text, he noted with an Obelisk, not daring wholly to omit them: And some he marked with an Asterisk, because he found them not in the *LXX*, but were placed there by himself, being taken from the other Versions according to the *Hebrew* Text. And he that will, may admit of them; but if any think not fit to receive them, he may do as he pleases."

The *Obelisks* which he speaks of were such a Mark as this ∞, either a strait line, or a little bending at each End: The *Asterisk* was a Cross made thus. ✕, with four Points. The *Obelisk* noted such Words or Sentences as were in the *LXX*, but not in the *Hebrew*: The *Asterisk* noted such as were in the *Hebrew*, but not in the *LXX*, at least not in

in any of the Copies *Origen* made use of. And that it might be known how much was added by *Origen* from one of the other Versions, agreeable to the *Hebrew*, or what was in the LXX which was not in the *Hebrew*, at the End of the Word or Sentence, to which the *Obelisk* or *Asterisk* was prefixed, he placed this Mark ✓.

St. *Jerom*, in his Epistle to *Fretela* and *Junia*, says, that the Additions which *Origen* made to the LXX, and marked with an *Asterisk*, were taken from the Translation of *Theodotion*. And in his Prologue to the Prophecy of *Daniel*, he says, *Danielem prophetam juxta Septuaginta interpretes Domini Salvatoris Ecclesiae non legunt; utentes Theodotionis editione: Et hoc cur acciderit nescio*. Which looks as if that Book had been so corrupted by Transcribers, that *Origen* knew not how to correct it, and therefore placed the Translation of *Theodotion* in the Room of it, that being the Version he seems to have best approved.

Though *Origen's Tetrapla* and *Hexapla* was of great Use to those who were disposed diligently to study and understand the Scriptures, yet neither the *Hebrew* Text, or more than one of all these Versions, could be read in the Church; and as the Version of the LXX was what had been read in the Church from the Beginning, so also it continued to be read in all the *Greek* Churches. For which Reason, after the Publication of *Origen's Hexapla*, the Version of the LXX, as then corrected, was transcribed by itself (with the *Asterisks* and *Obelisks*) for the publick Use of the Churches. And when that also became faulty by frequent Transcripts, about the Year 300 *Pamphilus* and *Eusebius* published a very correct Edition of the LXX, according to *Origen's Hexapla*. But the whole *Greek* Church did not seem pleased with what *Origen* had done; for although all were sensible, that by the Carelessness or Audaciousness of Transcribers the LXX was become very faulty, yet it is certain they did not receive *Origen's* Amendments. For *Hesychius*, an *Egyptian* Bishop, and *Lucian*, a Presbyter and Martyr of *Antioch*, did each of them undertake to make a new and correct Edition of the LXX, about the same Time that *Pamphilus* and *Eusebius* published their Edition of that which had been corrected by *Origen*; and the Eastern Part of the *Roman* Empire, where *Greek* was vulgarly spoken, as *Latin* was in the Western, was divided between these three Editions. For St. *Jerom*, in his Epistle to *Chromatius*, prefixed to his Translation of the Books of *Chronicles*, says, *Alexandria & Aegyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat Authorem. Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani Martyris exemplaria probat. Mediae inter has Provinciae Palaestinos codices legunt; quas ab Origine elaboratos Eusebius & Pamphilus evulgaverunt*. So that at least two-third Parts of the Eastern Church would not receive *Origen's* Edition as worthy to be read in their publick Assemblies: But one preferred that of *Hesychius*, and the other that of *Lucian* before it. However *Origen's* Edition was certainly the best, on Account of the *Asterisks* and *Obelisks*: Whereby the Reader might know and distinguish how and where the Translation of the *Septuagint* differed from the *Hebrew* Copy, which he and the other Translators made use of: Whereas the Corrections made by *Hesychius* and *Lucian* being also made by a Comparison of the LXX with the then *Hebrew* Copies, without those Distinctions, the Reader could not distinguish

distinguish the pure LXX from the Alterations made by them. What he added from the *Hebrew* Copy, he marked with an *Asterisk*, and what was not in the *Hebrew* Copy, he made Use of, he would not leave out, only marked it with an *Obelisk*, as not knowing but it might be in that Copy of the *Hebrew* from whence that Translation was made. To give an Instance, *Exod.* xii. 40. our *English* Bible, translated from the present *Hebrew* Copies, has thus given the Text, *Now the sojourning of the Children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was four hundred and thirty Years.* But the LXX has it, Ἡ δὲ παραίκησις τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἣν παρώκησα, ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ (καὶ ἐν γῇ Χαναάν αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν) ἔτη τετρακόσια τριακοντα. Now those Words I have put in a Parenthesis are in the LXX, but not in the present *Hebrew* Copies. Yet we have Reason to believe they were in the Copy from whence the Translation of the LXX was made, and were left out of the present Copies by the Carelessness of a Transcriber. For they are in the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, which is but another Copy of the *Hebrew*: And besides, as the Text stands in the present *Hebrew* and our *English* Bibles, it is not true: For the Children of *Israel* were not in *Egypt* 430 Years, for the Time that they sojourned there was but little more than 200 Years. I know it is said, that the Text, as it now stands, does not imply that the Children of *Israel* dwelt or sojourned in *Egypt* 430 Years, only that they were so long Sojourners, and dwelt in a Land not their own. But *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, whose sojourning must be brought into this Account of 430 Years, or there will want near 200 Years of that Number, cannot be called the Children of *Israel*; therefore, unless these Fathers of the Children of *Israel* are brought into the Account, as in the LXX and the *Samaritan Copy*, the Text is not true. From whence we may be satisfied, that this was the true original Reading, and was in that *Hebrew* Copy from which the Version of the LXX was made.

I have given this Instance, to shew that *Origen* had just Reason not to omit those Passages in the LXX, which he could not find in his *Hebrew* Copy; since, notwithstanding it might be in a more ancient Copy from which that Version was made, and omitted in the later *Hebrew* Copies through the Oversight of a Transcriber, from whence it would necessarily be omitted in all the Copies taken from that. Such Omissions may, and will be often made without Design, and the most careful Copier in a long Work can hardly fail of being sometimes overseen. But a Copier can hardly put in a Word or Sentence, which is not in the Book he Copies from, through mere Carelessness or Oversight, but must do it designedly: Therefore I do not see that we need accuse the *Jews* of having added to the Text any of those Words or Sentences which *Origen* found to be omitted in the Copies of the LXX, which he collated. They might be in the original LXX, but were omitted by the Oversight of Transcribers, which were very numerous, as appears from the Necessity that was found in all Places to correct their Errors. Neither on the other Hand need we suppose that the Words or Sentences which we find in the LXX, which are not in the *Hebrew*, were added to the Text; they might be in the original *Hebrew*, but omitted by the Oversight of Transcribers, from whence the

Hebrew Copies, which were extant in *Origen's* Time, were taken. We should not accuse either the *Jews* or *Christians* of wilfully corrupting the Scriptures, when the Matter may be otherwise fairly accounted for. And for this Reason I, for my own Part, esteem those Words and Sentences which *Origen* has marked with an *Ovelisk* to be genuine Parts of Holy Scripture, no less than those he has marked with an *Asterisk*, or which he has not marked at all. Nay, I doubt not but those Texts, which *Justin Martyr* in his Dialogue with *Trypho* (p. 218, &c. Edit. Jebb.) accuses the *Jews* of having expunged, though they are not now to be found either in the *Hebrew* or *LXX* according to the present Copies, were originally in both, and in *Justin's* Time, and also in that of *Irenæus*, and were therefore Parts of the Holy Scripture; particularly that Text which he says was in *Jeremiah*; Ἐμνήσθη δὲ κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἅγιος Ἰσραὴλ τῶν νεκρῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν κοιμημένων εἰς γῆν Χώματος, καὶ καλεῖται πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐαγγελίζεσθαι αὐτοῖς τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ. *Sylburgius*, in his Notes on *Justin Martyr*, and Dr. *Grabe*, in his Notes on *Irenæus*, both observe, that St. *Peter* appears to have had this Prophecy in his Thoughts, 1 Epist. iv. 6. saying, *For this Cause was the Gospel preached also to them that are dead, that they might be judged according to Men in the Flesh, but live according to God in the Spirit.*

The *Greek* Versions of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*, are now lost, except *Theodotion's* Translation of the Book of *Daniel*, as before mentioned, and some few Fragments of all of them to be found here and there in the Writings of the Ancients, as likewise are those of the other two or three Translations in *Origen's Hexapla*, none remaining now intire but the *LXX*. The *Jews*, though in their Dispersion before *Christ* came, they read the Scriptures in the *Greek* Tongue according to the *LXX* in most of their Synagogues, yet afterwards, in Opposition to the *Christians*, who used that Version in the Churches, they determined to read their Scriptures in *Hebrew* only, or in *Hebrew* and *Chaldee*. But it was some Ages before they could intirely bring this to pass. This we learn from a *Novel* of *Justinian's* (No. 146.) wherein that Emperor mentions a Contest among the *Jews*, some of them maintaining that the Scriptures should be read in their Synagogues in the *Hebrew* Tongue only; and others requiring that they should be read not in *Hebrew* only, but also in *Greek*, or such Language as was understood by all. And accordingly he decreed, that it should be read in *Greek*, or some other vulgar Language, as well as in *Hebrew*. But notwithstanding this Decree of the *Roman* Emperor, made about the Year 550, the *Jews*, who stood for the *Hebrew* Language only, prevailed at last. The *Jews* therefore took no Care to preserve the *LXX*, or any other *Greek* Translation: And the *Christians* took care to preserve only the *LXX*, which was daily read in all the *Greek* Churches. But Bishop *Walton* justly accuses the *Greeks* of great Negligence, for not preserving that noble Work of *Origen's Hexapla*, and contenting themselves with only taking Copies of the *LXX* from it.

As there were three Editions of the *LXX* anciently, of *Origen*, *Hesychius* and *Lucian*, so, for near 200 Years after the Invention of Printing, there were only three principal Editions of it. The first was printed by the Order, Direction, and at the Charge of Cardinal *Ximenes*, Arch-

Archbishop of *Toledo*; who having founded an University at *Complutum*, or *Alcala*, employed the Divines there to print an Edition of the Bible, containing first the *Hebrew* Text with the *Chaldee* Paraphrase of *Orkelos* on the *Pentateuch*, then the *Septuagint* Greek Version of the Old Testament and the original *Greek* of the New, and the *Latin* Version of both. The Publishers tell us, that they procured a great Number of MSS. which they collated, which were not common, but the most ancient and correct that they could get, and from thence took the *Septuagint* they have given us. This Book was printed in 1515; but by Reason of the Death of Cardinal *Ximenes*, some Disputes arising concerning his Debts and Legacies, and some Things in his Will, the Book was not published until four Years after. From this Edition have been printed both the *Polyglots* of *Antwerp* and *Paris*: The former of which was published *Anno Dom.* 1572, and the other 1645; likewise the *Septuagint* of *Commelin*, printed at *Heidelberg* with *Vatablus's* Commentary, *Anno* 1599.

While the *Complutensian* Bible, though printed, lay unpublished, an Edition of the LXX was published at *Venice*, *Anno Dom.* 1518, from the Press of *Aldus Manutius*. The learned Editor *Andreas Asculanus*, Father-in-law to the Printer, tells us, as the *Complutensian* Divines did, that he collated a great many MSS. in order to frame a correct Edition; but, like them, he gives no particular Account what they were, or where to be found. This Edition Bishop *Walton* judges to be more pure than the Edition of *Complutum*: For it wants most of those Additions which *Origen* has put under *Asterisks*; and has those marked with *Obelisks*: And those Transpositions of Verses and Chapters which the Ancients tell us the LXX had. From this Copy of *Aldus* all the *German* Editions, excepting that of *Heidelberg* before mentioned, have been printed: Only as to the Order of some Books, Chapters, and Verses, which all the Ancients testify were placed differently from what they are in the *Hebrew* Copies, they have transposed and placed in the same Order as they stand in the present *Hebrew* Bibles. Also the Books called *Apocrypha* are not mingled with the canonical, according to the Order of the History, as all the ancient Books have them; but they are put separately after all the rest, as they are in our modern Translations.

But the *Roman* Edition, made chiefly from a very ancient MS. in the *Vatican* Library, has obtained the Preference of the other two in the Opinion of most learned Men. The Printing of this Edition was first set on Foot by Cardinal *Montalto*, who afterwards becoming Pope under the Name of *Sixtus Quintus*, at the Time when it was published, *Anno Domini* 1587, it therefore came out under his Name. He first commended the Work to Pope *Gregory* the 13th, and by his Advice the Work was committed to the Care of *Anthony Caraffa*, a learned Man of a noble Family in *Italy*, afterwards made a Cardinal and Library-Keeper to the Pope. He, by the Assistance of several other learned Men employed under him, in eight Years finished this Edition. It was for the most Part according to an old MS. in the *Vatican*, which was written all in Capitals, without the Marks of Accents or Points, and without any Distinction of Chapters or Verses, and is supposed to

be as ancient as the Time of *St. Jerom*; only where this was wanting (for some Leaves of it were lost) they supplied the Defect out of other MSS. the principal of which were, one they had from *Venice*, out of the Library of Cardinal *Bessarion*, and another that was brought them out of *Calabria*: Which last so agreed with the *Vatican MS.* that they supposed them to have been written either the one from the other, or else both from the same Copy. The next Year was published at *Rome* a *Latin Version* of this Edition, with the Notes of *Flaminius Nobilius*. *Morinus* printed both together at *Paris*, *Anno Dom.* 1628. And from this *Vatican Edition* have been published all those *Septuagints* that have been printed in *England*; that is, that of *London* in 8^o, *Anno* 1653; that in *Walton's Polyglot*, published 1657; and that of *Cambridge* 1665; which last has the learned Preface of Bishop *Pierſon* prefixed to it, and does much more exactly give us the *Roman Edition*, than that of 1653.

But I must here observe, that this *Cambridge Edition*, which Dean *Prideaux* (from whom I have chiefly taken what I have here said of the three eminent Editions) says was twice printed, first by *John Field* in the Year 1665, and then by *John Hayes* in the Year 1684. But *Hayes* (who succeeded *Field* as Printer to the University) put *Field's* Name to his own Impression, and dated it 1665 as *Field's* was, and printed it Page for Page like *Field's*, and so put a Cheat upon the World, to make it pass for *Field's Edition*, though the Print was not so clean and neat, and I question also whether so correct as *Field's*. As I was admitted at *Cambridge* within a Year after *Hayes* reprinted *Field's Septuagint*, and was well acquainted with *Hayes*, I remember I asked him how he came to set *Field's* Name, and the Date of 1665 to a Book himself had just printed? He only smiled, and made me some slight Answer, intimating that I shewed myself a Stranger to the World, by asking such a Question.

But Bishop *Walton* finds Fault with the *London Edition* of 1653; yet the *Cambridge Editors*, though they printed some Years after that Bishop had taken Notice of this Fault, did the very same. For (says he) though they profess to give us the *Roman Edition*, yet they took the Liberty to alter and interpolate it in several Places, to bring it nearer to the *Hebrew Text*, and the modern Versions. For they did not only change the Order in which the Books, Chapters, and Verses were placed in all the MSS. (which Transpositions are noted in all that have written of the LXX.) and reduced them to the Order of the present *Hebrew*, as the *German Editors* for the most Part have done, and have divided the *Psalms* according to the *Hebrew*, but have also added some Passages from the *Complutensian*, and other Editions, which are not in the *Roman*. But this, as he says, is not giving us a pure Edition, *Secundum Exemplum Vaticanum*, as they pretend to do, but a mixed Edition of their own.

Having mentioned the Division of the *Psalms*, I think it proper here to observe to you, where lies the Difference between the *Hebrew* and the LXX with regard to it. The *Psalms* proceed in the same Order in both; But the two *Psalms*, which are called the ninth and tenth in the *Hebrew*, are joined together, and make but one *Psalms* in the LXX.

Hereby

Hereby it comes to pass, that what is called the eleventh *Psalms* in the *Hebrew* and our *English* Bibles, is but the tenth in the *LXX*. And so they proceed, the *LXX* still numbering every *Psalms* one less than the *Hebrew*, until you come to the 113 according to the *LXX*, and 114 according to the *Hebrew*; and there the *LXX* again join that and the next *Psalms* also into one: Whereby the 116, according to the *Hebrew*, is but the 114, according to the *LXX*. But then the *LXX* ends that 114 or 116 *Psalms* with the ninth Verse; and the tenth Verse, according to the *Hebrew*, begins 115 *Psalms*, according to the *LXX*. So that from thenceforth the *Hebrew* Numbers are but one more than those of the *LXX*, as they were before, and in that Manner they continue to proceed to *Psalms* 146, according to the *LXX*, 147, according to the *Hebrew*. There the *LXX* conclude the *Psalms* with the twelfth Verse, and begin their 147 *Psalms* with what is the thirteenth Verse in the *Hebrew*, and so the three last *Psalms*, as well as the eight first, are numbered alike in both. The Division of the *Psalms* also in the *Latin Vulgate* is the same as in the *LXX*. So that all *Christian* Authors, from the Beginning to the Reformation, when they have quoted any *Psalms* by its Number, have quoted it according to the Division of the *LXX*. Therefore the *English* Editors of the *LXX* did not rightly consider the Matter, when, in their Edition of the *LXX*, they divided the *Psalms* according to the *Hebrew*. For by this I doubt not but they have puzzled some young Divines; (I can speak experimentally for myself) who finding a Text, as quoted by some ancient Author from a particular *Psalms*, has looked in vain for it there as numbered in either the *London* or *Cambridge* Editions.

But even the *Roman* Edition itself, as published by the first Editors, is not so pure and agreeable to the *Vatican* Copy, as it might have been: For they did not rightly distinguish between what was therein written by the first Copier, and what was after altered or added by a later Hand: so that we are uncertain whether what we read was originally in the *Vatican* Copy or not. This the learned have very much complained of. And Dr. *Grabe* in the Letter to Dr. *Milles* mentions several Passages; wherein the *Roman* Edition differs from the *Vatican* MS. it pretends to have faithfully copied. Also as the *Vatican* MS. as well as all other MSS. of that Age; written in large Letters, have neither Words nor Sentences divided, but the Letters all follow close one to another, without any kind of Separation of one Word, or one Sentence from another; so that great Care and Judgment is required rightly to distinguish the Words and Sentences, and by this Means the best Criticks sometimes make great Mistakes in transcribing those old MSS. One Instance of which Dr. *Grabe* has given us in the *Roman* Edition, and in all that are taken from it, even that in Bishop *Walton's* Polyglot. It is in 2 *Kings* (*Hebrew* and *English*, 2 *Samuel*) xiv. 17. The Words of the Woman to the King are in the *Roman* Edition εἰ ἥδη ὁ λόγος τῆς κυεῖσας βασιλέως εἰς θυγατρὸς, *Si jam sermo Domini Regis in Sacrificia*. Here is an hypothetical Proposition, without any Consequence, which is absurd; which, if they had made but a proper Division of the first four Letters, had been easily avoided, εἰν ἥδη ὁ λόγος κ. τ. λ. *Sit quæso sermo* &c. which

gives a perfect Sense, exactly agreeable to the Hebrew Words *אֵלֹהִים*, and to the Aldin and Complutenſian Editions, and the Alexandrian MS.

There being therefore ſo many conſiderable Faults in all theſe Editions of the LXX, the very learned and induſtrious Dr. Grabe, about the Beginning of the preſent Century, reſolved to publiſh a new Edition of it. And as there were two MSS. near of equal Antiquity, the *Vatican*, of which I have already ſpoke, and the *Alexandrian* in the Royal Library here at St. James's, which was a preſent to King Charles the Firſt from Cyril, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, from whence it hath taken its Name; he was for ſome Time in Doubt which of theſe Copies he ſhould follow. He thought as the *Roman* Edition was beſt known, and moſt in Uſe, it might not be ſo proper to lay it aſide; but only to correct the Miſtakes of former Editors. But then conſidering that there were three old Editions of the LXX by *Origen*, *Hefychius*, and *Lucian*, of which *Origen's* was allowed to be the beſt, he reſolved to examine which of theſe Editions the *Vatican*, and which the *Alexandrian* appeared to be a Transcript of. Whereupon he collected the Quotations from Scripture, which he found in the ancient Greek Fathers, and found they generally agreed with the royal *Alexandrian* MS. and from the Fragments of *Origen's Hexapla* ſtill remaining, he found them alſo agreeable to this MS. but not with the *Vatican* MS. where it differed from this. From whence he concluded, that what we now call the *Alexandrian* MS. was a Copy taken from *Origen's* Edition: And that the *Vatican* MS. was taken from the Edition of *Hefychius* or *Lucian*. And as *Hefychius's* Edition was read in *Egypt* (as before obſerved) he conſulted St. *Athanaſius* and St. *Cyril's* Works (both of them being Patriarchs of *Alexandria* at the Time St. *Jerom* ſays *Hefychius's* Edition of the LXX was there uſed) and found their Quotations of Scripture agreeable to the *Vatican* MS. from whence he inferred that MS. was a Copy of the *Hefychian* Edition. For which Reaſon he reſolved to publiſh the royal *Alexandrian* MS. which, until that Time, (though often wiſhed for) nobody was willing to take the Pains to do.

He therefore being encouraged by a Royal Stipend of 100 l. per Ann. in the firſt place fairly tranſcribed the whole MS. which like the *Vatican* was written without Diſtinction of Words or Sentences, and thereby made it ſo far ready for the Preſs, that if he ſhould die before he could finiſh his Deſign (as it pleaſed God he did) thoſe who ſhould continue the Work might have the leſs Trouble in doing it. And having Reaſon to believe, that the *Aſterisks* and *Obeliſks* of *Origen* were not ſo irrecoverably loſt, but that they might be found for the moſt Part in ſcattered Fragments, here and there to be met with in old Libraries, he reſolved to place them in his Edition. And accordingly having procured them for ſeveral Books of the Holy Scripture, he publiſhed his firſt Tome of the *Septuagint*, according to the *Alexandrian* Copy, in the Year 1707, containing the Books of *Genefis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Deuteronomy*, *Joſhua*, *Judges*, and *Ruth*. This was printed in a very fair, large, and neat Character, in a large Folio, in two Columns: So that the ſame Types being moved and divided in the Middle of the Page, of the Folio, made four Pages in Octavo. So that there was at

the same Time an Edition published both in Folio and Octavo, so exactly agreeable to each other, as not to differ the one from the other in a Point. But not having been able to procure the *Origenian Asterisks* and *Obelisks*, for those Books, which in the *Alexandrian MS.* immediately followed the former, he in the year 1709 published what he called the last Tome of that Work, containing the metrical Books, that is, *Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus*, with *Asterisks* and *Obelisks*, as he had done the former.

About a Year after this, and before he could procure *Asterisks* and *Obelisks* for another Tome, he died: And it was nine Years before any more of this great Work appeared. Then in the Year 1719 came out the second Tome, containing the *Four Books of Kings, Two of Chronicles, Esther, Tobit, Judith, Two Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Four Books of Maccabees*. These were published also (with as many *Asterisks* and *Obelisks* as could be procured from Dr. Grabe's MS. by Dr. Francis Lee, a very learned Physician, and well read in Divinity, through no professed Divine. But this very worthy and learned man died soon after he finished this good Work, viz. Aug. 12, 1719. However, in the Year 1720, the third Tome was published from Dr. Grabe's Transcript in the same Manner as the former, which completed the whole Work, both in Folio and Octavo. But who was the Editor of this last published Tome I know not. This contained, *Osea, Amos, Micha, Joel, Obedia, Jona, Naum, Habakkuk, Zephania, Haggai, Zecharia, Malachi, Isaia, Jeremia, Baruch, Lamentations, The Epistle of Jeremia, Ezekiel, and Daniel*. There are Prolegomena to all these Tomes very useful: and which also give good Testimony of the very great Care and Pains this most useful Work cost Dr. Grabe more especially, and the other Editors who succeeded to finish what he had so well prepared. Dr. Grabe did intend to have added large Notes to this Work, but his Death has deprived us of them, and of many other Things he designed for the Benefit of the learned World, if it had pleased God to have granted him a longer Life. And this is all I need to say, at least for the present, concerning the Translation of the LXX.

The *Latin* or *Western Church* had a great many Translations, all made from the LXX. But amongst all these various Translations, there was one more generally received and read in the Churches, and is therefore called *Vulgata* by St. Jerom; and St. Augustin gives it the Name of the *Italian*, and prefers it to all the rest, as being more perspicuous and literal: And this in all probability was used in the *Roman Church*, from the Apostles Days downwards for some Ages. St. Jerom corrected this Translation from *Origen's Hexapla*, and published it with *Asterisks* and *Obelisks*, which he tells us, in his second Prologue prefixed to the Books of *Chronicles*, he placed to denote what was, or what was not in the *Hebrew*. And in an Epistle to St. Augustin, he says, *Quod in aliis quæris Epistolis, cur prior mea in libris Canonicis interpretatio Asteriscos habeat et Virgulas prænotatas, et postea aliam Translationem absque iis ediderim, &c.* He answers, *Se non tam vetera conatum fuisse abolere, quam linguæ suæ hominibus emendata de Græco in Latinum transulisse.*

But St. Jerom, when he was a young Man, and followed a monastic Life in the Desert, there learned the first Rudiments of the *Hebrew*

brew Tongue from a converted Jew. And twenty Years after returning to *Jerusalem*, he made greater Improvements in that Language under *Barrabanus*, a Jew, whom he hired at a great Price to come every Night to instruct him; the Man, like *Nicodemus*, not daring on such Occasion to come to him by Day for Fear of the other Jews. Afterwards he had another Master, a Doctor of the Law, from *Tiberias*. And then another very eminent Man, whom he hired at a very great Price. And lastly, another to instruct him in the *Chaldee* Language. Of all these he speaks in one or other of his Epistles. Having therefore made himself a Master both of the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee*, he judged himself sufficiently qualified to translate the Bible from the original *Hebrew* into *Latin*. And besides his Skill in the original Language, he had the *Hexapla* of *Origen* to assist him: Whereupon he set upon the Work; and translated all the Books of the Old Testament; that is, all those which our Church in her sixth Article declares and acknowledges to be canonical. This appears from the Prefaces or Prologues he has prefixed to these Books. He also translated the Books of *Tobit* and *Judith*; but not the Books of *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Maccabees*, *Baruch*, the *Epistle of Jeremia*, the *Additions to Esther* and to *Daniel*, because they were not in the *Hebrew*, neither received by the Church as Parts of the canonical Scripture. But he confesses that he had seen *Ecclesiasticus*, and the first Book of the *Maccabees*, and likewise *Tobit*, in the *Hebrew* Tongue. As to the New Testament, *St. Jerom* did not translate it anew, but corrected the old Translation.

This Translation of *St. Jerom*, though disliked at first, and blamed by many of his Contemporaries, yet it gradually prevailed, and the greatest Part of it became the Version commonly used in the *Latin* Church. In the Time of *Gregory the Great*, which was about 200 Years after *St. Jerom* made this Translation, as appears from several Places of that Pope's Epistles, *St. Jerom's* Version, and the old *Italick*, were both read in the *Latin* Churches; that is, as I suppose, some Churches made use of one Version, and some of the other: But at last the Version of *St. Jerom* prevailed over the whole *Western* Church. Only the *Psalms*, and other Hymns, which were read in the daily Offices of the Church, were there continued in the old *Italick* Version, whereby the Copies of that Version being neglected, were in Time all lost and destroyed. But when the *Roman* Edition of the LXX was published, *Flaminius Nobilius* of *Lucca*, an eminent Divine, and great Critick, well versed in the Writings of the Fathers, endeavoured to retrieve this ancient *Italick* Version from the Quotations which he collected out of all the *Latin* Fathers, who lived while that Translation was in Use. And when they failed him, he translated immediately from the LXX, making use of the same Words and Phrases, as far as he could, and the Matter would bear, which he found from his Quotations to have been used in that old Version. By this Means he has restored, as well as possibly could be done by such Means, the whole old *Italick* Version. And it is printed by Bishop *Walton*, as the proper Translation of the LXX, in his Polyglot Bible.

The Translation of *St. Jerom* was the first *Latin* Translation made immediately from the *Hebrew* Original, and continued the only one for
above

above a thousand Years. And after it became the only Version used in the *Latin Church*, it received also the Name of *Biblia Vulgata*, which was given before to the *Italick* Version. Those Books, which we (according with St. *Jerom* and the primitive Church) account *Apocrypha*, though the Church of *Rome* hold them canonical, still retain the old *Italick* Version, as do the *Psalms* and *Hymns* used in the Liturgy: So likewise in our Liturgy, the *Psalms* and *Hymns* are retained according to the old Translation of *Tindal* and *Coverdale*, which was afterwards supervised and corrected by the Bishops *Tunstal* and *Heath*, though there be a very different Translation of the *Psalms* and the *Hymns* taken from the Scripture in our common Bibles, translated in the Reign of King *James* the First. And here it may not be improper to observe, that all we of the Clergy give our Assent and Consent to this old Translation; but not to the latter, which is in our Bibles. However, there is no material Difference between them, the Sense is the same, though the Words are often different. Indeed there is sometimes a Sentence, or a Verse, to be found in the *Psalms* as they are in the Common-Prayer, which is not in that Place to be found in the Bible-*Psalms*, but then they are to be found in other *Psalms*, or other Places of Scripture. And particularly *Psal.* xiv. there are eleven Verses in that Psalm in the Common-Prayer, and but seven in the Bible: Yet those four additional verses are not only in the *LXX*, and *Latin Vulgate*, but are all cited by St. *Paul*, *Rom.* iii. 14, 15, 16, 17. very probably from this *Psalm*, though the Verses be not now in our present *Hebrew* Bibles. As therefore this Translation is what we Clergymen give our Assent and Consent to, and as it is also daily read in our Churches, and our People are best acquainted with it, I cannot but wonder that the Generality, when they choose a Text out of the *Psalms*, take it from the Translation in the Bible, and not from that in the Common-Prayer. All the Objections made by the *Presbyterians*, and others, against this Translation, have been well answered, and the whole defended against their Cavils, by your and my late good Friend, Mr. *Johnson* of *Cranbrook*, in his *Holy David, and his old English Translators cleared*. Printed for R. *Knaplock* 1706. But to return from this Digression.

As St. *Jerom's* Bible was the first that was translated into *Latin* immediately from the *Hebrew*, so it continued the only one so translated until the Time of the Reformation; that is, about 1100 Years. It is true, *Nicolas de Lyra*, a converted Jew of *Normandy*, who flourished about the Year 1320, and *Paul de Burgos*, who flourished about the Year 1415, corrected many Passages in the *Vulgate* Version, according to the true Sense of the *Hebrew* Text; but they never attempted to give an intire Version of the Bible.

Sanctes Pagninus, a *Dominican* Monk, was the first who attempted to make a new Translation from the Modern *Hebrew* Text. His Design was encouraged by Pope *Leo X*, who promised to defray the Charges of the Impression. He was employed in this great Work near thirty Years, which was the first Time printed at *Lyons* in the Year 1527, authorized by a Bull of Pope *Adrian VI*, and another of Pope *Clement VII*, which are prefixed to it. He declares he has receded as little as possibly could be from the *Vulgate*, and only in those Places

where it differed from the Sense of the *Hebrew*: Yet his Translation is quite another Thing from the *Vulgate*, having been too scrupulous in adhering to the Words of the Text, according to the utmost Rigour of *Grammatical* Rules, which makes his Translation obscure. He has also been misguided in some Places, having affected too much to follow the Explication of the *Jewish Rabbies*. He has also altered the commonly-received Names of Men and Cities, to substitute in their Places others, pronounced according to the Punctuation of the *Masorites*. It must, however, be granted to be a very useful Work; it is exact and faithful, and very proper to explain the literal Sense of the *Hebrew* Text.

Arius Montanus only revised the Translation of *Pagninus*; in which he altered some Words, which he did not think gave the exact literal Sense of the Original. His chief Aim was to translate the *Hebrew* Words by the same Number of *Latin* ones; so that he has accommodated his whole Translation to the strictest Rules of Grammar, without considering whether the Version be tolerable *Latin*, or may pass for intelligible; and its best Use is to instruct Beginners, who would learn the *Hebrew* Tongue: and as it is, I think, always printed interlinearly, with the *Latin* Word placed exactly over the *Hebrew*, it saves the Learner the Trouble of having often Recourse to his Lexicon. The Translation of *Thomas Malvinda*, a *Spanish* Dominican, as it is more barbarous than that of *Arius Montanus*, so it is not much in Request.

Although Cardinal *Cajetan* had but little Knowledge in the *Hebrew*, yet he undertook a Translation of some Part of the Bible from the *Hebrew*, Word for Word, by the Assistance of two Persons, one a *Jew*, and the other a *Christian*, both well skilled in that Language. But he took care to avoid those barbarous Expressions he must have used, if his Translation had been strictly and grammatically literal.

Isidore Clarius, a Monk of *Mount-Cassin*, and afterwards Bishop of *Fuligno*, only undertook to reform the *Vulgate*-nearer to the present *Hebrew* Text: But though he tells us, that he corrected above eight thousand Passages in the Bible; yet he confesses, that he passed by some where there was small difference between the Sense of the *Vulgate* and the Original, to give as little Offence as might be to Catholics, which he must have done, had he made too many Alterations in the *Vulgate* Version.

These are all the Translations of Note of the whole Old Testament done by *Roman Catholics* from the *Hebrew* Text, not reckoning the Versions of particular Books, as of the *Psalms*, by the learned *Simeon de Muis*, who has been very careful in retaining both the Sense, and the Words of the *Vulgate*, as far as could be done without Injustice to the *Hebrew* Text. His Version is good *Latin*, and intelligible, without Barbarism, or any Affectation of Elegancy.

If your Curiosity lead you to see a strictly literal Translation of Scripture into *English*, Mr. *Johnson*, in his *Holy David*, before mentioned, has given a Specimen from Mr. *Ainsworth*, who translated the whole Book of *Psalms* from the *Hebrew*. The Psalm Mr. *Johnson* has chosen (but he could not choose amiss) for a Sample of a literal Version is

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the LIX. I will only here transcribe the Preface, and the two first Verses. *To the Master of the Musick. Corrupt not Michtam of David, when Saul sent, and they kept the House for to kill him. Deliver me from mine Enemies, O my God: From them that rise up against me, set thou me on high. Deliver me from the Workers of painful Iniquity: And save me from the Men of Bloods.* This Ainsworth was a Presbyterian, and one that found great Fault with the Translation used in our Church.

Sebastian Munster, a German Monk, who turned Protestant about the Year 1529, was the first of that Denomination, who translated the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament out of *Hebrew* into *Latin*. Though he was very careful to keep close to the *Hebrew* Text, and even to retain some of its *Idiotisms*, yet it is neither unintelligible nor barbarous. *Huetius* (though a zealous *Romanist*) gives him the Character of a Man well versed in the *Hebrew* Language, whose Style is very exact and conformable to the *Hebrew* Language. And *Du Pin* (from whom I take almost all I say of these modern *Latin* Translations) says, that, "Truly, his Translation is the most literal, but at the same Time the most faithful, of any done by Protestants." I am sorry there should be any Protestants so weak, as well as wicked, as wilfully to mistranslate any Passage in the Bible: Yet as *Du Pin*, who (though a Papist) is acknowledged by Protestants to have been of great Candour and Impartiality, does affirm, that there is not a strict Fidelity observed by all Protestants in their Translation of the Scriptures, I fear there is Ground to think that it may be as he says. But if it be so, those Protestants must indeed be equally weak and wicked, who shall wilfully mistranslate. For they must be sensible (if they would rightly consider) that such Mistranslations give their Enemies (who will soon discover such unfaithful Translations) a great Advantage over them. But as he gives no particular Instances of such unfaithful Doings, I hope he is mistaken. There may, and always will be, some Mistakes made by the best Translators of so large a Book as the Holy Scriptures; but if they are not wilfully made, and with some apparent Design to serve a Cause, they ought not to be charged with Want of Faithfulness.

The Translation of *Leo Juda*, a Zuinglian, printed at *Zurich*, in the Year 1543, and afterwards reprinted by *Robert Stephens*, in the Year 1545, in two Columns (one containing the *Vulgate*, with the Notes of *Vatablus*) is written in a more elegant Style than *Munster's*: But this Author recedes sometimes too far from the literal Sense; and in some Places changes the Expressions for better *Latin*, but which are more remote from the true Sense, and don't express with the same Force the true Meaning of the *Hebrew* Text. He also gives himself sometimes too much Liberty to determine the Sense of the *Hebrew* Text, according to his own particular Opinion.

But at the same Time he has not taken near so much Liberty as *Sebastian Chatillon*, commonly known by the Name of *Costalio*, who having taken a Fancy to give the World an elegant *Latin* Version of the Bible, has mixt Expressions borrowed from profane Authors with the Text of Holy Writ. His whole Style is affected, effeminate, overcharged with false Rhetorick, and has nothing of that noble Simplicity and

and natural Grandeur, observed in the Originals, and in other Versions. He is too bold in his Expressions, and, after all, does not always write good *Latin*.

The Version of *Tremellius* and *Junius*, has much more of the true natural Simplicity: The chief *Hebraisms* are preserved, and the whole exactly conformable to the *Hebrew* Text, without Obscurity or Barbarity. But then they are not always so conscientious (this is *Du Pin's* Charge against them) but that sometimes they put in more than is in the Text, and add some Words to extort the Sense they would give it. They likewise frequently recede without the least Necessity from the Words of the *Vulgate*, instead of which they often put others which are neither so good nor so noble.

Andrew and *Luke Ofsander*, have acted with more Reservedness in their Edition of the Bible; for they have contented themselves to add to the *Vulgate* such Corrections as they believed ought to be made according to the *Hebrew* Text, without the least Diminution of the Text of the ancient Version; but have inserted their Amendments, printed in a different Character from the Text of the *Vulgate*, which may breed some Confusion. For which Reason, it would have been more proper to have printed the Differences of the *Hebrew* Text in the Margin.

The *Latin* Bible most common in *England* (I mean of these modern Translations) is that of *Tremellius* and *Junius*, with the *Greek* Testament translated by *Beza*. But I think the *Vulgate* is the only *Latin* Translation made Use of in our University Schools.

These many new *Latin* Translations gave Occasion to the Council of *Trent* to establish the Authority of the *Vulgate* in a particular Manner. Therefore in the fourth Session of that General Council (as they were pleased to call themselves) in the Year 1546, they made the following Decree. *Insuper eadem sacro-sancta Synodus considerans non parum Utilitatis accedere posse Ecclesiae Dei, si ex multis Latinis Editionibus, quae circumferuntur sacrum librorum, quænam pro authentica habenda sit innotescat: Statuit et declarat, ut hæc ipsa Vetustæ et Vulgatæ Editio, quæ longo tot seculorum usu in Ecclesia ipsa probata est, in publicis Lectionibus, Disputationibus, Prædicationibus, aut Expositionibus, pro authentica habeatur. Et quod eam nemo rejicere, quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat.*

The *Protestants* strenuously objected against this Decree, and said, as we learn from *Chemnitzius* in his *Examen* of this Council and its Decrees; *Hoc non est tolerandum in Ecclesia, ut pro iis quæ Spiritus Sanctus in fontibus Hebraicis et Græcis scripsit, ea quæ vitiosè ab interprete reddita, vel à librariis mutata, mutilata vel addita sunt, tanquam authentica nobis obtrudantur, et quidem ita ut non licet, inspectis fontibus, ea rejicere.*

The *Romanists* on the other hand, in Defence of this Decree, deny that it equals, much less prefers, this Version to the Original. They say, as we learn from *Du Pin's Compleat History of the Canon of Scripture*, where he treats of the *Latin* Translations: "That the Intention of the Council was, that, amongst all the *Latin* Versions, this alone should be made use of in publick Sermons, Disputes, and Conferences. This authentick Qualification however does not imply an exact Conformity in all Respects to the Original Writings, such as have been dictated by the Holy Ghost, or an Exemption from all

"Errors"

“ Errors whatsoever : But this Version deservedly claims this Title, as
 “ being morally consonant to the Original, and that both for its Anti-
 “ quity and Exactness it ought to be preferred before other Transla-
 “ tions. For it was not the Intention of the Council, either to prefer
 “ before, or to compare this Version to, the Original, but only with
 “ the other *Latin* Translations. This may be seen at the very Begin-
 “ ning of this Decree, where it is declared, that the whole Intention
 “ is to make the World understand, which among all the *Latin* Edi-
 “ tions of the Bible ought to pass for *authentic*. *Ex omnibus Editionibus*
 “ *Latinis quæ circumferuntur*. There were at the Time of the Sitting
 “ of this Council many *Latin* Versions of the Bible published, some
 “ by Catholics, some by (such as he calls) Hereticks; so that while
 “ they made use, in their Citations, of several different Versions, this
 “ Confusion proved the Occasion of great Contests. To avoid this
 “ Inconveniency, the Council gave the Preference, among all other
 “ *Latin* Translations, to this most ancient, which had been approved
 “ of in the Church for many Ages before, and which could not be
 “ charged with any Error, either in Faith or Morality, and which
 “ was morally conformable to the original Text. This Version is
 “ commanded to be used as the only one in all Sermons, Conferences,
 “ or other publick Acts; without the least Diminution however of the
 “ Authority and authentick Qualification of the Original, or of the
 “ Chapter, *Ut veterum Distinct*. 9. which ordains, *Ut veterum librorum*
 “ *Fides de Hebræis voluminibus examinanda est, ita novorum veritas Græci*
 “ *sermonis normam desiderat.*”

He confirms this Interpretation, which he has given of the Canon made at *Trent*, from the Council itself's having made an Acknowledgement of some Defects in the Text of the *Vulgate*, and ordered the same to be corrected. He likewise observes that those who were present at this Council, and made a Part of it, and all that have made Apologies for it, have explained this Decree, just as he has done. The Council referred the Correction of the *Vulgate*, (which by the Multiplicity of Copies, and the Carelessness of Transcribers, had contracted a Multitude of Faults) to the Care of the Pope. But it was near forty Years before any Care was taken in this Matter. For this Order for correcting the *Vulgate* was made in the Year 1546; but the Correction was not entered upon until the Pontificate of *Sixtus V.*, which began in the Year 1585. Those who were employed by that Pope in this Work, were directed to revise the Text after the ancient MSS; and where there was an Ambiguity or Variety in the MSS. there they should have Recourse to the *Hebrew* and *Greek*, to determine which Reading ought to be preferred. This Work being finished, the Pope took great Care to have it fairly and correctly printed in the *Vatican*, and assures us, that he had with his own Hands corrected the Errors of the Press. And, by his Bull, prefixed to this Edition, (which was published 1590 at *Rome*) “ He declared, with the Advice of the Cardinals
 “ deputed for that Purpose, according to the Plenitude of his Power,
 “ that this Edition of the Old and New Testament, being without
 “ Question the same Version declared by the Council of *Trent* to be
 “ *authentick*, and printed with all the Exactness imaginable, should be
 “ read

“ read only in all the Churches; forbidding any Impression to be made
 “ for the future of this Version, that should not be conformable to this,
 “ or to add any various Lectons in the Margin: Ordaining at the same
 “ Time, that all the Books of the Offices of the Church should be
 “ corrected according to this Edition, under the Pain of the great Ex-
 “ communication incurred *ipso facto*, to be reserved to the Pope; and
 “ other Penalties mentioned in the same Bull at *Sancta Maria Majori*,
 “ *Mar. 1, 1589.*” But Pope *Sixtus V.* dying soon after he had published this Edition, and prefixed his Bull to it, three other Popes also dying within two Years after him, this Edition was soon suppressed. And

Pope *Clement VIII.* who succeeded to the Papacy in the Beginning of the Year 1592, did that Year publish another Edition very different from this in many Places, which he fortified by his Authority as the only authentick one; forbidding by his Bull, dated *Nov. 9, 1592*, to print any other for the future. Dr. *Thomas James*, the first Keeper of the *Bodleian Library* at *Oxford*, a Man of great Learning and Industry, compared these two Editions, and collected the Differences between them with great Exactness; which amounted to above 2000. It is true some of them are but trifling, but many of them (as *Du Pin* is forced to acknowledge) are of no small Consequence. *Clement VIII.* has more closely followed the *Hebrew Text*, and his Edition is much more correct than that of *Sixtus V.*; though he expresses himself in far more moderate Terms, in his Preface prefixed to his Edition.

The *Protestants* have very justly observed, that these two Bulls of Pope *Sixtus V.* and *Clement VIII.* which are so contrary the one to the other, are a demonstrative Proof that the Pope, even in *Cathedra*, is not infallible: For, if Pope *Clement's* Bull was right, that of Pope *Sixtus* was wrong; and *vice versâ*. What Answer the Partisans of the Court of *Rome*, who maintain the Infallibility of the Pope, give to this, I know not. They may cavil at the Argument, but I think they cannot answer it. Matter of Fact is a stubborn Thing, and will not yield to Sophistry. But whatever becomes of the Pope's Infallibility, we ought to have a due Regard for the *Latin Vulgate*, whose Antiquity may justly render it venerable, and on that Account make it useful to determine the true Reading, when the original *Hebrew* or *Greek* may be ambiguous. There appears also a Kind of sacred Simplicity or Plainness in the Style, which none of the later Translations have been able to reach.

Having, I think, said enough of the *Greek* and *Latin* Translations, I must now give you some Account of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*. I need not tell you, that these *Samaritans* were the Posterity of those Nations which the King of *Affyria* brought from *Cuth*, and other Parts of his Empire, to repopulate the Country which belonged to the ten Tribes (which under *Jeroboam*, the Son of *Nebat*, revolted from the House of *David*) after he had carried those ten Tribes into Captivity, of which the Scriptures give us an Account 2 *Kings* xvii. Where we find, that because they feared not the LORD, he sent Lions among them, which slew some of them: Wherefore the King of *Affyria* sent back a Priest, who taught them how they should fear the LORD, and so they

they worshipped him, together with their other Gods. As there volted Tribes had no more of the Scriptures than the five Books of *Moses*, so the Priest could bring no other with him but those Books written in the old *Phœnician* Letters, which, upon the Return of the *Jews*, *Ezra* changed for the *Chaldee*, which we now call the *Hebrew* Letters. Thus the *Samaritans* continued to mix the Worship of the true God and of their false Gods together, until the Days of *Nehemia*; and he requiring those who had married strange Wives to put them away; and as we learn from *Nehem.* xiii. 28. finding one of the High Priest's Sons had married a Daughter of *Sanballat*, the Governor of *Samaria*, and would not part with her, banished him the Land. This Man, (as *Josephus* tells us in his *Antiquities*, L. ii. c. 7.) whose name was *Manasseh*, fled to *Samaria*, where his Wife's Father *Sanballat* was Governor, who built a Temple for him, like that at *Jerusalem*, upon Mount *Gerizim*, and made him the High-Priest of it. *Manasseh* brought with him some other Apostate Priests, with many other *Jews*, who disliked the Regulations made by *Nehemia* at *Jerusalem*. And now the *Samaritans* having gotten an High-Priest, and other Priests of the Descendants from *Aaron*, they were pretty soon brought off from the Worship of their false Gods, and became as great Enemies to Idolatry as the best of the *Jews*. However, *Manasseh* gave them no other Scriptures than the *Pentateuch*, lest, if they had the other Scriptures, they should find then that *Jerusalem* was the only Place where they should offer their Sacrifices. And though he brought with him the Book of the Law, yet he caused it to be written in the old Character, which had been long used by the *Samaritans*, and not in the new *Chaldee* Character of *Ezra*. *John Hyrcanus*, a Prince of the Race of the *Maccabees*, having conquered *Samaria*, intirely demolished this Temple, about 200 Years after it had been built by *Sanballat*. Nevertheless, the *Samaritans* still kept up their Altar, and offered there their Sacrifices upon it. And forgetting that they derived their Original from the *Cutheans*, they accounted themselves true *Israelites*, who had preserved the Observation of the Law in its Purity, and had High-Priests descended in a direct Line from *Phineas*, the Son of *Eleazar*, the Son of *Aaron*. And indeed their Priests are thus descended, and so many apostate *Jews* have mixed with them, as may give many of them a Claim to a Descent from *Jacob*. And *John* iv. the Woman of *Samaria*, called *Jacob* Father; and from her Words to our Saviour, it is evident they expected the *Messiah* as well as the *Jews*: However, the *Jews* would have no Dealing with them, as we learn from the same Chapter. *Josephus* tells us that when the *Jews* were in Prosperity, the *Samaritans* would pretend to be the same People with them; But when the *Jews* were in Adversity, then the *Samaritans* would say they were not *Jews*, and shew their Descent from another Nation.

There is still a Remainder of these *Samaritans*, who continue to have their High-Priest and other Priests of the Race of *Aaron*, (as they say, and perhaps say true) who offer their Sacrifices on Mount *Gerizim* to this very Time. This Sect is now reduced to a very small Number, the chief of which reside at *Sichem*, afterwards called *Flavia Neapolis*, and now *Naplousa*, the Town to which Mount *Gerizim* belongs. They have

have Synagogues in other Parts of *Palestin*, and also in *Egypt*. The *Pentateuch* used by them is no Translation, but only a different Copy of the same *Hebrew* Original, written also in different Characters. It was well known to many of the Fathers, who have quoted it: But as several of those Fathers are believed not to have understood *Hebrew*, it is thence believed there was a *Greek* Translation of it. These Quotations are all elder than the Year 600. From that Time, for a 1000 Years, we find no Mention of this *Samaritan Pentateuch*, until about the Beginning of the last Century, when *Scaliger* having got Notice that it was still preserved by those of that Sect, and complaining that no body had taken care to get a Copy from thence, Archbishop *Usher*, by the Means of Mr. *Thomas Davis*, then at *Aleppo*, and (as I suppose) Chaplain to the Factory there, procured two or three Copies of it out of the *East*. Not long after, *Sancius Harley*, a Priest of the Oratory at *Paris*, and afterwards Bishop of *St. Malo's* in *Britany*, brought another Copy into *Europe*, which he repositied in the Library belonging to that Order in *Paris*: From which Copy, *Morinus*, another Priest of that Order, published it in the *Paris Polyglot*.

The *Samaritans*, beside the *Pentateuch* in the original *Hebrew*, have also a Translation of it into the Language which was vulgarly spoken among them: Which is also published together with the Original in the *Paris Polyglot*; and it is so exactly literal, that *Morinus* thought one *Latin* Translation might serve for both. And Bishop *Walton* has followed the same Method in his *Polyglot*; only when there are any Variations, they are marked at the Bottom of the Page. This *Samaritan Pentateuch* has some Additions, Variations, and Transpositions, whereby it differs from the present *Jewish* Copies. But that there should be some Differences is not so much to be wondered at, as that there are not more, after that, those who adhered to the one, and those who adhered to the other, had not only broke off all Manner of Communication, but had constantly been at the bitterest Variance possible with each other for above 2000 Years: For so long had passed from the Apostacy of *Manassch* to the Time when these Copies were first brought into *Europe*. In so many Ages, many Differences might happen by the Errors of Transcribers; and the most that are between these two Copies are of this Sort.

After *Sanballat* had built the Temple on Mount *Gerizim*, the *Samaritans* and apostate *Jews* would not allow *Jerusalem* to be the Place which God had chosen; but contended that Mount *Gerizim* was that Place: And argued as the Woman of *Samaria* did to our Saviour, *John* iv. 20. That their Fathers worshipped in that Mountain. For they plead, that there *Abraham* (*Gen.* xii. 6, 7. and xiii. 4.) and there *Jacob* (*Gen.* xxxiii. 20.) built Altars to God, and by offering Sacrifice upon them, consecrated that Place above all others to his Worship. That therefore it was appointed by God himself (*Deut.* xxvii. 12.) to be the Hill of Blessing on the Coming of the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*; and that accordingly *Jeshua* caused the Blessings of God to be declared thereon. Also, that having passed the River *Jordan*, he built an Altar on it of twelve Stones, taken out of the River *Jordan* in his Passage over it, according as God had commanded, and offered Sacrifices on it.

it. (*Deut. xxvii. 1—7.*) And this they held to be the very Altar on which they still sacrifice. But to make out this last Part of their Argument, they have corrupted the Text: For whereas the Command of God is, that they should build the Altar on Mount *Ebal*, they have instead thereof put Mount *Gerizim*. The *Jews* loudly charge them with this Corruption; and they retort it, and accuse the *Jews* of having altered the Text; and bring this Argument for it, That Mount *Gerizim* having been the Mountain appointed by God to declare his Blessings, and Mount *Ebal* to denounce his Curses, the Mount of Blessings was very proper, and the Mount of Curses very improper, for an Altar of God to be built upon. But notwithstanding this Allegation, all other Copies and old Translations make against them, and prove the Corruption on their side. And it very much aggravates their guilt herein, that they have not only corrupted the Scriptures in this Place, but have also interpolated them with this Corruption in another; that is, in the 20th Chapter of *Exodus*, where, after the tenth Commandment, they have subjoined, by way of additional Precept thereto, Words taken out of the 11th and 27th Chapters of *Deuteronomy*, to command the erecting an Altar on Mount *Gerizim*, instead of Mount *Ebal*, and offering Sacrifices to God in that Place. They having thus made a wilful Alteration in one Place, and a corrupt Addition in another, this (says Dean *Prideaux*) gives the less Authority to their Copy, when it differs from that of the *Jews*. But I conceive, though the *Samaritans* might alter a Text, and make an Interpolation to serve a Cause, it does not from thence follow, that they should wilfully and needlessly make Alterations, where they had no Cause to serve.

The *Chaldee* Paraphrases are Translations of the Scriptures of the *Old Testament*, made directly from the *Hebrew* Text into the Language of the *Chaldeans*. These Paraphrases are called *Targums*, which, in the *Chaldee* Language, signifies an Interpretation or Version out of one Language into another. These *Targums* were made for the Use and Instruction of the vulgar *Jews*, after their Return from the *Babylonish* Captivity: For although the better Sort still retained the *Hebrew* Language, and taught it their Children, and the Holy Scriptures that were delivered after that Time (excepting only some Parts of *Ezra* and *Daniel*, and one Verse in *Jeremiah*) were all written therein, yet the common People so long conversing with the *Babylonians*, learnt their Language, and forgot their own. Therefore, when *Ezra* read the Law unto the People, (*Neb. viii. 4—8.*) he had Men standing by him well skilled in both Languages, who interpreted to the People in *Chaldee*, what he read to them in *Hebrew*. And this Course of Reading and interpreting was afterwards continued. And that the whole Law might be read in a Year, they divided it into fifty-four Sections; because every third Year at least they intercalated a Month, and then had fifty-four Sabbaths; and in other Years, when they had fewer Sabbaths, they as often joined two Sections together, so that the whole Law might be read within the Year. Until the Time of the Persecution by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, they read only the Law; but being there prohibited to read the Law, they then divided the Prophets into fifty-four

four Sections; and instead of a Section of the Law, read one out of the Prophets every Sabbath-Day. And when the Reading of the Law was restored by the *Maccabees*, then they read a Section of the Law as a first Lesson, and a Section out of the Prophets for a second Lesson: And so it was practised in the Times of the Apostles. For (*Act. xiii. 15.*) when St. Paul entered into the Synagogue at *Antioch*, in *Pisidia*, it is said that *he stood up to preach, after the Reading the Law and the Prophets.*

These Sections were divided into Verses, which the *Jews* call *Pesukim*. They are marked out in the *Hebrew* Bibles by two great Points at the End of them, which the *Jews* call *Soph Pasuk*, i. e. *the End of the Verse*. This was invented for the Sake of the *Chaldee* Interpreters, that when the Reader had read one Verse in the *Hebrew*, the Interpreter might render it in *Chaldee*. Which proves, that this Division of the Old Testament into Verses must be as ancient as the Way of interpreting them into *Chaldee* in the Synagogues. This Way of reading the Law and the Prophets, first in the *Hebrew*, and then interpreting them in the *Chaldee*, or when the *Greek* or some other was the vulgar Language, into that Language, was continued, as I have before observed, to the Time of the Emperor *Justinian*, that is, to about *Anno Dom. 550*; and soon after that Time the *Jews* would allow their Scriptures to be read in their Synagogues in *Hebrew* only, or together with the *Chaldee*, though that was also become a dead Language.

The Division of the Bible into Chapters (except the Psalms, which were always divided as at present, for the small Difference between the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Division need not here be mentioned) is of a much later Date. For though the *Hebrew* Bibles were divided into Sections and Verses, the *Greek*, *Latin*, and other Translations, had no such Divisions. The Sections also of the *Hebrew* Bibles were very large, and the Verses had no Numbers placed to them. About the Year 1240, *Hugo de Sancto Caro*, a *Dominican* Monk, and the first of that Order who was made a Cardinal, and commonly called Cardinal *Hugo*, projected the making an Index or Concordance to the *Latin Vulgate*. In order to which he found it necessary to divide every Book of the Bible into such Partitions as we call Chapters: otherwise, when his Concordance referred to a Text, the whole Book referred to must have been searched to find it. And for the yet more readily finding the Text required, he placed these Letters, *A, B, C, D, E, F, G*, in the Margin, at an equal Distance from each other, according as the Chapters were longer or shorter: In the longer Chapters all these Letters were used, in the shorter fewer. The Subdivision into Verses came afterwards from the *Jews*: For about the Year 1430, *Rabbi Nathan*, an eminent *Jew*, having often Disputes with the Christians, thereby came to the Knowledge of the great Use they made of the *Latin* Concordance of Cardinal *Hugo*, and the Benefit they had thereby in finding any Place they had occasion to consult: Wherefore he immediately went about making such a Concordance to the *Hebrew* Bible for the Use of the *Jews*. Here he followed the same Division into Chapters which *Hugo* had made; which had the like Effect, as to the *Hebrew*, that *Hugo's* had as to the *Latin*; that is, it caused the same Division

to be made in all the *Hebrew* Bibles, which were afterwards written or printed for common Use. For this Concordance being found of excellent Use among those for whom it was made, they were forced to comply with this Division for the Sake of having the Benefit of it. But he did not subdivide the Chapters by the Letters *A, B, C,* &c. as *Hugo* had done; but by affixing Numeral Letters in the Margin to every fifth Verse. *Vatablus*, a *Frenchman* and an eminent *Hebrician*, about an 100 Years after *Rabbi Nathan*, taking his Pattern from him, published a *Latin Bible* with Chapters and Verses, numbered with Figures: Which Example was soon followed in all other Editions, in all Languages, since published in these *Western Parts of Christendom*. *Robert Stephens*, a very learned Man in the *Greek Tongue*, and an eminent Printer at *Paris*, and Contemporary to *Vatablus*, taking the Hint from him, made a like Division of the Chapters of the New Testament into Verses, for the Sake of a Concordance, he was then composing for the *Greek Testament*, afterwards printed by *Henry Stephens*, his Son; who gives this Account of it in his Preface to that Concordance. This *Dean Prideaux* tells us is the original Division of the Old and New Testament into Chapters and Verses, which we now follow. But to return from this Digression.

As Synagogues multiplied among the *Jews* beyond the Number of those Interpreters, it became necessary that Versions should be made to supply that Defect. This Work having been attempted by divers Persons, it came to pass, that there were anciently many *Targums*, and of different Sorts, as there were anciently many different Versions of the same Holy Scriptures into the *Greek Language*, of which we have sufficient Proof in the *Octapla* of *Origen*. No doubt, anciently there were many more *Targums* than we now know of. Those that are yet remaining were composed by different Persons, and on different Parts of Scripture, and are these eight following. 1. That of *Onkelos* on the five Books of *Moses*. 2. That of *Jonathan Ben Uziel* on the Prophets; that is, on *Joshua*, *Judges*, the two Books of *Samuel*, the two Books of *Kings*, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and the twelve minor Prophets. 3. That on the Law, ascribed to *Jonathan Ben Uziel*. 4. The *Jerusalem Targum* on the Law. 5. The *Targum* on the lesser Books, called the *Megilloth*, i. e. *Ruth*, *Esther*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Song of Solomon*, and the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*. 6. The second *Targum* of *Esther*. 7. The *Targum* of *Joseph* the one Eyed on *Job*, *Psalms*, and *Proverbs*. 8. The *Targum* on the two Books of *Chronicles*. On *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and *Daniel*, there is no *Targum* at all.

The eldest, and therefore most valuable of these *Targums*, are those of *Onkelos* on the Law, and *Jonathan* on the Prophets. These two are justly believed to have been written a little before, or at least soon after, our Saviour's Birth. If there were any of an elder Date (as *Dean Prideaux* supposes there were, by reason of the Necessity the vulgar *Jews* had for them) they are all now intirely lost. The *Targum* of *Onkelos* is a strict Version, rendering the *Hebrew Word* for Word: *Jonathan* takes the Liberty of a *Paraphrast*, by Enlargements and Additions to the Text. Though the Prophecies in the Old Testament, concerning

the *Messiah*, are explained in these two *Targums*, as they are by us *Christians*; yet they are in so great Esteem among the *Jews*, that they hold them to be of the same Authority with the original sacred Text. It has been already shewn, that when the *Chaldee* became the vulgar Tongue of the *Jews*, the Weekly Lessons, out of the Law and the Prophets, in their Synagogues, having been first read in *Hebrew*, were, by an Interpreter, standing by the Reader, rendered into *Chaldee*. This continued for some Time: But after, when *Targums* were made, the Interpretation was read out of them, without any more employing Interpreters for this Purpose: And the Readers did first read a Verse out of the *Hebrew* Text, and then the same again out of the *Chaldee Targum*; and so went on from Verse to Verse, till they had read out the whole Lesson. And this Use of them was retained in some of their Synagogues, even down to late Times, and in Places where the *Chaldee* was as little understood as the *Hebrew*. For *Elias Levita*, who lived about 200 Years since, tells us, that they were thus used in his Time in *Germany*, and elsewhere. And agreeable to this Purpose, though only for private Use, they had some of their Bibles written out in *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* together; that is, each Verse first in *Hebrew*, and then in *Chaldee*; and thus from Verse to Verse in the same Manner through the whole Volume. In these Bibles, the *Targum* of *Onkelos* was the *Chaldee* Version for the Law; and that of *Jonathan*, for the Prophets; and for the *Hagiographa*, the other *Targums* that were written on them. One of these Bibles, thus written, *Buxtorf* tells us, he had seen at *Straßburg*: And Bishop *Walton* acquaints us, that he had the Perusal of two others of the same Sort, one in the publick Library of the Church of *Westminster*, and the other in the private Study of Mr. *Thomas Gataker*. The other *Targums* are all of a much later Date than those of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*, and of far less Authority: However, Bishop *Walton* has put the most of them into his *Polyglot*.

Whether the *Targums* of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan* were read alternately with the *Hebrew* Text, one Verse in the *Hebrew*, and then the same in the *Chaldee*, we cannot say: But this seems certain, if not these particular *Targums*, yet some other then were written for the Instruction of the People; and were among them in private as well as in publick for this Use; and that they had such, not only on the Law and the Prophets, but also on all the other *Hebrew* Scriptures. For it was not the Usage among the *Jews* to lock up the Holy Scriptures, or any Part of them, from the People in a Language unknown to them: For when dispersed among the *Greeks*, they had them in *Greek*; and when the *Chaldee* was the vulgar Language, they had them in *Chaldee*. And when *Christ* was called out to read the second Lesson in the Synagogue of *Nazareth*, of which he was a Member, he seems to have read it out of a *Targum*: For the Words then read by him out of *Isaiah* lxi. 1. as recited by St. *Luke* iv. 18. do not exactly agree either with the *Hebrew*, or the LXX, in that Place; and therefore it seems most likely it should be read out of some *Targum* used in that Synagogue. And when he cried out upon the Cross in the Words of the *Psalmist*, *Psal.* xxii. 1. *Eli, Eli lama Sabaethani*, he quoted them, *Mat.* xxvii. 46. not out of
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the *Hebrew*, but the *Chaldee Paraphrase*; for in the *Hebrew* it is, *Eli, Eli lama Azabtani*, the Word *Sabaethani* is no where to be found but in the *Chaldee Tongue*.

The Language most commonly used among the Christians of the *East*, next to the *Greek*, is the *Syriac*. It is properly a Dialect of the ancient *Chaldee*, which the Learned divide into three different Dialects: 1. Into that of *Babylon*, which is the *Chaldean Language* in its Purity. 2. Into that of *Jerusalem*, which is what was used by the *Jews* after their Return from their Captivity at *Babylon*. 3. Into that of *Antiochia*, which was used by the *Christians* of *Comagena*, and some other Provinces bordering upon *Syria*, when this was the native Language of the Country. This last is that which is now more particularly called the *Syriac Language*. And into this Language was both the Old and New Testament translated; if not before the Death of St. *John* the Apostle, yet certainly very soon after. The Translator was a *Christian*, well skilled in the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Syriac Languages*. And the Learned, who have examined this Version, and compared it with the Original, both of the Old and New Testament, tell us, That of all the ancient Versions, which are now consulted by Christians for the better understanding the Holy Scriptures, as well of the New Testament as of the Old, none can better serve this End, than this old *Syriac* Version, when carefully consulted, and well understood. And to this Purpose, the very Nature of the Language assists much; for it having been the mother Tongue of those who wrote the New Testament, and a Dialect of that in which the Old was first given to us, many Things of both are more happily expressed in this Version than can well be done in any other Language.

This *Syriac* Version of the whole sacred Scripture is still used by the *Maronites*, a Number of *Christians* dwelling about Mount *Libanus*, called so from *Maron*, the Head of a large Monastery in that Place; where also the *Syriac* is in some Villages the vulgar Tongue. They have a Patriarch, whose Seat is for the most Part in Mount *Libanus*, and sometimes he resides at *Tripoli*. Their Liturgy is also in this Language. It is used also by the *Nestorians*, so called from *Nestorius* the Heretick, condemned in the Council of *Ephesus*; but whose Heresy (Bishop *Walton* says) they seem now to have forsaken. Their Liturgy is also in this Language. These *Christians* are spread (though mixed with *Mahometans*, to whom they are subject) through the Regions of *Babylon*, *Affyria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Parthia*, *Media*, in all which Places they are numerous, they extend northward to *Cathia*, and southward to *India*; their Patriarch lives at *Muzal*, on the *Tigris*. The *Jacobites* also, so called from *James*, a great Zealot for the *Eutychian* Heresy, condemned in the Council of *Chalcedon*, (though Bishop *Walton* says, they have now relinquished that Heresy) use this *Syriac* Translation of the Scriptures, and have their Liturgy also in the same Language. They are dispersed in *Syria*, *Cyprus*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Babylon*. Their Patriarch calls himself Patriarch of *Antioch*, but resides at *Caramit*, an old Metropolis of *Mesopotamia*. There is another *Syriac* Version of the Old Testament, made from the *Greek* of *Origen's Hexapla*; but that is not much esteemed.

The *Arabic* Language, which, until about *A. D.* 600, was little known beyond the Confines of *Arabia*, was soon after, by the Victories of the *Saracens*, spread over a great Part both of the *East* and *West*, and is to this Day much in Use among the greatest Part of the *Eastern* Nations. This Language is very ancient, exceeding copious, and of great Use for the well understanding the *Hebrew* Text, they having many Roots in common betwixt them, from whence it comes to pass, that Recourse must often be had to the *Arabic*, for the better explaining such *Hebrew* Words as are of a doubtful Signification. There are likewise many useful Observations, and some Ceremonies mentioned in the Bible, which may be best explained by *Arabic* Books.

We know not of any more ancient Translation of the Bible into the *Arabic* Language than one, that was made by *Saadius Gaon*, a *Jew* of *Babylon*, about *A. D.* 900. But there have been several Translations made since into that Language, both by *Jews* and *Christians*. The *Eastern Christians* have (I think) all of them some *Arabic* Translation of the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, made for the Use of their People, since that became the vulgar Language amongst them. These are mostly made from the *Septuagint*, or from the *Syriac*, and are neither very ancient, or of any considerable Authority. The best Use to be made of them is, that they may serve to illustrate some difficult Passages. Among the *Arabic* Translations, made by Christians, there is one printed in the *Polyglots* of *Paris* and *London*. Both the Author, and the Time when it was writ, are uncertain.

There are also in the *London* Polyglot, published by Bishop *Walton*, and (I think) in that of *Paris*, also published by Mr. *De Jay*, an *Ethiopic* and a *Persic* Version of the Scriptures. But as these Translations are not of all the Books of Holy Scripture, but of some only, and likewise of no great Antiquity, I shall say nothing more of them.

And now you may reasonably ask what Occasion for these *Polyglots*? For after all this Variety of Translations, all *Christians*, at least in these Parts, whether they be *Papists* or *Protestants*, are agreed in that Rule which you quoted from the Canon-Law, (Distinct. 9.) *Ut veterum librorum Fides de Hebraeis voluminibus examinanda est, ita novorum veritas Graeci sermonis normam desiderat.* And therefore when *Origen*, *Hesychius* and *Lucian* proposed to publish new Editions of the *LXX*, which had been corrupted by Transcribers, they corrected it by the *Hebrew* Original. And notwithstanding the Council of *Trent* declared the *Latin Vulgate* to be authentick; yet two Popes, one after the other, got it corrected by the *Hebrew* for the Old Testament, and by the *Greek* for the New. And all *Protestants* have translated the Scriptures into their several Languages from the *Hebrew* and *Greek* in like Manner, without Regard to those old Translations. Why then, if upon any Occasion we desire to be fully satisfied of the Faithfulness of our present *English* Translation, should we trouble ourselves further than to consult the *Hebrew* for the Old Testament, and the *Greek* for the New?

I answer, that although the Original is always to be preferred to the best and most exact Translation, and therefore, if we had the original *Hebrew* Text, as written by the inspired Penmen, the Matter would not bear a Dispute; yet, as this authentick Original has been lost for
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many Ages, and there are only Copies remaining in this original Language, all which have suffered by the Oversight, Ignorance, or Boldness of Transcribers, an old Translation may be of great Use to settle the true Reading, by informing us how the Text stood in that old Copy, from whence that Translation was made. For where the LXX, and other ancient Translations, differ from the present *Hebrew* Copies, (except there be some plain Reason to the contrary) it is Proof that it was so written in the Copy from whence that Translation was made, and ought to be received as a various Reading: And where there is a various Reading, the true Reading will be best discovered, by considering which is most agreeable to the Context, and to the other Parts of Holy Scripture.

There is another Use also to be made of these ancient Versions. The *Hebrew* is not only a dead Language, and has ceased to be the vulgar Language of any Nation for above 2000 Years; but is also a Language in which we have only one Book remaining, that is the Scriptures of the Old Testament. And in this Book there are some Words which occur but once or twice in the whole Book; which makes it very difficult, not to say impossible, to know the true Meaning of them without the Assistance of some Translation, for the Context will not always help us. Whereas the *Greek* and *Latin*, though dead Languages also, are preserved in a great Number of Books; so that if we are at a Loss, to know the Meaning of a Word in one Book, the Construction of it in others will inform us. Therefore the old Translations, made before the *Hebrew* had been so long out of vulgar Use, may greatly help us. And we may reasonably believe, that the Translators of the LXX were better skilled in the *Hebrew* Tongue than any now can pretend to be, and so were *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*, who made the *Targums*, and those who made the old *Syriac* Version. The *Arabic* Translations, though modern, compared with the former, yet it is still a living Language, and has some of these *Hebrew* Words in it, which but once or twice occur, and whose Meaning the *Jews* confess they received from the *Arabians*.

There is yet another Reason for which the LXX deserves our Regard; and that is, that it was, together with the Translations made from it, the only Scripture of the Old Testament, (except in some Parts of *Syria*) which the primitive *Christians* had for their Instruction; and even the Apostles themselves quoted it, and that often in Places where it differed from the present *Hebrew*, and consequently from our *English* Translation. To give an Instance or two, *Rom. x. 18.* St. Paul quoting the Words of *Psal. xix. 4.* says, *Their Sound went into all the Earth.* But in the present *Hebrew*, and our Bible Translation made from it, it is, *Their Line is gone out through all the Earth.* And *Rom. xv. 12.* Again *Esaiah* saith, *There shall be a Root of Jesse; and he that shall rise to reign over the Gentiles, in him shall the Gentiles trust.* So it is in the LXX, *Isai. xi. 10.* But in the *Hebrew*, and from thence in our *English* Bibles it is, *There shall be a Root of Jesse, which shall stand for an Ensign of the People, and to it shall the Gentiles seek.* There may many such Instances be given, which you may easily find, if, when you meet with a Passage in the New Testament quoted from the Old, you will

compare it with the LXX, and with your *English Bible*. There are also several Passages of the Old Testament quoted in the New, where the Sense only is given, but the Words differ both from the *Hebrew* and the LXX.

The *Latin Vulgate*, in which the *Psalms* and *Hymns*, translated from the LXX at the Beginning of *Christianity*, are still continued, may in those Places be of great Use to ascertain the true Reading of the LXX in any doubtful Passage: And the other Part being of St. *Jerom's* Translation from the *Hebrew*, may discover some various Reading, wherein his Copy, from which he translated, differed from the present *Hebrew* Copies. And the same may be said of the *Syriac*, and other ancient Versions, made immediately from the *Hebrew* Original.

But here it may be said, if the LXX, and other ancient Versions, are so different from the *Hebrew*; and this be a Proof that the *Hebrew* Copies from which those Translations were made, was different from the *Hebrew* Copies we now have; and there is no Original or *Autographum* of the sacred Penman by which these Copies may be corrected, nor has been since the Destruction of the Temple by the *Romans*; and that we must depend upon the Judgment and Care of the *Masorites*, as the only Evidence we have of the Authentickness of the present *Hebrew* Text of the Old Testament; and that as they lived not till above 400 Years after the original Copy of those Scriptures was destroyed, how shall we be sure that we have the true Scriptures which were written by *Moses* and the Prophets? Besides, as to the Books of *Moses*, there is the *Samaritan Pentateuch* preserved in the *Hebrew* Language, only written in a different Character, which in many Places differs from the *Pentateuch* we have received from the *Jews*; and that all these, whether Originals or Translations, have suffered much by Copiers; how shall we be assured that we have the true genuine Scriptures of the Old Testament, or indeed of the New? For that has suffered also by the *Overfight*, *Ignorance*, or *Boldness* of Transcribers.

I answer, the Case is the same as to all the Books that have been written or copied from Time to Time by several Hands. The same may be said as to *Aristotle*, *Plato*, *Demosthenes*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, &c. there are various Readings which have been found in MSS. of those Books, even as to whole Sentences, as well as single Words: And if we had Translations of these Books near as old as the Originals, no Question but various Readings might be gathered from them also. Shall we therefore say, we have not the Works of those Authors, at least not their true genuine Works? Or that spurious Works are put upon us instead of those which they wrote? And if there be not so many various Readings to be found in these Authors as have been found in the Bible, the Reason is, because there have never been so many Copies of those Books written as there have been of the Bible. Therefore, though we cannot say that either the *Hebrew* or the *Samaritan*, the *Chaldee* or LXX, or the *Latin Vulgate* or the *Syriac*, or any other ancient Translation, are without a faulty Reading; yet there is no considerable Fault as to Faith, Doctrine or Manners, in any of them. Most of the Differences between one Copy and another, or between the Original and the Versions, consist only in the different Expressions, which

are more or less clear, and which agree better or worse with the Context, going before, or following after, and which makes the Sense more or less perfect. There is none where the *Hebrew*, or LXX, or any other Version, teaches a dangerous Falshood or manifest Error, even though a Sentence be in the one, and be wanting in the other; or where there is an apparent Contrariety between the one and the other. Thus, for Instance, *Psal. xxviii. 1. Unto thee will I cry, O Lord, my Rock, be not silent to me: Lest if thou be silent to me, I become like them that go down into the Pit.* Here the LXX have omitted the Words *thou be silent to me*, that is, the Repetition of them as they are in *Hebrew*, which, though it may make the Passage less emphatical, it alters not the Sense. So *Psal. xxxiii. 10. the Hebrew reads, The Lord bringeth the Counsel of the Heathen to nought: He maketh the Devices of the People of none Effect.* So the Verse ends; but the LXX add, *He bringeth to nought the Counsel of Princes.* These Words contain what is most certainly true, and very probably were in the original *Hebrew*, from whence the Translation of the LXX was made; but omitted in the present Copies, by an Oversight of a Transcriber. But whether it be so or not, it affects neither Faith nor Morals, the Doctrine it teaches may be abundantly proved by other undoubted Texts; so that if we should grant (which I see no Reason to do) that the LXX have here added to the Text what in this Place was not in the truly original *Hebrew*, yet it makes no Addition to the Doctrine of the Scripture, which will continue the same as to this Particular, whether this Sentence belong to this Place or not.

Nay, where there is an apparent Contrariety between the *Hebrew* and the LXX, and other Translations, as in the Genealogies in the fifth and eleventh Chapters of *Genesis*, which Genealogy soever we follow, whether that of the *Hebrew*, or that of the LXX, it affects neither our Faith nor our Morals. The *Hebrew* says, *Adam* lived 130 Years, and begat *Seth*; the LXX says he lived 230 Years, and begat *Seth*, and so on for the ten Generations before the Flood; the LXX add 100 Years to the Age of each Patriarch before he begat his Son, except to *Jared* and *Methusala*, to the Age assigned him in the *Hebrew*. The *Samaritan* agrees with the *Hebrew* in the Age of each Patriarch before he begat his Son, excepting that it makes *Jared* 100, *Methusala* 120, and *Lamech* 139 Years younger when they begat their Sons than the *Hebrew* does. Thus the *Hebrew* makes it 1656 Years from the Creation to the Flood, the LXX 2262, and the *Samaritan* 1307. In like Manner, from the Flood to *Abraham*, the LXX make almost all those Patriarchs to be 100 Years older when they begat their Sons than the *Hebrew* does; and also between *Arphaxad* and *Sala* put in *Cainan*, and make him 130 Years old when he begat *Sala*; but in this Period there is no such Name as *Cainan* in the *Hebrew* Text, but he is named by St. *Luke* iii. 36. The *Samaritan* in this Period agrees with the LXX, only that it has not the Name of *Cainan* in this Genealogy. So the *Hebrew* number 448 Years from the Flood to *Abraham*, the LXX 1169, and the *Samaritan* 1039. But this different Chronology between the *Hebrew*, the LXX, and the *Samaritan*, affects neither any Thing that is necessary to be believed or practised. What is material and

necessary for us to know and believe, in this Part of the sacred Story, is the same in all, there is no Difference between them. They all give us the same Account of the Creation of the World, the Fall of Man, the Promise of the Seed of the Woman, the Destruction of Mankind, and of all Creatures living on the Earth, except what were preserved in the Ark, the repeopling of the World by *Noah* and his Sons, the Confusion of Languages at *Babel*, and such like material Parts of sacred History, the Memory of which the Holy Ghost thought fit should be transmitted to future Ages, unto the End of the World. But as to the Knowledge and Belief of these Things, what does it signify, whether *Adam* was 230, or but 130 Years old when he begat *Seth*? whether *Cainan* was the Son of *Arphaxad*, and Father of *Sala*; or whether there never was such a Person as this *Cainan*; and that *Sala* was the Son, not the Grandson of *Arphaxad*? That which God designed we should learn from the sacred History contained in these eleven first Chapters of *Genesis* is not at all affected by this Difference in the Chronology of the *Hebrew* and LXX.

The *Jews* have a Tradition recorded in their *Gemara*, that as the World was created in six Days, it should continue 6000 Years, and then have an End, because it is written, *Psal. xc. 4. A thousand Years in thy Sight are but as Yesterday*, that is, *are but as one Day*. Therefore say they, *as the Creation of the World was finished in six Days, so in six thousand Years shall all Things be accomplished*. That this Tradition is older than *Christianity* is certain, because it is used by *St. Barnabas*, the Companion of *St. Paul*, in an Epistle written by him in the Apostles' Days, and several other of the earliest Fathers appear to have been of this Opinion. Therefore says *Mr. Mede*, (See p. 897 of his Works) "That Difference of the Accounts of the Years of the World, was ordered by a special Disposition of Providence to frustrate our Curiosity in searching the Time of the Day of Judgment." For our Saviour has taught us (*Acts i. 7.*) that *it is not for us to know the Times and the Seasons, which the Father hath put in his own Power*. And nothing has caused so great a Difference between the ancient *Christian* Chronologers who follow the LXX, and the present Chronologers who follow the *Hebrew*, as this Difference between the *Hebrew* and *Greek* of the Age the most ancient Patriarchs were of when they begat their Children.

1. Many Times the Difference which is found between the Version and the Original, or betwixt the Versions themselves, as betwixt our *English* Version and the LXX, comes from this; that Interpreters do not always translate literally; neither indeed can they, if they will write Sense. For all Languages have their particular Idioms or Forms of Speech, which literally translated into another Tongue, will appear harsh and absurd. This will oblige the Translator to give the Sense of such Passages in a Kind of Paraphrase, and not in a literal Translation. There are indeed many Cases in which a Translator may be obliged to vary from the strict Letter of the Original. This may cause a verbal Difference between the Translation and the Original, and likewise between two Translations of the same Book. But these Differences diminish nothing from the Authority of either the Original or Translation, and hinder not but both may pass as a Rule of our Faith and

and Manners. These different Readings, and small Faults; which are generally met with in different MSS, and various Editions of all ancient Authors, sacred and prophane, both in the Originals, and the Versions, do not prevent our certainly having the authentick Works of those Authors, nor hinder our knowing their true Sentiments.

Whatever Differences therefore we find to have happened through the Carelessness, or Ignorance, or rash Boldness of Transcribers, or by any other Means, with Regard to the *Hebrew* Text we now have, and the different Copies of the LXX, or other Versions, are by no Means sufficient to invalidate the Authority of the Old Testament, or to give any one just Occasion to say that the Scriptures of the Old Testament we now have are not the Word of God. For notwithstanding these various Readings, even as to whole Sentences, the Providence of God has taken Care, that no such Errors have crept either into the *Hebrew*, or LXX, or other ancient Versions, as may lead Men into Opinions and Practices contrary to the Design of the Revelation given. As to Things of less Consequence, where neither the Interest of the divine Government, nor the Happiness of Men are concerned, to assert it necessary that God should interpose in an extraordinary Manner to prevent all Mistakes, so that there should be no Difference between one Copy and another, is to affirm it necessary that God should interpose in an extraordinary Manner, where there is no extraordinary Occasion for it. The great End of a Revelation from God can only be to acquaint Men with his Will in reference to their Duty, and to encourage thereby proper Motives to the Performance of it; that so they may obtain his Favour, and secure their own Happiness. This End is equally to be obtained, whether we follow the Reading of the *Hebrew*, or LXX, or other ancient Versions. And therefore all the Objections formed against the sacred Books, upon Account of the Differences found in the several Copies of the Originals or Versions we now have, will appear to be of no Force to prove that the Scriptures we now have were not written by divine Authority, till it can be proved that the original Design of them is hereby obscured, and that they are insufficient to make Men virtuous and happy. Till this be made out, the Objection carries in it this manifest Contradiction; That the Scriptures we now have cannot be the Word of God, because there is in them such a Number of various Readings as render them insufficient to accomplish that great End for which they are abundantly sufficient.

The Truth is, we have Reason to admire and adore the Providence of God; that notwithstanding the Holy Scriptures have been dispersed into almost all the Nations of the World, and translated into most Languages, have been transcribed by *Christians* of many different Persuasions and Opinions; and that, beside the various Readings, which have proceeded from Oversight or Ignorance, or Rashness, there are some which may seem to have been made to serve the particular Opinions of a Party; yet, not any Article of Faith, any Doctrine or Duty, any Promise or Threatening, has been affected thereby, or rendered precarious by any various Reading or Corruption. The most that can be said, where a various Reading, which may give a different Sense to
any

any Text, does occur, that Text, so variously read, will not be a sufficient Proof of that Doctrine it may be alledged for ; and the Doctrine might be judged uncertain, if it could not be proved from other Texts, wherein all Copies (except such as are apparently faulty) are agreed. But God be praised, all the Doctrines of *Christianity*, as received and taught by the Primitive Catholick Church, and from thence by the Church of *England*, may be clearly proved from such Texts of the Old and New Testament as have no various Readings, at least none such as make any Difference in the Sense ; for most of the various Readings cause no Difference in the Sense.

However, in many Places, I believe, I may say in most, if not in all, where the Readings are various, we may pretty well judge and satisfy ourselves concerning the true Reading, by observing the following Rules. As first, when any Part of the Old Testament is quoted in the New, and in the Place from whence that Quotation is taken, there be a various Reading, we may, I think, assure ourselves, that the Words, as quoted there, are the true Reading, whether they be quoted according to the *Hebrew* or the LXX. And whereas the Old Testament is often quoted in the New according to the Sense, and not according to the Letter either of the *Hebrew* or LXX, and there be there a various Reading, that which comes nearest the Sense of the Quotation in the New Testament is to be preferred. In the next Place, where a *Hebrew* Word has one Signification, as pointed by the *Masorites*, or as interpreted by the *Jews*, and may well bear a different Signification from that *Jewish* Interpretation ; and the LXX have followed that different Signification of the Word, of which Bishop *Pearson* has given several Instances in his excellent Preface to the *Cambridge* Edition of the LXX, then, I conceive, we may safely follow the LXX ; because we may reasonably suppose they understood the *Hebrew* better than the modern *Jews*. And the same may be said when ו and ו, ו and ו, and other similar Letters might be mistaken by Transcribers the one for the other ; because the LXX translated from correct Copies, taken immediately from the *Autographum* preserved in the Temple. Again, when we find a Sentence or Period in the *Hebrew*, which is not in the LXX, or in the LXX, and not in the *Hebrew* ; if we find it agreeable to what goes before, and follows after in the Context, we may conclude that Sentence or Period was in the Original, but omitted in the Copies we now have, either of the *Hebrew* or LXX, by the Oversight of Transcribers. For the Omission of a Sentence may easily happen through Oversight ; but the Addition of a Sentence must be made on Purpose. However, if the Sentence which is found in the *Hebrew*, and not in the LXX ; or in the LXX, and not in the *Hebrew*, be manifestly incoherent, and breaks the Sense of the Context, then there is Reason to believe it an Addition, occasioned by a Note somebody had made in the Margin of his Book, which an ignorant Transcriber put into the Text. By these and some other critical Rules, we may form a pretty good Judgment which Reading we ought to follow, whether of the *Hebrew* or the LXX, in most Places where they differ the one from the other.

Thus,

Thus, Reverend Sir, I have answered your Question as well as I can; and, perhaps, more largely than you expected or desired. Indeed, if I had only said, that the Reason of the Difference between our *English* Version and the *LXX*, was because they were made from two different Copies of the *Hebrew*, it had been a full Answer to your Query: But, I hope, my enlarging upon it may be more to your Satisfaction, and that, upon that Account, you will excuse my not answering you sooner.

I am,

Octob. 17,
1729.

Reverend Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

T. B.

A N

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE SEVERAL

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

OF THE

B I B L E.

ONE Thing censured by the Church of *Rome* in our Reformation, is, The committing so much Heavenly Treasure to such rotten Vessels, the trusting so much excellent Wine to such musty Bottles; I mean, the Version of the Scriptures into the usual Languages of the common People, and the promiscuous Liberty indulged them therein. This they charge as an Innovation of a dangerous Consequence. But the constant current of Antiquity does affirm the contrary, which plainly shews, that the Church did neither innovate in this Act of hers, nor deviate therein from the Word of God, or from the Usage of the best and happiest Times of the Church of Christ.

The Word of God, no doubt, was committed unto Writing, that it might be read by all that were to be directed and guided by it. The Scriptures of the *Old Testament* were first written in *Hebrew*, the Vulgar Language of the *Jews*, and read unto them publickly in their Synagogues every *Sabbath Day*, *Acts* xiii. 27. and xv. 21. The *New Testament* was writ in *Greek*, the most known and studied Language of the Eastern World, for the same Reason; and written for this End and Purpose, that Men might believe that *Jesus* is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing they might have Life in his Name, *John* xx. 31. But being that all the Faithful did not understand these Languages, and that the Light of Holy Scripture might not be likened to a Candle hid under a Bushel, it was thought good by many godly Men in the Primitive Times, to translate the same into the Languages of the Countries in which they lived, or of which they had been Natives: Concerning which *Theodoret* (who lived in the Beginning of the fifth Century) *ad Græc. Infid. Sermon.* 5. thus speaks; *We Christians are enabled*

enabled to shew the Power of Apostolick and Prophetick Doctrines, which have filled all Countries under Heaven. For that which was formerly uttered in Hebrew, is not only translated into the Language of the Græcians, but also of the Romans, the Indians, Persians, Armenians, Scythians, Sarmatians, Egyptians, and, in a Word, into all the Languages that are used by any Nation. For the Sacred Writ being the Foundation of the Christian Religion, upon which they built the whole System of their Morality and Doctrine, and which the Christians were obliged to read both in Publick and Private; the several Churches of the World could not be long without such Translations as might be understood by every Body.

Not to mention other Places, this was done here in *England*, by *Adelm* or *Aldhelm* the first Bishop of *Sherborn*, who translated the *Psalter* into the *Saxon* Tongue, about the Year 706. This *Adelm*, in his Book *de Virginitate*, praises the Nuns to whom he writ, that studying the Holy Scriptures, they had manifested their Industry and Towardliness in the daily reading of them. And *Bede*, l. 3. c. 5. *ab Anno* 634. tells us how *Aidan* (a *Scotch* Bishop, who promoted Christianity in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, in the Reign of King *Oswald*, and fixed his See in *Holy Island*) took Care that all those that travelled with him, whether Clergy or Laity, should spend a considerable Part of their Time in reading the Holy Scriptures: And the *Saxon Homilies* exhort the People with great Earnestness, to the frequent Perusal of the Scriptures; and enforce the Advice from the great Benefit of that Exercise. At this Time of Day the Bible was not accounted a dangerous Book; it was not locked up in an unknown Tongue, or kept under Restraint, or granted with Faculties and Dispensations. In those Days there was a Translation of the Scriptures extant in the Vulgar Language, otherwise it had been impossible for the Women to have studied them, when the Knowledge of the *Latin* Tongue was so rare in those Days, that few of the Clergy understood it; and this *Adelm* was the first of our *English* Nation who wrote in *Latin*; having been educated at *Rome* and in *France*. He wrote a Letter to *Egbert* (whom they also called *Ebfrid*, *Eadfrid*, and *Eckfrid*) Bishop of *Landisfern*, extant in *Wharton's Auctarium Hist. Dogmat. Usserij*, p. 351; in which he exhorts him, that for the common Benefit and Use of all People, the Scriptures might be put into the Vulgar Language, which *Butler*, in his Book against the Vulgar Translation, says he did. And Archbishop *Usser*, in his *Historia Dogmatica*, c. 5. tells us, that the *Saxon* Translation of the Evangelists done by *Egbert*, without Distinction of Chapters, was in the Possession of Mr. *Rob. Bowyer*. *Wharton* in his *Anglia Sacra*, pars 1. p. 695. relates how this *Egbert* writ, for the Use of St. *Cuthbert*, whilst he was with him in his Monastery, a very fair Copy of the Four Evangelists in *Latin*; which *Ethelwold* his Successor beautified with Gold and Precious Stones, to which *Aldred* a Priest added a *Saxon* Interlineary Translation, to be seen in *Cotton's Library*. *Egbert* dyed *Anno* 1721.

Bede, who flourished about the Beginning of the Eighth Century, spent his whole Time in Study and Devotion, wrote a great many Tracts: his last is said to be the Translation of St. *John's Gospel* into *English*;

English; and *Asterius* tells us, the last Sentence was finished, when he was expiring. But *Cuthbert* in his Letter concerning his Death, recorded in his Life, says he went no farther than these Words, *But what are those among so many*, John vi. 9. *Fox* tells us, out of the Preface before the ancient Bibles, that *Bede* translated the whole Bible into the Saxon Tongue: and *Caius* in his Book *de Antiq. Cantab.* l. 1. relates the same. *Bale* says he translated the Gospel of St. *John*, the *Psalter*, and other Books of the Holy Scriptures into *English*.

Ingulphus in his History, Cent. 1. c. 83. makes mention of St. *Guth-lack's Psalter*: He lived at the same Time with *Adelm*, was the first Saxon Anchoret; and gave Occasion to the founding the Monastery of *Croyland* by *Ethelbald* King of *Mercia*, in the Place where he had erected his Cell. *Lambert* in *Respon. ad 26. Art. Epis.* says, he saw his *Psalter* in the Saxon Tongue, among the Records belonging to the Abby of *Croyland*. And there is in the Publick Library in *Cambridge*, a Translation of the *Psalms* in *Latin* and *Saxon*; and another very old *Latin* Translation, with an Interlineary Saxon Version in Sir *Rob. Cotton's* Library, in the same Character with the Charter of King *Ethelbald*, bearing Date *Anno 736*, as Archbishop *Usher* tells us, *Hist. Dog.* p. 104.

King *Alfred*, in his Letter to *Wulffig* Bishop of *London*, prefixed to his Translation of *Gregory the Great's Pastoral*, observes that the Bible written in *Hebrew*, was translated into *Greek* and *Latin*; and that all Christendom had some Part of the Inspired Writings turned into their own Language. For this Reason he caused to be translated the *Old* and *New Testament* into the *English* Tongue. He undertook the Translation of the Book of *Psalms* himself, but dyed *Anno 900*. when it was about half finished. This was published with the *Latin* Interlineary Text, by *John Spelman*, in *Quarto*, *London 1640*. There is also another Saxon Interlineary Translation of the *Psalter* in the Library at *Lambeth*, which seems to be little later than the Time of King *Alfred*. And that we may see how strong that King's Inclinations were to provide for the Security of Religion, and to promote the Happiness of his People; he informs *Wulffig* that he had a Design that all the *English* who had any thing of Circumstances, or Sufficiency, should be obliged to educate their Children to read *English*, before they put them to any Trade; and if they intended to have them preferred to any Degree of Notice and Consideration, they should get them instructed in *Latin*. Several other Translations of the *Psalms* were made afterwards, and of the *New Testament*. One of the last in the Saxon Tongue Archbishop *Usher* informs us, is in *Ben'et College* Library; and that another old Saxon Translation of the Four Evangelists was printed at *London Anno 1571*, wherein the several Portions appointed to be read on Sundays and Holy-Days, were marked out. Such was the Care of the Church of *England* then, to instruct the People committed to her Charge in Matters of Religion; that as often as there was any considerable Change made in the Vulgar Tongue, there were made new Translations of the Scriptures, Offices, and Homilies for the Publick, so far was she from thinking Ignorance to be the Mother of Devotion.

For a Proof of this, Mr. *Wharten* offers a Saxon *English* Manuscript in

in *Lambeth Library*, wherein are contained fourteen Homilies, several other Treatises, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, with large Explanations, in a Dialect very different from the old *Saxon*, but somewhat near to our present *English*, as it was spoken after the *Norman Invasion*: And he looks upon those various Readings collected from four Manuscripts, which *Spelman* published with *Alfred's Psalter*, to be so many different Translations.

Bale, Script. Brit. cent. 2. c. 27. relates how King *Athelstan* caused the Holy Scriptures to be translated out of the *Hebrew*, into the *English Saxon Tongue* by certain *Jews*, who ('tis probable) had been converted to Christianity, and quotes *Malmesbury* for a Witness. This Archbishop *Usher* places to the Year 930.

Elfric or *Elfred* Abbot of *Malmesbury*, and afterwards *Anno 995*. Archbishop of *Canterbury*, translated the *Pentateuch*, *Joshua*, *Judith*, Part of the Books of *Kings*, *Hester*, and *Maccabees*; he dyed 1006. He hath a Preface before the Book of *Genesis*, in which he answers that common Objection against translating the Scriptures, taken from the evil Use unlearned and ignorant Persons may make of them. And although the *Latin Tongue* was then generally used in Divine Offices, yet the Tyranny of the *Romish Church* had not then so far prevailed, as to detain the People in a brutish Ignorance; but that the whole Order of Divine Service might be understood by all, the Missal was published with *Latin* on one Side, and *English* (that is the *Saxon*) on the other, one of which is preserved in *Ben'et College Library* in *Cambridge*. The Five Books of *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Judges*, of *Elfric's* Translation, Primate *Usher* tells us, are preserved in *Cotton's Library*; as there is also a *Psalter* with several Hymns of the *Old and New Testament*, with the Apostles' and *Athanasian Creed*, with an *English Interlineary Translation*. The Book was written *Anno 1049*, as it is noted at the latter End of it.

Certainly, whatever the *Romanists* may imagine, the Translation of the Scriptures, and their Offices, were no less necessary to the Clergy, than the common People. The Priests Lips, say they, should keep Knowledge, and the People should seek the Law at his Mouth; depend upon him with an implicit Faith, and a blind Devotion: But what if the Priest neither understands the Scriptures nor his Prayers? Then, if ever, the Blind leads the Blind. At this Time Learning was at a very low Ebb, as is manifest from King *Alfred's Letter* to Bishop *Wulfsig* in Mr. *Wharton's Auctarium*. Indeed (says he) Knowledge is so entirely vanished from the *English*, that there are very few of the Clergy on this Side of the *Humber*, that can either translate a Piece of *Latin*, or so much as understand their common Prayers, so as to give the Meaning of them in their Mother Tongue. Nay, they were so few that he could not find one that could do it on the South of the *Thames* when he began to reign. And *Matthew Paris* in the Life of the Conqueror says, *Clerici quoque & Ordinati adeo literatura carebant, ut ceteris essent stupori, qui Grammaticam didicissent*. To this Degree of Ignorance they were sunk, that the *Latin* was become an unintelligible Language.

Long before *Wickliff's* Translation some Hundred Years, (as *Tho. James* conjectures, *Cor. Fa. p. 225.*) came forth a Translation of the

whole Bible in *English*, whereof they have three Copies in *Oxford*, one in the Publick Library, one in *Christ Church Library*, and the other in *Queen's College*. This Archbishop *Usher* places to the Year 1290. Before it is a large Preface, and in it the Translator treats of the Authority and Use of the Holy Scriptures, reckons the Canonical Books according to the *Hebrews*; tells us how he had compared several Copies, consulted the Expositions of the Fathers, and the Glosses of learned Men; recommends the Study of them to all, both Men and Women, to the Learned and Unlearned; and laments the Obstinacy of the Clergy, in opposing it: He says, they dote that condemn the translating the Scriptures into the Mother Tongue, since they were written for our Learning, and *Christ* commanded that the Gospel should be preached to all Nations; and there had been innumerable Translations made in most of the known Languages. This Translation Mr. *Wharton* in his *Auclarium ab Anno 1290* believes to be erroneously ascribed to *Wickliff*, in all the Manuscripts that he had seen, those Inscriptions, he judges, were after added by unwary Readers, who meeting with an anonymous Translation, immediately fathered it upon *Wickliff*, whose Name was famous amongst the *English* Interpreters; and rather thinks it belongs to *Trevisa*. About the Year 1340 *Richard Hampole* made an *English* Translation of the *Psalms*, and commenting upon those Words of the *Psalmist*, *And take not the Word of thy Truth utterly out of my Mouth*, *Psal. cxix. 43.* declared his Judgment concerning the Necessity of the Scriptures in the Vulgar Language.

Richard Fitz-Ralph, commonly called *Armachanus*, is said to have translated the Bible into *Irish*: He was first Archdeacon of *Litchfield*, then made Chancellor of *Oxford*, and afterwards promoted to the Archbishoprick of *Armagh* in *Ireland*, *Anno 1347*, and died *Anno 1360*.

About the same Time *John Thurstby* Archbishop of *York*, a Prelate of great Piety and Learning, published a Manual in *English* for the Instruction of his Diocese; it is an Exposition upon the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments; wherein he condemns the Prelates and Clergy, who then began to withhold the Use of the Scriptures from the People. He died *Anno 1373*.

John Trevisa, Vicar of *Berkley* in *Cornwall*, at the Desire of his Patron the Lord *Berkley*, translated the *Old and New Testament* into the *English* Tongue. This Archbishop *Usher* places to the Year 1360, but Mr. *Wharton*, with better Reason, to 1387. This did not bring him under any Persecution; for notwithstanding he lived almost Ninety Years, we do not find him disturbed for any Singularities of Opinion, as they were then counted. He died 1397.

God also stirred up *Wickliff* to translate the same again out of the *Latin* of *St. Jerom*, into the *English* of those Times, about the Year 1380, the *Saxon* Tongue being not then commonly understood. He set a large Preface before it, in which he reflected severely on the Corruptions of the *Romish* Clergy, and condemned the worshipping of Saints and Images, denied the Corporal Presence of *Christ's Body* in the Sacrament, and exhorted all People to the Study of the Scriptures. His Bible, with his Preface, was well received by a great many, who were led into these Opinions rather by the Impressions which common

Sense

Sense and plain Reason made on them, than by any deep Speculation or Study.

Wickliff, commonly called the Apostle of *England*, was one of the most eminent Divines of his Time, says *Knighton*, Professor of Divinity in *Oxford*, and preferred to the Wardenship of *Canterbury* College, by the Founder Archbishop *Islip*, but was afterwards turned out by Archbishop *Langham*, who also got an Order from King *Richard* the 2d. to the University to banish him, which it complied with. *Wickliff* being thus persecuted, and his Doctrines condemned by a Synod at *London*, went into *Bohemia*, but afterwards returned into *England*, and lived the Remainder of his Time, and died undisturbed at his Parish of *Lutterworth* in *Leicestershire*, Anno 1384. His Bones were dug up Forty Years after, and ordered to be burnt, by a Decree of the Council of *Constance*, and his Ashes cast into the next River Anno 1428, thinking thereby to damn and obliterate his Memory.

Against this Translation (after it had been ordered to be burnt) *Butler*, a Franciscan, wrote his Treatise Anno 1401, wherein he alledges, that the promiscuous Use of the Scriptures hath been a great Occasion of Errors and Heresies, and therefore they ought to be withheld from the People. About the same Time one *Sillby* preached a Sermon at *Paul's* Cross before the Bishop of *London* on this Subject: He was opposed by some, who objected to him the Authority of many learned Men; among the rest of *Hampole* before mentioned. They also applied to him that Saying of *St. Paul's* to *Elymas* the Sorcerer, *Acts* xiii. 10. *O full of Subtlety and all Mischief, thou Child of the Devil, thou Enemy of all Righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right Ways of the Lord?*

Fox, in his Preface before his Edition of the *Saxon* Gospels, printed Anno 1571, tells us; that in a Parliament in the Reign of *Richard* the 2d. a Bill was brought in for prohibiting all Bibles in the *English* Tongue, but was thrown out: *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, a Favourer of *Wickliff*, inveighed sharply against it, saying, We will not be the Dregs (the Tail) of all Mankind, seeing other Nations have the Law of God (which is the Rule of our Faith) in their own Tongues; which (with an Oath) he said he would maintain against those that brought in the Bill. Others added, that if the Gospel in the *English* was the Cause of Errors and Heresies in the World; let them consider that there were more Hereticks amongst the *Latins*, than amongst those that used any other Translation; for the Popes Decrees reckon up Sixty-six Hereticks that use the *Latin*. This Primate *Usher* places to the Year 1390.

Anno 1394, *Ann* Sister to *Wenceslaus* King of *Bohemia*, and Queen to *Richard* the 2d. King of *England*, died; at whose Funeral *Thomas Arundel*, at that Time Archbishop of *York*, made her Funeral Oration; in this he especially commended her, for that she, though a Foreigner, (a *Bohemian*) constantly studied the Four Gospels, which she read in the *English* Tongue, with some learned Comments thereon.

It seems there were then extant various Translations of the Bible, and that several others besides *Wickliff* had undertaken that Work. So then it is no Innovation to translate the Scriptures; and less to suffer those Translations to be promiscuously read by all Sorts of People. It

was, we know, severely imputed to the Scribes and Pharisees by our Saviour, that they took from the People the Key of Knowledge, by their false Glosses and Interpretations, *Luke xi. 52*; but they never attempted what hath been since practised by the Church of *Rome*, to take away the Ark of the Testament itself, and cut off not only the Efficacy, but the very Possession of the Word of God from the People; as if they were so afraid they should understand them, that they dare not suffer them so much as to be acquainted with them. For in the Year 1407, says Archbishop *Usher*, 1406, says Archbishop *Parker*, 1408, says *Linwood* and *Collier*, *Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in a Synod held at *Oxford* to give a Check to the Progress of the *Lollards*, decreed in these Words, Can. 7. *It is a dangerous Thing, as St. Jerom assures us, to translate the Scriptures, it being very difficult in a Version to keep close to the Sense of the Inspired Writers; for by the Confession of the same Father, he had mistaken the Meaning of several Texts. We therefore constitute and ordain, that from hence-forward, no unauthorized Person shall translate any Part of Holy Scripture into English, or any other Language, under any Form of Book or Treatise; neither shall any such Book, Treatise, or Version, made either in Wickliff's Time, or since, or which hereafter shall be made, be read either in Whole or in Part, Publickly or Privately, under the Penalty of the Greater Excommunication, till the said Translation shall be approved either by the Bishop of the Diocese, or a Provincial Council, as Occasion shall require. And whosoever shall do contrary hereunto, shall be punished as an Encourager of Heresies and Errors.* Whereupon ensued grievous Persecutions.

The Words seem to intimate, that there were *English* Translations of the Bible more ancient than that of *Wickliff*, and that the Use of them had never been by any Law prohibited before. *Gascoign* in his Dictionary makes this Observation on the Manner of *Arundel's* Death; that he was seized with a Distemper in his Tongue, so that he could neither swallow nor speak for some Days before he died, which many looked upon as a Judgment upon him for not suffering the Scriptures to be read in his Time.

The reading of *Wickliff's* Translation was prohibited, as appears by this Canon, not simply as a Version in the Vulgar Tongue, but as disapproved by the Church, because the Translator was not thought to have rendered the Original faithfully; and according to the full Import and true Meaning of the Text, or at least because it was not a Work of Authority, it being not thought convenient to allow every private Person the Liberty of translating the Scriptures. Archbishop *Arundel*, one would think, could not be of Opinion that it was simply unlawful to render, or to read the Holy Scriptures in the Vulgar Tongue; because he had justly applauded Queen *Ann* for reading them (as was before observed) and in those very Constitutions which prohibit the reading of *Wickliff's* Books, or any other Version by Persons unauthorized, it is declared this Prohibition should only continue in force till such Translation should be approved by a Provincial Council, or the Bishop of the Diocese; which supposes in the Judgment of that Prelate, there might be Reason why such Translation should be approved, when faithfully done, and by Persons duly authorized to that End.

About this Time Pope *Alexander* the 5th condemned all Translations of

of the Scriptures in the Vulgar Tongue, of whom it was prophesied, that in the Year 1409 one should arise that should persecute the Gospel, Epistles, and Faith of Christ.

Stow records, that *Reginald Peacock*, Bishop of *Chichester*, spent many Years in translating the Scriptures into *English*, for which (amongst other Heretical Opinions) he was prosecuted by the Bishops, and deprived of his See *Anno* 1457. But Mr. *Wharton* in his *Auctarium*, p. 444. says, this is a manifest Mistake, whereas there is no Mention of any thing of this in the Catalogue of his Writings, published by himself a little before his Death. Neither doth any thing of this appear in the Articles exhibited against him, which would not have been omitted, it being a Crime condemned in the Synod at *Oxford*, in the Beginning of this Century, by Archbishop *Arundel*. Nevertheless he thought they ought to be translated for the Use of all, as appears from several Places in his Writings; that they are a Privilege and Right of every Member of the Christian Church, which cannot, without Impiety to God, and Injustice to it and them, be taken away and impeached, though some should make a wrong Use of them; and exhorts all to the diligent Reading of them.

Men and Women were now frequently delated (amongst other Articles) for reading the *New Testament* in *English*, condemned by the Church, and delivered over to the Secular Magistrate to be punished. But this did not produce the desired Effect. This Cruelty was looked on as an Evidence of a weak Cause; this Method wrought only on People's Fears, and made them more cautious and reserved, but did not at all work on their Reasons or Affections. The Corruptions of the Church of *Rome* in her Worship and Doctrine were such, that a very small Proportion of Common Sense, but with a transient Look on the *New Testament*, discovered them, and laid open the Impostures with which the World had been abused.

On the spreading of *Luther's* Doctrine in the Reign of King *Henry* the 8th, *William Tyndal*, alias *Hickins*, bred first in *Oxford*, then in *Cambridge*, being molested and vexed by the *Romish* Priests upon the Account of Religion, was forced to leave the Realm, and travelled into the farther Parts of *Germany*, where he conversed with *Luther* and other learned Men of those Parts. After some Time he came down into the *Netherlands*, and fixed at *Antwerp*; where, considering with himself how to reduce his Brethren and Country-men of *England* to the same State and Understanding of God's Holy Word and Truth, which the Lord had endued him withal, thought no Way or Means more likely to conduce thereunto, than if the Scriptures were translated into the Vulgar Tongue, that the poor People might also read and see the plain Word of God. Whereupon he began with the *New Testament*, and with the Help of one *John Fryth*, translated it out of the *Greek* Original, Finished, Printed, and Published it; to which he added some short Glosses. *Fryth* was bred at *Cambridge*, where he made a considerable Proficiency in the *Latin* and *Greek* Languages. His Parts and Improvements made him taken Notice of by Cardinal *Wolsey*, who designed him, with some other Persons of Eminence, for his new Foundation of *Christ's Church* in *Oxford*; but in *July* 1552, he was burnt in *Smith-*

field for an Heretick. This is the first Time the Holy Scriptures were printed in *English*, (and that was only the *New Testament*) but written Copies thereof, of *Wickliff's* Translation, there were long before, and many: This was printed in some Foreign Parts, perhaps at *Hamborough* or *Antwerp*, about the Year 1526; for in this Year Cardinal *Wolfey* and the Bishops consulted together for the prohibiting the *New Testament* of *Tyndal's* Translation to be read, and published a Prohibition against it in all their Dioceses; alledging, that some of *Luther's* Followers had erroneously translated the *New Testament*, and had corrupted the Word of God by a false Translation and Heretical Glosses: therefore they required all Incumbents to charge all within their Parishes, that had any of these, to bring them in to the Vicar General, within Thirty Days after that Premonition, under the Pains of Excommunication, and incurring the Suspicion of Heresy. This Year also *Tunstal* Bishop of *London*, and Sir *Tho. More*, bought up almost the whole Impression, and burnt them at *Paul's* Cross. This first Translation of *Tyndal's*, *Garrat* (alias *Garrard*) Curate of *Honey-Lane* (afterwards burnt for Heresy) dispersed in *London* and *Oxford* among the Scholars.

After this *Tyndal* took in hand to translate the *Old Testament*, and finishing the Five Books of *Moses*, with Prologues prefixed before every one, and minding to print the same at *Hamborough*, sailed thitherward; but by the Way, on the Coast of *Holland* suffered Shipwreck, where he lost all his Books, Writings, and Copies, which doubled his Pains. He came in another Ship to *Hamborough*, where he lighted on the Help of *Miles Coverdale*, a *Yorkshire* Man born, who had some time been Fryer of the Order of *St. Austin*, but being convinced of the Errors and Superstition of that Church and Fraternity, went into *Germany*, and for the most Part lived at *Tubing*, an University belonging to the Duke of *Saxony*, where he received the Degree of Doctor; but returning into *England* the first Year of King *Edward* the 6th, and growing into great Esteem for Piety and diligent Preaching, he was made Bishop of *Exeter* Anno 1551. In Queen *Mary's* Time he was taken into Custody, and there remained a considerable Time; but at the Intercession of the King of *Denmark*, he was set at Liberty, and permitted to go beyond Sea: Settling at *Geneva*, he there became so fond of *Calvin* and his Opinions, that upon his Return under Queen *Elizabeth*, though he assisted at the Consecration of Archbishop *Parker*, yet he refused to conform to the Liturgy and Ceremonies, and not returning to his Bishoprick, settled himself in *London*, and there leading a private Life, died a very old Man, and was buried in *St. Magnus* Church near *London* Bridge. This Man assisted *Tyndal* in translating the whole Five Books of *Moses*, from *Easter* till *December*, about the Year 1529, and they went safely through their Work.

Tyndal's Translation of the *New Testament* had great Authority and Influence, of which the Bishops made great Complaints, and said it was full of Errors. And *Tunstal* being at *Antwerp* in the Year 1529, as he returned from his Embassy at the Treaty of *Cambray*, sent for one *Austin Packington*, an *English* Merchant there, and desired him to see how many *New Testaments* of *Tyndal's* Translation he might have for Money. *Packington*, who was a secret Favourer of *Tyndal*, told him what the
Bishop

Bishop proposed. *Tyndal* was very glad of it, for being sensible of some Faults in his Work, he was designing a new and more correct Edition; but wanting Money, and the former Impression being not sold off, he could not go about it. So he gave *Packington* all the Copies that lay in his Hands, for which the Bishop paid the Price, brought them over, and burnt them publickly in *Cheapside*. This *Collier* calls an odd Story, and makes this Reflection on it: Thus *Packington* cheated Bishop *Tonstal* of his Money, and *Tyndal* received it. ~ *Coll. Eccles. Hist. Vol. 2. p. 22.*

The Burning of these Books had such an hateful Appearance in it, being generally called the Burning of the Word of God, that People concluded from thence, that there must be a visible Contrariety between this Book, and the Doctrines of those who so used it; by which both their Prejudice against the Clergy and their Desire of reading the *New Testament* were increased.

Upon this *Tyndal* revised his Translation of the *New Testament*, corrected it, and caused it again to be printed, *Anno 1530*. The Books finished, were privately sent over to *Tyndal's* Brother, *John Tyndal* and *Thomas Patmore*, Merchants, and another young Man, and were received and dispersed by them; for which having been taken up by the Bishop of *London*, they were adjudged in the Star Chamber, Sir *Thomas More* being then Lord Chancellor, to ride with their Faces to the Horse Tail, having Papers on their Heads, and the *New Testament* and other Books, which they had dispersed, to be hanged about them, and at the Standard in *Cheapside*, themselves to throw them into a Fire made for that Purpose; and then to be fined at the King's Pleasure, which Penance they observed; the Fine set upon them was heavy enough, 18840 Pounds and 10 Pence.

At the same Time *Constantine*, one of *Tyndal's* Associates, being taken in *England*, the Lord Chancellor *More*, in a private Examination, promised that no Hurt should be done him, if he would reveal who encouraged and supported them at *Antwerp*; which he accepted of, and told him that the greatest Encouragement they had, was from the Bishop of *London*, who had bought up Half the Impression.

When the Clergy condemned *Tyndal's* Translation of the *New Testament*, they declared they intended to set out a new Translation of it, which many thought was truly never designed, but only pretended, that they might restrain the Curiosity of seeing *Tyndal's* Works, with the Hopes of one that should be authorized. For on the 24th of *May 1530*, there was a Form of a Writing drawn and agreed to by Archbishop *Worham*, Chancellor *More*, Bishop *Tonstal*, and many Canonists and Divines, which every Incumbent was commanded to read to his Parish, as a Warning to prevent the Contagion of Heresy; the Contents of which were, (as far as concerns this Business) That the King having called together many of the Prelates, with other learned Men out of both Universities to examine some Books lately set out in the *English* Tongue, they had agreed to condemn them, as containing several Points of Heresy in them; and it being proposed to them, whether it was necessary to set forth the Scriptures in the Vulgar Tongue, they were of Opinion, that though it had been sometimes

done, and the Holy Fathers of the Church thought meet and convenient to put them into the common People's Hands, yet at this Time it was not necessary, and that the King and the Prelates, in not suffering the Scriptures to be divulged and communicated to the People in the *English* Tongue, did well; but that the King would cause the *New Testament* to be by learned Men faithfully and purely translated, to the Intent he might have it in his Hands, ready to give to his People, as he might see their Manners and Behaviour meet, apt, and convenient to receive the same.

This Year also the Bishops had procured of the King a Proclamation to be set forth for the prohibiting and abolishing of divers Books, among which is the *New Testament of Tyndal*.

Tyndal having disposed his Business at *Hamborough*, and returned to *Antwerp*, proceeded in translating the *Old Testament*, and did as far as *Nehemiah* inclusively, but translated none of the Prophets, save *Jonah*, being prevented by Death. Probably he rendered the *Old Testament* out of the *Latin*, having little or no Skill in the *Hebrew*. None will deny that many Faults needing Amendment are found in this Translation, which is no Wonder to those that consider, 1st, That such an Undertaking was not a Task for a Man, but Men. 2^{dly}, *Tyndal* being an Exile, wanted many Accommodations. 3^{dly}, His Skill in *Hebrew* was not considerable; yea, generally, Learning in Languages was then but in its Infancy. 4^{thly}, Our *English* Tongue was not improved to that Expressiveness at which it is now arrived. But yet what he undertook, was to be commended as profitable; wherein he failed, to be excused as pardonable, and to be attributed rather to the Account of that Age, than of the Author himself; His Pains were useful, had his Translation no other Good, but to help towards the making of a better, our last Translators having it in express Charge from King *James* to consult *Tyndal's* Translation.

When the Testament of *Tyndal's* Translation came over into *England*, the Popish Clergy were extremely incensed; some said, *It was not possible to translate the Scriptures into English*; Some, *That it was not lawful for the Lay People to have them in their Mother Tongue*; Some, *That it would make them all Hereticks*. And to the Intent to induce the Temporal Rulers also to their Purpose, they said, *That the translating thereof would make Men rebel against the King*. Moreover they scanned and examined every Tittle and Point in the said Translation in such sort, and so narrowly, that there was not one [*i*] therein, but if it lacked a Tittle over its Head, they did note it, and number it to the ignorant People for an Heresy. But yet some were not so much angry with the Text, as with *Tyndal's* Comment, his Preface before, and Notes upon the same. In fine, they did not only procure his Book to be burnt in *St. Paul's* Church-Yard, (for *Stokesly* Bishop of *London* caused all the *New Testaments* of *Tyndal*, and many other Books which he had bought up, to be openly burnt) but also their Malice contrived and effected the strangling and burning of *Tyndal* in *Flanders*, Anno 1536. So that this Work met with great Discouragements; which was not strange, especially considering that it happened in such a Time, when many printed Pamphlets did disturb the State (and some of them of *Tyndal's* making)

making) which seemed to tend unto Sedition, and the Change of Government.

The Papal Power being taken out of the Way, and the King's Supremacy settled in Parliament, in *November 1534*, a Way was opened for Reformation of Errors and Abuses in Religion. Archbishop *Cranmer*, upon his first Entrance upon his Dignity, had it much in his Mind to get the Holy Scriptures put into the Vulgar Language, and a Liberty for all to read them; for the accomplishing of which he let slip no Opportunity; and one was shortly afforded him. The Clergy (as was before observed) when they procured *Tyndal's* Translation to be condemned and suppressed, gave out, that they intended to make a Translation into the Vulgar Tongue; yet it was afterwards, upon a long Consultation, resolved, that it was free for the Church to give the Bible in a Vulgar Tongue, or not, as they pleased, and that the King was not obliged to it. Upon which those that promoted a Reformation, made great Complaints, and said, *That it was visible the Clergy knew there was an Opposition between the Scriptures, and their Doctrines; that they had first condemned Wickliff's Translation, and then Tyndal's. And though they ought to teach Men the Word of God, yet they did all they could to suppress it. It was now therefore generally desired, that if there were just Exceptions against what Tyndal had done, these might be mended in a new Translation.* These, and the like Arguments, were very plausible, and wrought much on all that heard them, who plainly concluded that those who denied the People the Use of the Scriptures in the Vulgar Tongue, must needs know their Doctrine and Practices to be inconsistent with them. Upon these Grounds, *Cranmer*, who was projecting the most effectual Means for promoting a Reformation of Doctrine, moved in Convocation *Anno 1535*, that they should petition the King for Leave to make a Translation of the Bible, by some learned Men of his Highness's Nomination. *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester* and all his Party opposed it, both in Convocation, and in Secret with the King. But *Cranmer's* Party prevailed in the two Houses of Convocation, and so they petitioned the King, that he should give Order to some to set about it. And as this good Motion was made in the House by the Archbishop, so they agreed upon him to carry their Petition. To this again great Opposition was made at Court. Some on the one Hand told the King, *That a Diversity of Opinions would rise out of it, and that he could no more govern his Subjects, if he gave Way to that.* But on the other Hand it was represented, *That nothing would make his Supremacy so acceptable to the Nation, and make the Pope more hateful, than to let them see, that whereas the Popes had governed them by a blind Obedience, and kept them in Darkness, the King brought them into Light, and gave them the free Use of the Word of God; and that nothing would more effectually extirpate the Pope's Authority, and discover the Impostures of the Monks, than the Bible in English, in which all People would clearly discern there was no Foundation for those Things.* These Arguments, joined with the Power *Queen Ann* had in his Affections, were so much considered by the King, that he gave Orders for setting about it immediately. The Archbishop, whose Mind ran very much upon bringing in the free Use of the Scriptures among the People, and by *Cromwell's* Means having got

Leave (as we have heard) from the King, that it might be done and printed, put on vigorously the Translation. And that it might not be prohibited, as it had been before, upon Pretence of the Ignorance or Unfaithfulness of the Translators, he proceeded in this Manner. First he began with the Translation of the *New Testament*, taking an old *English* Translation thereof, which he divided into Nine or Ten Parts, causing each Part to be written at large in a Paper Book, and then to be sent to the best learned Bishops and others, to the Intent that they should make a perfect Correction thereof: And when they had done, he required them to send back their Parts, so corrected, to him to *Lambeth*, by a Day limited for that Purpose. And the same Course it is probable he took with the *Old Testament*. The *Acts of the Apostles* was sent to *Stokesly* Bishop of *London*, to oversee and correct. When the Day came, every Man sent to *Lambeth* their Parts corrected, only *Stokesly's* Portion was wanting. My Lord of *Canterbury* wrote to the Bishop a Letter for his Part, requiring him to deliver it unto the Messenger his Secretary. He received the Archbishop's Letter at *Fulham*, unto which he made this Answer, *I marvel what my Lord of Canterbury meaneth, that thus abuseth the People, in giving them Liberty to read the Scriptures, which doth nothing else but infect them with Heresy. I have bestowed never an Hour upon my Portion, nor ever will, and therefore my Lord shall have this Book again, for I will never be guilty of bringing the simple Folk into Error.* My Lord of *Canterbury's* Servant took the Book, and brought the same to *Lambeth* unto my Lord, declaring my Lord of *London's* Answer. When the Archbishop perceived that *Stokesly* had done nothing therein, *I marvel*, saith he, *that my Lord of London is so froward, that he will not do as other Men do.* Mr. *Thomas Lawney*, Chaplain to the Old Duke of *Norfolk*, standing by, and hearing the Archbishop speak of *Stokesly's* Untowardliness, said, *I can tell your Grace, why my Lord of London will not bestow any Labour or Pains this Way; your Grace knoweth well, that his Portion is a Piece of the New Testament: But he being persuaded that Christ had not bequeathed him any Thing in his Testament, thought it mere Madness to bestow any Labour or Pains where no Gain was to be gotten. And besides this, it is the Acts of the Apostles, which were simple poor Fellows, and therefore my Lord of London disdained to have to do with any of them.* The Archbishop could not see his Desire effected by those Men, 'till it was happily done by other Hands.

Anno 1537, the Bible, containing the *Old and New Testament*, called *Matthew's* Bible, of *Tyndal's* and *Rogers's* Translation, came forth. It was printed by *Grafton* and *Whitchurch*, at *Hambrough*, to the Number of 1500 Copies, amounting to 500 Pounds, a great Sum in those Days. The Corrector of the Press was *John Rogers*, a learned Divine; he had his Education in *Cambridge*; was afterwards Chaplain to the *English* Factory at *Antwerp*; flourished a great while in *Germany*, and was Superintendent of a Church there: he was afterwards Prebendary of *St. Paul's* in King *Edward* the 6th's Time, but being tinged with a Foreign Leaven, was unconformable to the Liturgy, and Ceremonies of our Church; however he became the first Martyr in the next Reign. *William Tyndal*, with the Help of *Miles Coverdale*; had translated Part of

it (as I before noted) and what they did had been printed *Anno* 1532. The whole was finished and printed *Anno* 1535, with a Dedication to King Henry the 8th, by Miles Coverdale (Tyndal being then in Prison) and was called *Coverdale's Bible*. The Year following, viz. 1536. Cromwell, the King's Vicegerent, published his Injunctions to the Clergy; the Substance of the Seventh was, *That every Parson or Proprietor of a Church, should provide a Bible in Latin and English to be laid in the Choir, for every one to read at their Pleasure*. But here they were to precaution the People against falling into Controversy about difficult Passages. They were to exhort them to Modesty and Sobriety in the Use of this Liberty; and where they found themselves intangled, to apply to Persons of Learning and Character. After this, a second Impression was designed, but before it could be finished, Tyndal was put to Death in *Flanders* for his Religion; and his Name then growing into Ignominy, as one burnt for an Heretick, they thought it might prejudice the Book, if he should be named for the Translator thereof, and so they used a feigned Name, calling it *Thomas Matthews's Bible*, though Tyndal, before his Death, some say, had finished all but the *Apocrypha*, which was translated by Rogers, but others say, he had gone no farther than the End of *Nehemiah*. Bale says, Rogers translated the Bible into English, from *Genesis* to the End of the Revelations, making Use of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, and English (i. e. Tyndal's) Copies. He added Prefaces and Marginal Notes out of Luther, and dedicated the whole Book to King Henry the 8th, under the Name of *Tho. Matthews*, by an Epistle prefixed, minding to conceal his own Name. In this Edition there was a special Table collected of the Common Places in the Bible, and Texts of Scripture for proving the same; and chiefly the common Places of the Lord's Supper, the Marriage of Priests, and the Mass, of which it was there said, that it was not to be found in Scripture.

When Grafton had finished this Work, he presented it to the Lord Cromwell and the Archbishop, who liked very well of it. Cromwell at the Archbishop's Request, presented it to the King, and obtained that the same might be both bought and used by all indifferently; for which the Archbishop was full of Gladness and Gratitude, and wrote two Letters to him soon after one another, assuring him, *That, for his Part, it was such a Content to his Mind, that he could not have done him a greater Pleasure, if he had given him a Thousand Pounds*. Grafton also writ his Letter of Thanks for the Countenance and Assistance he gave to this pious Work all along, and those that were concerned and imployed in the doing of it, and for procuring the King's gracious Licence, which was thought fit to be signified in the Title Page in Red Letters, thus, *Set forth with the King's most gracious License*: But several would not believe that the King had licensed it, and therefore he desired further of Cromwell, that he would get it licensed under the Privy-Seal, which would be a Defence for the present, and for the future. And as the Printer had addressed to Cromwell for the Privy-Seal, so he apprehended now a farther Need of the Corroboration of Authority, upon another Account: For some observing how exceedingly acceptable the English Bible was to the common People, were designing to print it in a less

Volume, and a smaller Letter, whereby it would come to pass that *Grafton* would be under-fold, and so he and his Creditors would be undone: And besides, it was like to prove a very ill Edition, and very erroneous, because the Printers here were generally *Dutchmen*, that could neither speak nor write tolerable *English*; nor, for Covetousness, would they allow any learned Man any thing at all to oversee and correct what they printed. Therefore he desired one Favour more of the Lord *Cromwell*, viz. to obtain for him of the King, that none should print the Bible for three Years but himself. And for the better and quicker Sale of his Books, he desired also, that by his Command, in the King's Name, every Curate might be obliged to have one, that they might learn to know God, and instruct their Parishioners; and that every Abby should have Six, to be laid in several Places of the Convent.

The Holy Bible was now published, and appointed to be had in every Parish Church, by *Cromwell's* Injunctions published *Anno 1538*. The same Year the Church of *Hereford* being vacant by the Death of *Fox*, *Cranmer* held a Visitation in it, where he left some Injunctions to all Parsons, Vicars, and other Curates, by which they were enjoined to have by the first of *August* a whole Bible in *Latin* and *English*, or at the least a *New Testament* in the same Languages: That they should every Day study one Chapter of the said Bible or *New Testament*, conferring the *Latin* and *English* together; to begin at the Beginning of the Book, and so continue to the End. That they should not discourage any Lay-men from reading the Book, but encourage them to it, and to read it for the Reformation of their Lives, and Knowledge of their Duty.

But herein the Waywardness of the Priests was observable; they read confusedly the Word of God, and the Injunctions set forth, and commanded by them to be read; humming and hawing, and hauking thereat, that scarce any could understand them. They bad their Parishioners, notwithstanding what they read, being compelled so to do, *That they should do as they did in Times past; to live as their Fathers; and that the old Fashion is the best*; and other crafty and seditious Sayings they gave out among them.

Notwithstanding this, it was wonderful to see with what Joy this Book of God was received not only among the learned Sort, and those that were noted for Lovers of the Reformation, but generally all *England* over, among all the vulgar and common People; and with what Greediness God's Word was read, and what Resort to Places where the reading of it was. Every body, that could, bought the Book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not themselves, and divers more elderly People learned to read on Purpose.

After this second Edition, *Grafton*, and the rest of the Merchants concerned in the Work, thinking they had not Stock enough to supply all the Nation, and this being of a Volume not large enough; and considering the Prologues, and Marginal Notes gave Offence to some; and being put on by those that favoured the Gospel, that as many as could be might be printed, for dispersing the Knowledge of Christ,
and

and his Truth, they resolved to print it again, which they intended should be of a larger Volume than before; and therefore it was called, when it came forth, *The Bible in the large or great Volume*. They intended also, in order to this Edition, to have the former Translation revised, and to omit several Prologues and Annotations. *Miles Coverdale* was the Man now that compared the Translation with the *Hebrew*, mended it in divers Places, and was the chief Overseer of the Work: But though they left out *Matthews*, that is, *Rogers's* Notes, yet they resolved to make Hands and Marks on the Sides of the Book, which meant, that they would have particular Notice to be taken of those Texts, being such as did more especially strike at the Errors and Abuses of the Romish Church.

Grafton resolved to print this Bible in *Paris*, if he could obtain Leave, there being better Paper, and cheaper, to be had in *France*, and more dextrous and good Workmen, for the ready Dispatch of the same. For this Purpose the Lord *Cromwell*, who stood by him in this Enterprize, procured Letters of the King to the *French King*, to permit a Subject of his to imprint the Bible in *English*, within the University of *Paris*, because of the Goodness of his Paper and Workmen. The King at the same Time wrote unto his Ambassador, who was then *Edmund Bonner*, Bishop of *Hereford*, lying in *Paris*, *That he should aid and assist the Undertakers of this good Work, in all their reasonable Suits*. *Bonner* did not only present this Letter to the *French King*, and obtain with good Words the Licence desired, and had the *French King's* Letters Patents for the printing this Bible, and being finished, to bring the Impression safely over; but shewed great Friendship to the Merchants and Printers, and so encouraged them, that the Work went on apace, and with good Success. And to shew how well affected he was to the Holy Bible, he caused the *English* there in *Paris*, to print the *New Testament* in *English* and *Latin*, and took off a great many of them, and distributed them amongst his Friends. But the Principle that moved *Bonner* in all this was, that he might the better curry Favour with *Cromwell*, and recommend himself to him; who being the great Favourite now with the King, was the fittest Instrument for his Rise. *Cromwell* loved him very well, and had a marvellous good Opinion of him; and so long as *Cromwell* remained in Authority, so long was *Bonner* at his Beck, a Friend to his Friends, and an Enemy to his Enemies. But as soon as *Cromwell* fell, no good Word could *Bonner* speak of him, but the lewdest, vilest, and bitterest that he could, calling him the rankest Heretick that ever lived: And then such as he knew to be in good Favour with *Cromwell*, he could never abide their Sight.

But notwithstanding the *French King's* Licence, such was the over-
swaying Authority of the Inquisition in *Paris*, that by an Instrument dated *September* the 17th, 1538, the Printers were had up into the said Inquisition, and charged with certain Articles of Heresy. The *Englishmen* likewise that were at the Cost and Charges thereof, and the Corrector *Coverdale*, were sent for. And then great Trouble arose. But before this happened, they were gone through, even to the last Part of the Work. The *Englishmen* having some Warning what would follow,

follow, and finding it not safe to tarry any longer, fled away as fast as they could to save themselves, leaving behind them all their Bibles, the Impression consisting of 2500 in Number, which were seized, and the Lieutenant Criminal caused them to be burnt, as heretical Books; only a few escaped, the Lieutenant for Covetousness selling them for waste Paper to a Haberdasher, to lap Caps in, being about four dry Fats full, and these were bought again.

However, not long after, the *English* that were concerned in this Work, by the Encouragement of *Cromwell*, went back to *Paris* again, and got the Presses, Letters, and Printing Servants, and brought them over to *London*, and so became Printers themselves, which before they never intended, and printed out the said Bible in *London*. When it was finished, it was presented to the King, and by him committed to divers Bishops of that Time to peruse, of which *Stephen Gardiner* was one. After they had kept it long in their Hands, and the King was divers Times sued unto for the Publication thereof; at the last being called for by the King himself, they delivered the Book; and being demanded by the King, *What was their Judgment of the Translation*, they answered, *That there were many Faults therein: Well*, said the King, *but are there any Heresies maintained thereby?* They answered, *There were no Heresies that they could find maintained thereby. If there be no Heresies*, said the King, *then, in God's Name, let it go abroad among our People*. According to this Judgment of the King and the Bishops, *Coverdale* in a Sermon at *Paul's Cross*, defended his Translation, upon occasion of some slanderous Reports, that then were raised against it, confessing, *That he did now himself espy some Faults, which if he might review once over again, as he had twice before, he doubted not but to amend; but for any Heresy, he was sure there was none maintained by his Translation*.

This was published *Anno 1539*, and is that which is called the *Great Bible*. *Strype*, in his Memorials of Archbishop *Cranmer*, p. 444. says, it was published in the Year 1538, or 1539, but as if this was a Mistake of the Press, in the *Errata* it is 1537, or 1538; whereas I have one that bears Date 1539, and in it the Table for *Easter* for 19 Years, begins with that Year. And at the End of all it says, it was finished in *April 1539*. This has the Frontispiece before it, which *Strype* says was before *Cranmer's Bible* of 1540, and explains it at large; but hath neither *Coverdale's* nor *Cranmer's* Preface, only a Description of the Succession of the Kings of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*; and a Direction with what Judgment the Books of the *Old Testament* are to be read: In the Title Page, *Cum Privilegio ad imprimendum solum*.

When our Liturgy was first compiled, and afterwards revised and altered, in the Reign of *Edward* the 6th, the Epistles, Gospels, Psalms, and Hymns put into those Liturgies, were all according to this Translation; and so continued till King *Charles* the 2d's Restoration, when the Old Translation being found Fault with by some Men, the Epistles and Gospels were inserted after the last Translation, but the old Psalter was still continued. The Bishops and Clergy did, it seems, prefer this Translation, before any other in the *English Tongue*.

Injunctions were given out in the King's Name by *Cromwell*, to all Incumbents to provide one of these Bibles, and set it up publicly in the Church, in some convenient Place where the Parishioners might resort to the same, and read it. None were to be discouraged from reading or hearing of it; but, on the contrary, exhorted to peruse it, as being the true lively Word of God, which every Christian ought to believe, embrace, and follow, if he expected to be saved.

The same Year a Parliament was summoned, which made the terrible Act of the Six bloody Articles: Great Triumphant there was on the Papists Side, for now they hoped to be revenged on all those who had hitherto set forward a Reformation.

There was nothing could so much support the Spirits of the Party which now was clouded, as the free Use of the Scriptures; and though these were set up in Churches, yet *Cranmer* pressed, and now this Year procured Leave for private Persons to buy Bibles, and to keep them in their Houses. So this was granted by Letters Patents November the 13th, directed to *Cromwell*, the Substance of which was, *That the King was desirous to have his Subjects attain the Knowledge of God's Word, which could not be effected by any Means so well, as by granting them the free and liberal Use of the Bible in the English Tongue, which, to avoid Dissention, he intended should pass among them only by one Translation.* Therefore *Cromwell* was charged to take Care, that for the Space of Five Years, there should be no Impression of the Bible, or of any Part of it, but only by such as should be assigned by him: *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester* opposed this all he could.

With this Bible the Enemies of the Reformation were offended; and as God of his Goodness had raised up the Archbishop and the Lord *Cromwell* to be Friends and Patrons to the Gospel; so, on the other Side, Satan, (who is an Adversary and Enemy to all Goodness) had his Instruments, by all Wiles and subtle Means, to impeach and put back the same. Upon *Cromwell's* Fall, *Gardiner*, and those that followed him, made no Doubt but they should quickly recover what they had lost of late Years: So their greatest Attempt was upon the Translation of the Scriptures. Accordingly the next Year, 1540, there was a Convocation, wherein one of the Matters before them, was concerning the procuring a true Translation of the *New Testament*, which was indeed intended not so much to do so good a Work, as to hinder it. For having decried the present Translation on purpose to make it unlawful for any to use it, they pretended to set themselves about a new one, but it was merely to delay and put off the People from the common Use of the Scriptures, as appeared plainly enough, in that the Bishops themselves undertook it, and so having it in their own Hands, they might make what Delays they pleased. For in the third Session a Proposition was made for the Translation, and the several Books were divided among the Bishops; viz. Archbishop *Cranmer* had *Matthew*; *Langland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Mark*; *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Luke*; *Goodrick* Bishop of *Ely*, *John*; *Heath* Bishop of *Rochester*, *Acts*; *Sampson* Bishop of *Chichester*, *Romans*; *Capon* Bishop of *Sarum*, *1st* and *2d Corinthians*; *Barlow* Bishop of *St. David's*, *Galatians*, *Ephesians*, *Colossians*; *Bell* Bishop of *Worcester*, *1st* and *2d Thessalonians*; *Parfew* Bishop

shop of *St. Asaph*, 1st and 2^d *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Philemon*; *Holdgate* Bishop of *Landaff*, 1st and 2^d *Peter*; *Skip* Bishop of *Hereford*, *Hebrews*; *Thirlby* Bishop of *Westminster*, *James*, 1st, 2^d, 3^d *John*, *Jude*; *Wake-man* Bishop of *Gloucester*, and *Chambers* Bishop of *Peterborough*, *Revelations*.

In this Convocation *Gardiner* read a large Catalogue of *Latin Words* of his own Collection out of the *New Testament*, and desired, that for their genuine and native Meaning, and for the Majesty of the Matter therein contained, those Words might be retained in their own Nature, as much as might be; or be very fitly Englished with the least Alteration. Among those, some few could not be translated without Loss of Life or Lustre, and these are continued in our *English Testament* entire; it being conceived better, that Ministers should expound these Words in their Sermons, than alter them in their Texts. The rest were not emphatical in themselves, but that they may be rendered in *English* without Prejudice of Truth. Wherefore *Gardiner's* Design plainly appeared in sticking for preserving so many *Latin Words* to obscure the Scriptures; who, though wanting Power to keep the Light of the Word from shining, sought, out of Policy, to put it in a dark Lanthorn: Besides the Popish Bishops multiplied the Mixture of *Latin Words* in the *Testament*, to teach the Laity their Distance, who, though admitted into the outward Court of common Matter, were yet debarred Entrance into the Holy of Holies of these mysterious Expressions, reserved only for the Understanding of the High Priest to pierce into them. Moreover this made *Gardiner* not only tender, but fond to have these Words continued in Kind, without Alteration, because the Profits of the *Romish Church* were deeply in some of them concerned. Witness the Word *Penance*, which (according to the vulgar Sound, contrary to the original Sense thereof) was a Magazine of Will-worship, and brought in much Gain to the Priests, who were therefore desirous to keep that and such like Words. What Entertainment *Gardiner's* Motion met with, I find not; it seems so suspended in Success, as to be neither generally received, nor rejected.

The Archbishop saw through all this, and therefore in a following Session, told the House from the King (to whom he had discovered this Intrigue) *That it was the King's Will and Pleasure, that the Translation both of the Old and New Testament should be examined by both Universities.* This was a Surprize to the Bishops, and met with much Opposition in the House, all the Bishops (*Goodrick* Bishop of *Ely*, and *Barlow* Bishop of *St. David's*, excepted) making their Protests to the contrary. These affirmed the Universities were much decayed of late, wherein all Things were carried by young Men, whose Judgments were not to be relied on; so that the Learning of the Land was chiefly in the Convocation. But the Archbishop said, *He would stick close to the Will and Pleasure of the King his Master, and that the Universities should examine the Translation.* And here, for any Thing that can be found to the contrary, the Matter ceased, and the Convocation soon after was dissolved.

In the latter End of 1541, came forth a new Impression of the Bible, which was nothing but that of *Matthews* corrected. To this the Archbishop

bishop had added the last Hand, mending it in divers Places with his own Pen, and fixing a very excellent Preface before it, for which Reason it is called *Cranmer's Bible*. *Durel*, in his *Vindice Eccles. Ang. c. 27*, says, this was published by *Tunstal* Bishop of *Durham*, and *Heath* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, to whom the King had committed that Work. To this Impreſſion the King gave Countenance, commanding the buying and ſetting it up in Churches, by his Proclamation in *May 1541*: For as yet, notwithstanding the former Injunctions, many Pariſhes were deſtitute of Bibles; whether it were by reaſon of the Unwillingneſs of the Prieſts to have the *English Bible*, or the People to be any ways acquainted with it, for fear it ſhould make them Hereticks, as their Curates told them. He limited alſo the Time that it ſhould be every where provided before *All-Saints Day* next coming, and that upon the Penalty of Forty Shillings a Month, after the ſaid Feaſt, that they ſhould be without it: The ſaid Proclamation alſo ſet the Price at Ten Shillings a Book unbound, and well bound and claſped not above Twelve. And charged all his Biſhops and other Ordinaries to take Care for the ſeeing this Command the better executed. The King ſeconded this Proclamation with a Declaration to be read openly by the Clergy in their ſeveral Pariſhes, upon the publiſhing of this Bible, the better to poſſeſs the People with the King's good Affection towards them, in ſuffering them to have the Benefit of ſuch heavenly Treafure; and to direct them in a Courſe by which they might enjoy the ſame to their greater Comfort, the Reformation of their Lives, and the Peace and Quiet of the Church; namely, to uſe it with Reverence and great Devotion, to conform their Lives unto it, and to encourage thoſe that were under them, Wives, Children, and Servants, to live according to the Rules thereof; that in doubtful Places they ſhould confer with the learned for the Senſe, who ſhould be appointed to preach and explain the ſame, and not to contend and diſpute about them in Ale-Houſes and Taverns.

Unto theſe Commands of ſo great a Prince, both Biſhops, Prieſts, and People did apply themſelves with ſuch chearful Reverence, that *Bonner*, now Biſhop of *London*, cauſed Six of them to be chained in certain convenient Places in *St. Paul's Church*, for all that were ſo well inclined, to reſort unto; together with a certain Admonition to the Readers, faſtened upon the Pillars to which the Bibles were chained, to this Tenor, *That whoſoever came there to read, ſhould prepare himſelf to be ediſied and made the better thereby; that he ſhould join thereunto his Readineſs to obey the King's Injunctions, made in that Behalf; that he bring with him Diſcretion, honeſt Intent, Charity, Reverence, and quiet Behaviour; that there ſhould no ſuch Number meet together there, as to make a Multitude; that no Expoſition be made thereupon, but what is declared in the Book itſelf; that it be not read with Noiſe in Time of Divine Service, or that any Diſputation or Contention be uſed about it: That in caſe they continued their former Miſbehaviour, and reſuſed to comply with theſe Directions, he ſhould be forced, againſt his Will, to remove the Occaſion, and take the Bible out of the Church.*

But the People could not be hindered from entering into Diſputes about ſome Places, ſo that the King had many Complaints brought him of the

the Abuses that were said to have been risen, from the Liberty given the People to read the Scriptures; yet these Complaints produced no Severity at this Time; but by them the Popish Party afterwards obtained what they desired, the Suppression of the Bible again. For after they had taken off the Lord *Cromwell*, they made great (and their old) Complaints to the King of the Translation, and of the Prefaces, whereas indeed it was the Text itself that disturbed them, as that which they knew would most effectually beat down all their Projects.

A Parliament met the 22^d of *January* 1542, and sate to the 12th of *May* following, in which a Complaint was made, *That the Liberty granted to the People in having in their Hands the Books of the Old and New Testament, had been much abused by many false Glosses and Interpretations which were made upon them, tending to the seducing of the People, especially of the younger Sort, and the raising of Sedition within the Realm.* Hereupon it was enacted by the Authority of Parliament, (on whom the King was content to cast the Odium of an Act so contrary to his former gracious Proclamation) *That all manner of Books of the Old and New Testament, of the crasty, false, and untrue Translation of Tyndal, be forthwith abolished, and forbidden to be used and kept; and also that all other Bibles, not being of Tyndal's Translation, in which were found any Preambles or Annotations, other than the Quotations, or Summary of the Chapters, should be purged of the said Preambles or Annotations, either by cutting them out, or blotting them in such wise, that they might not be perceived or read. And finally, that the Bible be not read openly in any Church, but by the Leave of the King, or the Ordinary of the Place; nor privately by any Women, Artificers, Apprentices, Journey-Men, Husband-Men, Labourers, or by any of the Servants of Yeomen or under, with several Pains to those who should do the contrary; as may be seen in the Statute of the 34th and 35th of Hen. VIII. c. 1.*

But the King being now engaged in a War with *France*, and resolving to cross the Seas himself; the Archbishop took this Occasion to do some good Service for Religion, and to endeavour to moderate the severe Acts relating thereunto, and to get some Liberty at least, for the People's reading the Scriptures. *Cranmer* first made the Motion, and Four Bishops, viz. *Heath* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Saunders* Bishop of *Chichester*, *Skip* Bishop of *Hereford*, and the Bishop of *Rochester*, seconded him; But *Winchester* opposed the Archbishop's Motion with all Earnestness, and the Faction combined with so much Violence, that these Bishops, and all others, fell off from the Archbishop, and two of them endeavoured to persuade him to desist at present, and stay for a better Opportunity: But he refused, and followed his Stroke with as much Vigour as he could; and, in fine, by his Persuasion with the King, and the Lords, this Clause was inserted in the Bill, *That every Nobleman and Gentleman might have the Bible read in their Houses, and that Noble Ladies, Gentlewomen and Merchants might read it themselves, but no Man or Woman under those Degrees; which was all the Archbishop could obtain.* And the King was the rather inclined to this, because he being now to go Abroad, upon a weighty Expedition, thought convenient to leave his Subjects at Home as easy as might be.

Anno 1543, a Book called, *A necessary Erudition for a Christian Man*, was published by the King's Order. In the Preface his Majesty sets forth, *That in order to the bringing off his Subjects from superstitious Practices, he had published the Scriptures in the English Tongue; that tho' this Expedient was not without its Effect, yet some People, out of a Spirit of Pride and Contention, had wrested the Holy Text, and given Rise to Disputes, and Diversity of Opinions; that to recover the People to Orthodoxy and Union, he had set forth this Summary of Religion, with the Advice of his Clergy.* He takes Notice, *That the Church consists of two Sorts of Men, some to instruct, and the rest to be instructed; that it is necessary for the first Division to read and study the Scripture; but as to the Laity, the reading the Old and New Testament is not so necessary for all of that Class; that Liberty or Restraint in this Matter, is to be referred to the Laws and Government, and that the Legislature now lately had barred several Ranks reading the Bible.*

This Year Bonner Bishop of London set forth Injunctions for the Clergy of his Diocese, containing Directions for their Preaching and Conversation; together with a Catalogue of certain Books prohibited, which the Curates were to enquire after in their respective Parishes, and to inform their Ordinaries of them, and of those in whose Possession they found them. Amongst these Books was the *English Testament of Tyndal*, and some Prefaces, and Marginal Glosses of *Tho. Matthews* in his *English Bible*.

And now was Grafton, so long after, summoned and charged with printing *Matthew's Bible*, which he, being timorous, made Excuses for. Then he was examined about the *Great Bible*, and what the Notes were he intended to set thereto. To which he answered, *That he knew none; for his Purpose was to have retained learned Men to have made the Notes; but when he perceived the King's Majesty, and his Clergy, not willing to have any, he proceeded no farther.* But for all these Excuses, Grafton was sent to the Fleet, and there remained Six Weeks; and, before he came out, was bound in 300 Pounds, that he should not sell nor imprint, nor cause to be printed any more Bibles, unless the King and the Clergy should agree upon a Translation. And from henceforth the Bible was stopped during the Remainder of King *Henry's* Reign.

The Act of Parliament did not find so general an Obedience from the common People, as might have been expected, but that the King was forced to quicken, and give Life thereto, by his Proclamation, Anno 1546: For the Use of the Scriptures were sadly abused; they were much read, but the Effect of it appeared too much in their making use of it only for Jangling and Disputation upon Points of Religion, and to taunt at the Ignorance or Errors of Priests. Others, on the other Hand, to be even with the Gospellers (as they were called) made it their Business to derogate from the Scriptures, to deal with them irreverently, and to rhyme and sing, and make Sport with them in Ale-Houses and Taverns. These things came to King *Henry's* Ears, which made him very earnestly blame both the Laity, and Spirituality for it, in a Speech to his Parliament, December the 24th Anno 1545, wherein he lets them know, how little Charity and Concord there was amongst

them, but Discord and Dissention ruled every where. He lets the Temporality know, that tho' they were allowed to read the Holy Scriptures, and to have the Word of God in their Mother Tongue; yet this Permission is only designed for private Information, and the Instruction of their Children and Family, but not to dispute, nor to furnish them with Expressions of Reproach, and from thence to rail against Priests and Preachers. And yet this was the Use a great many disorderly People made of the privilege of having the Scriptures. He was sorry to find, how much the Word of God is abused, with how little Reverence it is mentioned, both with respect to Place, and Occasion; turned into wretched Rhime, sung in Ale-Houses; but much more sorry to see so little of it in their Practice, for Charity was never in a more languishing Condition, Virtue never at a lower Ebb, nor God never less honoured, and worse served.

But the King being still vexed with the Contests and Clamours of the People, one against another, while they disputed so much of what they read, and practised so little, in *July Anno 1546*, issued out a Proclamation (which was the last set out under this King) prohibiting again *Tyndal's* or *Coverdale's English New Testament*, or any other than what was permitted by Parliament in an Act passed in the 34th and 35th Years of his Reign. The Books of *Fryth*, *Wickliff*, &c. were likewise prohibited, and to be delivered to the Civil and Ecclesiastical Officers, in order to be burnt, which was accordingly done at *Paul's Cross*, by the Order of the Bishop of *London*.

But however for some Ends, the King restrained now and then the Use of the Scriptures, to comply with the importunate Suits of the Popish Bishops, yet some are of Opinion, his Judgment always was for the free Use of them among his Subjects, and (in order to that) for the translating and printing them.

King *Henry* dying *January* the 28th, *Anno 1546*, *Edward* the VIth succeeded in the Throne, who by the pious Instigations of the Archbishop, began early to think of the Church. And being unwilling that the People of the Lord should live so long in Error and Ignorance, till a Parliament should be solemnly summoned (which for some Reasons of State, could not so quickly be called) in the mean time, by his own Regal Power and Authority, and by Advice of his Council, a Royal Visitation all *England* over was resolved on, for the better Reformation of Religion; and a Book of Injunctions was prepared, whereby the King's Visitors were to govern their Visitation. A Book of Homilies was prepared for present Use, to be read in Churches to the People, to supply the Defects of their Incumbents; and that they might have some Help to lead them into the Understanding of the Scriptures, *Erasmus's* Paraphrase, which was translated into *English*, was thought the most profitable and easiest Book. Therefore it was ordered by the Injunctions, that within Three Months after this Visitation, the Bible of the larger Volume in *English*, and within Twelve Months *Erasmus's* Paraphrase on the Gospels be provided, and conveniently placed in the Church, for the People to read therein. And that every Ecclesiastical Person, under the Degree of a Batchelor of Divinity, shall within

Three Months after this Visitation, provide of his own, the *New Testament* in *Latin* and *English*, with *Erasmus's* Paraphrase thereon, for their better Instruction, in the Sense and Knowledge of the Scriptures. And that in the Time of High Mass, he that sayeth or singeth a Psalm, shall read the Epistle and Gospel in *English*, and one Chapter in the *New Testament* at Mattins, and another out of the *Old*, at Evensong.

Gardiner Bishop of *Winchester* refused to accept the Homilies and Instructions, thinking them contrary to the Word of God, so that his Conscience would not suffer him to observe them. He said, *Erasmus's Paraphrase was bad enough in Latin, but worse in English, for the Translator had oft out of Ignorance, and out of Design, misrendred him papably, and was one that neither understood Latin nor English well; and that this and the Homilies were contrary in several Things to one another, and therefore could not both be received; and that there were Errors in each, and so neither ought to be admitted*: Upon this he was committed to the Fleet.

During the Time that the Visitors were occupied abroad in the Execution of their Commission, the King appointed a Parliament to be summoned against the 4th of *November* 1547, which met at the Time appointed, and with it a Convocation was held, in which the Archbishop bore the greatest Sway; and what Things were agitated therein, were chiefly by his Motion and Direction, some whereof were turned into Laws by the Parliament, through his Activeness and Influence, as particularly that Repeal of the Statute of the Six bloody Articles. The Act also, inhibiting the reading the *Old* and *New Testament*, in the *English* Tongue, and the printing, selling, giving, or delivering of any such other Books, or Writings, as are therein mentioned and condemned 34th, 35th *Hen. VIII. cap. 1.* together with all and every other Act and Acts of Parliament, concerning Doctrine, or Matters of Religion; and all and every Article, Branch, Sentence, Matter, Pains, Forfeitures contained therein, were repealed, and utterly made void. 1 *Edward the VIth, cap. 12.* by which Repeal all People had the Liberty of reading the Scriptures, and being in a Manner their own Expositors.

In the Year 1548, the Archbishop held a Visitation, in divers Places throughout his Diocese; wherein Enquiry was to be made concerning the Behaviour, both of the Priests and of the People, in Eighty Six Articles, one whereof was concerning having the whole Bible in the largest Volume in every Church. In another Enquiry was made concerning all Priests, under the Degree of Batchelors in Divinity, whether they had the *New Testament* in *Latin* and *English*, and *Erasmus's* Paraphrase. And in another, concerning the Letters or Hinderers of the Word of God, read in *English*, or preached sincerely.

In the Year 1549, the Commons broke out into a dangerous Rebellion, chiefly in *Devonshire*, where they were very formidable for their Numbers. These laying their Heads together, agreed upon certain Articles, to be sent up to the King. In the tenth Article they require the Bible, and all Books of Scripture in *English*, to be called in again; that unless this was done, the Clergy would have a difficult Task to

over-bear the Hereticks; they would also have the Mass in *Latin*, as formerly. To their Demands, the Archbishop draws up an excellent Answer at length, wherein he vindicates the *English* Service, and the Use of the Holy Scriptures in the Vulgar Tongue, and other Matters relating to the Reformation. He charged them with Ignorance, and told them, they asked they knew not what; but were imposed upon by some Priests and Papists. *Wherefore did the Holy Ghost* (said he) *come down in fiery Tongues, and give the Apostles Knowledge of all Languages, but that all Nations might hear, speak, and learn God's Word, in their Mother Tongue? Can you name any Christians in all the World, but they have, and ever had, God's Word in their own Tongue? And will you have God further from us, than from all other Countries? that he shall speak to every Man in his own Language, that he understandeth, and was born in, and to us shall speak a strange Language, that we understand not? And will you, that all other shall laud God in their own Speech, and we shall say to him we know not what? If you list not to read his Word yourselves, you ought not to be so malicious and envious, to let them that would gladly read it to their Comfort and Edification. And as for confounding that which is really Heresy, their having the Scriptures in their Mother Tongue, was the best Expedient for that Purpose.*

Anno 1550, there were certain Articles drawn up, signed by the King and Council, for Bishop Gardiner to subscribe, one of which was, *It is convenient and godly, that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, that is, the whole Bible, be had in English and published, to be read of every Man; and that whosoever doth repel and debort Men from reading thereof, doth evil and damnably; likewise that Erasmus's Paraphrase, had been upon good Considerations ordered to be set up in Churches.* But he refusing to sign the Articles, his Benefice was first sequestred for Three Months, which Time being expired, and he continuing obstinate, he was at last deprived.

Fuller tells us, there was another Translation of the Bible, set forth in this King's Reign, and not only suffered to be read by particular Persons, but ordered to be read over yearly, in the Congregation, as a Part of the Liturgy, or Divine Service. He says, he had seen two several Editions thereof, one set forth Anno 1549, the other 1551, but neither of them divided into Verses.

Anno 1553, Queen Mary coming to the Crown, designed to reduce all Matters Ecclesiastical to the same State in which they stood in the Beginning of the Reign of the King her Father. All the Matters of the Church she left wholly to the Management of Gardiner, whom she advanced from a Prisoner in the Tower, to be Lord High-Chancellor of England. He ruled Matters as he would, and the Consent of the Parliament and Convocation followed his Head and his Will, and what he could not do at one Time, he did at another. The Parliament met in October, when an Act was passed for repealing King Edward's Laws about Religion. The Preamble of it sets forth the great Disorders, that had fallen out in the Nation, by the Changes that had been made in Religion, from that which their Fore-fathers had left them, by the Authority of the Catholick Church; thereupon all the Laws that had been made in King Edward's Time about Religion, were now repealed; and

and it was enacted by this Statute of Repeal, *That after the 20th of December next, there should be no other Form of Divine Service, but what had been used in the last Year of King Henry the VIIIth*, leaving all Clergy-men at Liberty in the mean Time, to use either the Old or New Service; by which was rooted up all the Reformation, which had been planted for Seven Years before.

At a Convocation held in *November 1554*, an Address was made by the Lower House, to the Upper, wherein they petitioned for divers Things in *Twenty Eight Articles* meet to be considered for the Reformation of the Clergy; one whereof was, *That all Books, Latin and English, concerning any heretical, erroneous, or slanderous Doctrines, might be destroyed throughout the Realm and burnt.* Among these Books, they set the schismatical Book (as they called it) the Common-Prayer Book, and all suspected Translations of the *Old and New Testament*, the Authors whereof are recited in a Statute made in the Reign of *Henry the VIIIth*. (So that the Common-Prayer Book was burnt with very good Company, the Holy Bible.) *And that such as had these Books should bring the same to the Ordinary by a certain Day, or otherwise to be taken and reputed as Favourers of those Doctrines. And that it might be lawful for all Bishops to make Enquiry, from Time to Time, for such Books, and to take them from the Owners.* And for the better suppressing of such pestilent Books, it was desired, that Order may be taken with all Speed, that none such should be printed, or sold within the Realm, nor brought from beyond Seas upon grievous Penalties. And the next Year *1555*, a Proclamation was published against importing, printing, reading, selling, or keeping heretical Books.

The Gospellers being persecuted with much fierceness, by those of the *Roman Persuasion*, chiefly headed by two most cruel natured Men, Bishop *Gardiner*, and Bishop *Bonner*; several both of the Clergy and Laity, made their Flight from these Storms at Home into Foreign Countries, to *Strasbourg, Francfort, Basil, Zurich, Geneva*, and other Places, where they were received with much Kindness, and had the Liberty of their Religious Worship granted them. In these Places some followed their Studies, some taught School, some wrote Books, some assisted at the Press, and grew very dear to the learned Men in those Places.

At *Geneva* a Club of them employed themselves, in translating the Holy Bible into *English*, intending to do it with more Exactness than hitherto had been done, having the Opportunity of consulting with *Calvin* and *Beza* in order thereunto. These were *Miles Coverdale, Christopher Goodman, Anthony Gilby, Thomas Sampson, William Cole of Corpus Christi College Oxon, and William Whitingham*, all zealous Calvinists, both in Doctrine and Discipline. What they performed may be perceived by the Bible that goes under the Name of the *Geneva Bible* at this Day. It was in those Days, when it first came forth, better esteemed of, than of later Times; but for a long while was much valued, by the Puritans, chiefly for the Sake of the *Calvinistical Annotations*, and had several Impressions.

When Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, she applied her first Care to the restoring of the Protestant Religion, and therefore in *De-*

ember Anno 1558, she allowed by Proclamation, the Liberty of reading the Epistles, Gospels, and Ten Commandments in *English*, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Litany might likewise be said in the same Language. As to the rest of the Service, 'twas to go on by the Rubrick of the Missals and Breviaries, and no Innovations to be made, in any of the Rites and Ceremonies thereunto belonging, 'till 'twas otherwise ordered.

When the Queen passed through the City from the Tower to her Coronation, in a Pageant erected in *Cheapside*, an old Man with a Scythe and Wings, representing Time, appeared, coming out of a hollow Place or Cave, leading another Person all clad in white Silk, gracefully apparelled, who represented Truth, (the Daughter of Time) which Lady had a Book in her Hand, on which was written *Verbum Veritatis*, the Word of Truth. It was the Bible in *English*, which, after a Speech made to the Queen, Truth reached down towards her, which was taken and brought by a Gentleman attending, to her Hands. As soon as she received it, she kissed it, and with both her Hands held it up, and then laid it upon her Breast, greatly thanking the City for that Present, and said, *she would often read over that Book.*

In the Beginning of the next Year 1559, the Queen appointed a Conference about Religion, between the Papists and Protestants, when three Points were to be argued. The first was, *Whether 'tis against the Word of God, and the Custom of the Ancient Church, to officiate and administer the Sacraments in a Language unknown to the People?* Dr. Cole Dean of St. Paul's was appointed to deliver the Sense of the Papists, who taking the Negative of the Question, endeavoured amongst other Arguments, to fortify his Reasoning, with one drawn from the ill Translation of the Bible; *If we should (says he) consent to the English Service, we must be obliged to King Edward's Common-Prayer Book;* now this Book consists of Versions of the Psalms, and other Parts of the Scripture, in which are several plain Mistakes and Deviations from the Original; *now this,* continues he, *is downright depraving the Holy Scriptures, and if the Liturgy must be regulated upon this false Translation, we may be said to serve God with Lies.*

The Papists would not be kept to the Conditions of the Conference, but broke the Method agreed upon, and fell to wrangling and shifting, so the Assembly was dismissed. The Popish Disputants thought it their wisest Course to prevent any farther Proceeding, lest they might have been too closely pinched in their Cause, and the Weakness of their Arguments too openly appear to all. However it occasioned two Things to be done, 1st. To set out the Doctrine of the Church, in several Articles; and 2dly, To review the Translation of the Bible.

For the Translation of the Bible, the Sees being all filled, the most learned Bishops were by the Queen's Commission appointed thereunto, whence it took the Name of the Bishops' Bible. To each his Part and Portion was assigned, with Orders to add some Marginal Notes, for the Illustration of the Text, where they found it obscure or difficult. The *Pentateuch* was committed to William Alley Bishop of Exeter; *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, and the two Books of *Samuel*, were given to Richard

Richard Davis, who was afterwards made Bishop of *St. David*, when *Young* was translated to *York*; all from *Samuel* to the second Book of *Chronicles*, was assigned to *Edwyn Sandys*, then Bishop of *Worcester*; from thence to the End of *Job*, to one whose Name is marked *A. P. C.* which *Collier* says, might probably stand for *Andrew Person Cantuariensis*, one of the Archbishop's Chaplains, and Prebendary of *Canterbury*; the *Psalms* were given to *Thomas Bentham* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; *Collier* thinks this was more probably *Thomas Beacon* Prebendary of *Canterbury*; the *Proverbs* to one that is marked *A. P.* here is a *C* standing at some Distance, probably (says *Collier*) to distinguish the Person from the former *A. P. C.*; the *Song of Solomon*, to one marked *A. P. E.* these *Collier* says, stand for *Andrew Pern Eliensis*, he being at that Time Prebendary of *Ely*; all from thence to the *Lamentation*, was given to *Robert Horn* Bishop of *Winchester*; *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*, to *Bentham*; from thence to *Malachi*, to *Edmund Grindal* Bishop of *London*; the *Apo-crypha*, to the Book of *Wisdom*, to *Barlow* Bishop of *Chichester*; and the rest of it to *John Parkhurst* Bishop of *Norwich*; the *Gospels*, *Acts*, and the Epistle to the *Romans*, to *Richard Cox* Bishop of *Ely*; the Epistles to the *Corinthians*, to one marked *G. G.* which *Collier* says, probably may stand for *Gabriel Goodman*, then Dean of *Westminster*: To whom the rest of the *New Testament* was assigned is not known, there being no Capital Letters subjoined. All these Allotments may be gathered from the Bible itself, as it was afterwards set out by Archbishop *Parker*; for at the End of every Section or Portion, the initial Letters of his Name or Title that had translated it, were printed.

Upon the Death of Queen *Mary* the *English* Exiles at *Geneva* returned home, except some few, *Wittingham*, and one or two more, who staid behind to finish their Translation of the Bible, wherein they had proceeded a good Way already. They congratulated the Queen's Accession to the Crown, by presenting her with the Book of *Psalms* in *English*, which they had printed at *Geneva* in a little Volume, with Notes in the Margent, (being Part of the Work they were about) and dedicated to the Queen; the Dedication dated from *Geneva*, *February* the 10th, 1559, (*Anno ineunte*) exhorts her now in her Entrance on her Government, to go on with Resolution in reforming Religion, from the Corruptions of *Papistry*. That in the mean Season, they, according to the Talents God had given them, thought it their Duty, with the most convenient Speed, to further, even with the utmost of their Power, her godly Proceedings. And albeit they had begun more than a Year ago, to peruse the *English* Translation of the Bible, and to bring it to the pure Simplicity and true Meaning of the Spirit of God; yet when they heard that Almighty God had miraculously preserved her to that most excellent Dignity, with most joyful Minds and great Diligence, they endeavoured themselves to set forth this most excellent Book of the *Psalms*, unto her Grace, as a special Token of their Service and good Will, 'till the rest of the Bible, which was in good Readiness, should be accomplished and presented.

And now Care was taken by those in Commission for Religion, to supply vacant Churches, and that fit Men might be provided to officiate in them. For that purpose those that were admitted to Curacies, were

bound to subscribe certain Articles of Doctrine, and other Articles or Injunctions for their Behaviour and Obedience, in the Discharge of their Ministry. By these last, all Ministers were obliged to read every Day, one Chapter of the Bible at least; and all that were admitted Readers in the Church, were daily to read one Chapter at least of the *Old Testament*, and another of the *New*, with good Advise, to the Increase of their Knowledge.

As the Bishops, and the learned sober Divines, preached much themselves, so they did what they could to promote it every where: But several People, instructed and directed secretly by Papists, despised preaching, and absented themselves as much as they could from Sermons. The Priests were desperately afraid the People should have too much Knowledge; they would have them in Blindness still. And as these Men would speak their Mind against Preaching, so would they do also against the common Use of the Scriptures. *It was never a good World* (would they say) *since the Word of God came abroad*; and that *it was not meet for the People to have it, or read it; but they must receive it at the Priest's Mouth*; they were the Nurses (say they) *that must chew the Meat, before the Children eat it*: But to these it was replied, *It is so poisoned in their filthy Mouths, and stinking Breaths, that it poisoneth, but feedeth not the Hearer*.

The Geneva Bible being finished, was printed in Quarto, Anno 1560, with an Epistle to the Queen, and another to the Reader: These Addresses charged the *English* Reformation with the Remains of Popery, and endeavoured to prevail with the Queen to strike off several Ceremonies; this giving Offence, might be the Reason why they were left out in the after Editions. Brief Annotations were set upon all the hard Places, as well for the understanding obscure Words, as for Declaration of the Text, that is, they made a *Calvinistical* Comment on the Bible, and endeavoured to lead the Reader into the Opinions of the Geneva Brethren. Figures were inserted in certain Places in the Books of *Moses*, *Kings*, and of *Ezekiel*, which seemed so dark, that by no other Description they could be made easy to the Reader. There were joined two Tables, the one of Interpretations of *Hebrew* Names, and the other containing the principal Matters of the whole Bible. There was a Design afterwards, Anno 1565. for reprinting it, and some Time had been spent in reviewing and correcting it, and Application was made to the Secretary Cecil by the Undertakers, who refused to assist them, 'till he had consulted with Archbishop Parker. The Archbishop wrote to the Secretary in their Behalf, but with this Condition, *that he should bring them under an Engagement, that the Impression should pass under the Archbishop's Regulation, and not be published without his Consent and Advice*. This Caution Collier thinks was thrown in, that the Bishops might have it in their Power to alter some mis-translated Passages, and expunge some exceptionable Annotations, relating to Civil Government. The Undertakers not being willing to come under these Restraints, deferred the Impression untill after Parker's Death: This was taken ill, and the Author of the Troubles at Franckfort maketh this Complaint, p. 164. *If that Bible were such as no Enemy of God could justly find fault with, then may Men marvel, that such a Work, being so profitable, should find so small Favour,*

Favour, as not to be printed again; if it be not faithfully translated, then let it still find as little Favour as it doth, because of the Inconveniencies that a false Translation brings with it.

The Great Bible, was Anno 1562, reprinted, viz. that of Coverdale's Translation, that had been printed in the Time of King Henry the VIII, and also in the Time of King Edward, for the Use of the Church; and now again under Queen Elizabeth, having undergone the Archbishop's Review. This was to serve till the Bishops, who were assigned their particular Portions of the Holy Scriptures (as before related) had finished their Review, in order to the setting it forth more correctly. This likewise was taken ill by the Favourers of the Church of Geneva, who wanted an Order to have their Translation set up, and used in all Churches, instead of the old Bible. They alledged that the old Translation (whose-ever it is) although it ought not to be condemned, yet it is found both obscure, unperfect, and superfluous, and also false in many Places.

In a Convocation Anno 1563, it was determined that the common Service of the Church, ought to be celebrated in a Tongue which was understood by the People, as may be seen in the Book of Articles which came out this Year, Art. 24. And whereas in Wales the People were very Popishly inclined, and very ignorant, it was ordered in Parliament, 5 Eliz. c. 28. that the whole Bible, both Old and New Testament, with the Book of Common-Prayer, be translated into the Welsh or British Tongue. The Act puts the Direction of this Work into the Hands of the Bishops of Hereford, St. David, Bangor, Landaff, and St. Asaph, who were to inspect the Translation, and take care for the printing of such a Number, that every Cathedral, Collegiate, and Parish-Church and Chapel of Ease, within their respective Dioceses, where Welsh was commonly spoken, might be furnished with one.

In 1568, the Translation of the Bible mentioned in 1759, which Archbishop Parker had the Care of, and who added the last Hand to it, being finished, was printed in a large Folio, and published, and called the Bishops' Bible, because several of that Order were concerned in the Version, as was said before. The Archbishop's Province was not so much to translate, as to oversee, direct, examine, prepare, and finish all, which he performed with great Care and Exactness. He employed several Criticks, in the Hebrew and Greek Languages, to review the old Translation, and compare it with the Original. One Lawrence an eminent Grecian was made use of to examine the Version of the Greek Testament: He made several Animadversions upon the Performances of Beza and Erasmus this way. This Bible hath divers Alterations in the Translation, from the former English ones, which shews it to have been all revised anew; and there are divers Notes set in the Margin by the Archbishop, very significant and instructive, but different from the Notes of Tyndal and Coverdale. At the head of this Bible is a Preface of the Archbishop's, in which he recommends the Work, but takes care to preserve a Respect to the Version published by Archbishop Cranmer: He observes the Impression was in a great measure spent, and that many Churches were unfurnished with convenient Bibles. The Scarcity of Copies, was one Reason for the under-taking

taking the Work: neither was any thing done to disparage the former Translation, which they mostly followed, and esteemed next to the Original. And as for the Variety of Translations, they are to be looked upon as a special Blessing of Providence, that by this Means the Divine Pleasure is farther communicated, and a fuller Provision made for general Instruction, and the Perplexity of the Text often disintangled.

The next Year 1569, the Archbishop put out another Impression of it in large *Octavo*, for the Use of private Families, which could not purchase the *Folio*, that so they might be supplied with the Sacred Bible. And in a Convocation convened 1571, in *April*, a Book of Canons passed, wherein it was required, *That every Bishop should cause the Holy Bible in the largest Volume, to be set up in some convenient Place of his Hall or Parlour, that as well those of his own Family, as all such Strangers as resort to him, might have recourse to it, if they pleased.* Which Canon seems to have been made for keeping up the Reputation of the *English* Bibles, publicly authorized for the Use of this Church, the Credit and Authority of which Translation, was much decried by those of the *Genevean* Faction, to advance their own.

This Bible was again reprinted the next Year 1572, with several Corrections and Amendments: Before it is a Preface by Archbishop *Parker* on the *Old Testament*, and another to the *New*, together with *Cranmer's* Prologue before the Bible. It hath all along many Marginal References and Notes, and many ornamental Cuts, and instructive Pictures dispersed up and down, and divers useful Tables.

In 1575 there was a Convocation, when on the 17th of *March*, Archbishop *Grindal* being present, several Articles were read, and afterwards subscribed by both Houses, for the Regulation of the Clergy. By the Eleventh the Bishops were to take Care, *That all Incumbents and Curates under the Degree of Master of Arts, and not Preachers, should provide themselves the New Testament, both in Latin and English or Welsh, read a Chapter every Day, and compare the Translations together.*

And in 1583 Archbishop *Whitgift* published his Visitation Articles, wherein it was ordered, *That one Kind of Translation of the Bible be only used in public Service, as well in Churches as Chapels, and that to be the same which is now authorized by the Consent of the Bishops.* From whence it is probable the Archbishop might be sensible, the *Geneva* Translation was used in some Parishes.

Wood in his *Athene Oxonienses*, Vol. 1. p. 297. tells us one *Lawrence Thompson*, an under Secretary to Secretary *Walsingham*, made a new Version of the *New Testament* from *Beza's Latin* Translation, together with a Translation of *Beza's* Notes, but very seldom varied from the *Geneva* Translation.

And now the Protestants had made Translations of the Bible, into the Languages of their several Countries, that the People might read the Holy Scriptures. Hereupon the *Romanists* made new Translations also, into most Languages of *Europe*, to oppose those of the Hereticks (as they called them) and to keep the Faithful (those of their

Communion, they mean) from reading Translations made by Protestants; with this Difference, that the Papists have translated from the Vulgar *Latin*, as being not only better than all other *Latin* Translations, but than the *Greek* of the *New Testament* itself, in those Places where they disagree, as they would make their Adversaries themselves confess; whereas the Protestants would have had recourse to the *Hebrew* and *Greek*, which they look upon as true Originals. When they could not altogether suppress the Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, whereby their Errors are discovered, they thought it the next Way for their Purpose, by their partial Translation, as much as they could, to obscure them, and by their Heretical Annotations to pervert them, that the one should make them unprofitable, the other also hurtful. Thus Anno 1582, came forth the *Rhemish* Translation of the *New Testament*, neither good *Greek*, *Latin*, nor *English*, being every where bespeckled with hard Words, (pretended not to be rendered into *English* without Abatement of some Expressiveness) which transcended common Capacities; besides it is taxed of abominable Errors therein. They tell us, in the Preface, *They do not publish this Translation upon an erroneous Opinion of Necessity that the Holy Scriptures should always be in our Mother Tongue, or that they ought, or were ordained by God, to be read indifferently of all; or could be easily understood of every one, that readeth or heareth them in a known Language; or that they were not often, through Mens Malice or Infirmary, pernicious and much hurtful to many; or that they generally and absolutely deemed it more convenient in itself, and more agreeable to God's Word and Honour, or Edification of the Faithful, to have them turned into vulgar Tongues, than to be kept and studied only in the Ecclesiastical learned Languages; or that every one who understood the learned Languages wherein the Scriptures were written, or other Languages into which they were translated, might, without Reprehension, read them; not for these or any such like Causes did they translate this sacred Book; but having Compassion to see their beloved Countrymen, with extreme Danger of their Souls (as they would have them believe) to use such profane Translations, and erroneous Mens mere Fancies, for the pure and blessed Word of Truth, they set forth the New Testament to begin withal, trusting that it may give Occasion to them, after diligent perusing thereof, to lay away at least such impure Versions (as they termed them) as hitherto they have made use of.* They added large Annotations, to shew (they said) the studious Reader, in most Places pertaining to the Controversies of those Times, both the Heretical Corruptions, and false Deductions, and also the Apostolick Tradition, the Expositions of the Holy Fathers, the Decrees of the Catholick Church, and most ancient Councils. It was printed in large Paper, with a fair Letter and Margin; which some interpreted to be purposely done, to enhance the Price, to put it past the Power of common People to ^{ap-}chase it. But if the Lay *Romanists* should secretly purchase one ^{ther no}*Rhemish* Testaments, he durst not own the reading thereof, ^{ne was far}Permission of his Superiours licensing him thereunto. ^{Remedy of it,}

Secretary *Walsingham*, by his Letters, solicited Mr. *T.* all Bishops, to undertake the confuting this *Rhemish* Translation. ^{in several Dioceses,} enable him to undertake the Work, sent him ^{Tongues, have taken} out of his own Purse. *Walsingham's* Letters ^{for the clearing of any}

by another from the Doctors and Heads of Houses (and Dr. *Fulk* amongst the rest) at *Cambridge*, besides the Importunity of the Ministers of *London* and *Suffolk*, soliciting him to the same Purpose. Hereupon *Cartwright* set to the Business, and was very forward in the Pursuance thereof; of which Archbishop *Whitgift* had no sooner Notice, but presently he prohibited his farther Proceeding therein. Many commended his Care, not to intrust the Defence of the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, to a Pen so disaffected to the Discipline thereof. Others blamed his Jealousy, to deprive the Church of so learned Pains of him whose Judgement would so solidly, and Affections so zealously confute the publick Adversary. Disheartened hereat, *Cartwright* desisted; but some Years hereafter, encouraged by a Person of Quality, he re-assumed the Work, but, prevented by Death, perfected no farther than the 15th Chapter of the *Revelations*. Many Years lay this Work neglected, and the Copy thereof Mouse-eaten in part, whence the Printer excused some Defects therein in his Edition, which though late, yet at last came forth *Anno* 1618. Mean time whilst *Cartwright's* Refutation of the *Rhemish* Translations was thus retarded, Dr. *William Fulk*, Master of *Pembroke* Hall in *Cambridge*, entered the List against it, judiciously and learnedly performing his Undertaking therein.

The *Rhemists* profess in their Preface to the *New Testament*, That the Old Testament also lieth by them, for lack of good Means to publish the Whole in such sort, as a Work of so great Charge and Importance requireth. Out of Fear it ariseth, that they which hitherto could not endure the Holy Scriptures to be read of the People in their Mother Tongue, now lest they should utterly fall from the Hope of their Gain, through a vehement Suspicion of Jugling and playing under-board with the People, are constrained to profess a Readiness to print that, which they sometimes burned, and pretend an Allowance of that, which in Times past they condemned. They were wont to boast of the Zeal of Popes, Cardinals, and other great Prelates of the *Romish* Sect, for the Conversion of our Nation, and reducing it unto their Obedience: Were they all so strait-laced, that none of them could find wherewith to bear the Charges of printing a Work so necessary, or at least-wise profitable, as they pretend the Translations of the Scriptures to be for the Maintenance of the Catholick Religion? But about some Twenty Years after, that long-looked for Work crept forth into the World, little Notice being taken thereof by the Protestants, partly because there was no great Eminency therein to intitle it to their Perusal; and partly because that Part of the Bible is of least Concernment in the Controversy betwixt us and the Church of *Rome*.

In the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, *Ambrose Usher*, Brother to Dr. *James Usher*, Primate of *Ardmagh*, having attained to great Skill and Perfection in the Oriental Tongues, rendered much of the *Old Testament* from the original *Hebrew* into *English*, but it was never made publick.

King *James* the First being come to the Crown *Anno* 1603, the Presbyterian Party made their Application speedily to him, in Hopes to have their Government set up. And the King having received a Petition from certain Persons of over zealous Spirits, against the Establish-

ed Government and Liturgy in the Church, appointed a Conference to be held at *Hampton Court*, the 14th of *January 1604* for the settling the Peace of the Church, and the quieting the Complaints of its Adversaries. Here Dr. *Reynolds*, one of the Opposers of Conformity, moved that the Bible might be new translated, alledging that such Translations as were then extant, answered not the Original, and he instanced in three Particulars; *Galat. iv. 25.* in the Original *ουσαρχει*, ill-translated, *bordereth*. *Pf. cv. 28.* in the Original, *They were not disobedient*, ill-translated, *They were not obedient*. *Pf. cv. 30.* in the Original, *Phineas executed Judgment*, ill-translated, *Phineas prayed*. To which the King replied, *That he could never yet see a Bible well translated in English, but thought that of all, that of Geneva was the worst*; adding, *I wish some special Pains was taken for an uniform Translation, which should be done by the best learned in both Universities, then reviewed by the Bishops, presented to the Privy-Council, and lastly ratified by Royal Authority, to be read in the whole Church, and no other*. Here *Bancroft* Bishop of *London* interposed, saying, *It was fit no Marginal Notes should be added thereunto*. To which the King replied, *That Caveat is well put in, for in the Geneva Translation some Notes are partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring of traitorous Conceits*. As when from *Exod. i. 19.* Disobedience to Kings is allowed in Marginal Note, and *2d Chron. xv. 16.* King *Asha* is taxed in the Note for only deposing his Mother for Idolatry, and not killing her. To these Exceptions may be added two more; the first is their Comment upon the 12th Verse of the 2d of *St. Matthew*; here they tell us, That Promise ought not to be kept where God's Honour and preaching of his Truth is injured; or else it ought not to be broken. What loose Casuistry is this? What a desperate Expedient is this to justify the Breach of Promises and Oaths; of Contracts between Man and Man? What Insurrections and Confusions have been raised upon this Pretence? The other extraordinary Comment is on *Revel. ix. 3.* where the Locusts that come out of the Smoke are said to be false Teachers, Hereticks, and worldly subtle Prelates, with Monks, Fryars, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Doctors, Batchelors, and Masters; a strong Composition of Ignorance and Ill-will. What broad Inuendos are here upon the *English* Clergy, and all those distinguished with Degrees in the Universities? These, it seems, according to the Skill and Charity of the *Genevean* Annotators, are Part of the Locusts that came smoaking out of the bottomless Pit.

This produced a Resolution in his Majesty for a new Translation, who appointed certain learned Men to the Number of Fifty-four for that Purpose; and to encourage this Work, the King made some preparatory Advances, as appears by his Letter to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* of *July 22d 1604*, wherein he tells him, *He had already appointed certain learned Men for the Work, divers of which having either no Ecclesiastical Preferment at all, or else so very small, that the same was far unmeet for Men of their Deserts, he gives Directions for the Remedy of it, by taking Care for their Preferment*. He also requireth all Bishops, to inform themselves of all such learned Men within their several Dioceses, as having especial Skill in the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Tongues, have taken Pains in their private Studies of the Scriptures, for the clearing of any

Obscurities either in the *Hebrew* or in the *Greek*, or touching any Difficulties or Mistakes in the former *English* Translation, and to charge them to send such their Observations in, to be imparted to the several Companies imployed, that so the intended Translation might have the Help and Furtherance of all the principal learned Men in the Kingdom.

Before this Work was begun, Seven of the Persons nominated for it, were either dead, or declined the Task; for the List of the Translators, as given us by *Fuller*, amounts to but Forty-Seven. This Number was ranged under Six Divisions, and several Parcels of the Bible assigned them, according to the several Places, where they were to meet, confer, and consult together. Every one of the Company was to translate the whole Parcel; then they were to compare these together; and when any Company had finished their Part, they were to communicate it to the other Companies, so that nothing should pass without a general Consent. The Names of the Persons and Places where they met, together with the Portions of Scripture assigned each Company, were as follow.

1st, Dr. *Lancelot Andrews*, first Fellow, then Master of *Pembroke Hall* in *Cambridge*, at this Time Dean of *Westminster*, afterwards Bishop of *Ely*, then of *Winchester*. 2^{dly}, Dr. *John Overall*, Fellow of *Trinity College*, Master of *Catherine Hall* in *Cambridge*, at this Time Dean of *St. Paul's*, afterwards Bishop, first of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, then of *Norwich*. 3^{dly}, Dr. *Adrian Saravia*, a Native of *Artois*, bred at the University of *Leyden*, but a strong Assertor of Episcopacy. This Doctrine being discouraged in his own Country, where the Parity of Ministers was an Article of their publick Confession, he cast himself upon the Protection of the Church of *England*, in which he was preferred to be a Prebendary of *Canterbury* and *Westminster*, and considered in other Respects to his Satisfaction. 4^{thly}, Dr. *Layfield*, Fellow of *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, Parson of *St. Clement-Danes*; being skilled in Architecture, his Judgment was much relied upon for the Fabrick of the Tabernacle and Temple. 5^{thly}, Dr. *Clerk*, Fellow of *Christ College* in *Cambridge*, Preacher in *Canterbury*; not in the List of those that met. 6^{thly}, Dr. *Leigh*, Archdeacon of *Middlesex*, Parson of *Allhallows Barking*. 7^{thly}, Dr. *Burgley*. 8^{thly}, Mr. *King*. 9^{thly}, Mr. *Thompson*. 10^{thly}, Mr. *Bedwell*, sometime of *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*, and Vicar of *Tottenham*, near *London*.

These Ten met at *Westminster*, and to them were assigned the *Pentateuch*, the History from *Josua* to the First Book of *Chronicles* exclusively.

2^{dly}, To meet at *Cambridge* Eight; viz. 1st, Mr. *Lively* the King's *Hebrew* Reader in *Cambridge*. 2^{dly}, Mr. *John Richardson*, Fellow of *Emanuel College*, afterwards Doctor of Divinity, Master first of *Peter-House*, then of *Trinity College*. 3^{dly}, Mr. *Chadderton*, after Doctor in Divinity, Fellow first of *Christ College*, then Master of *Emanuel*. 4^{thly}, Mr. *Dillingham*, Fellow of *Christ College*, beneficed in *Bedfordshire*, where he died. 5^{thly}, Mr. *Andrews*, after Doctor in Divinity and Master of *Jesus College*, Brother to the Bishop of *Winchester*. 6^{thly}, Mr. *Harrison*, Vice-Master of *Trinity College*. 7^{thly}, Mr. *Spalding*, Fellow
of

of St. John's, and Hebrew Professor in that College. 8thly, Mr. Bing, Fellow of Peter-House, and Hebrew Professor therein.

To these were allotted the Books from the First of the *Chronicles*, with the rest of the History, and the *Hagiographa*, viz. *Job*, *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Canticles*, *Ecclesiastes*.

3dly, For Oxford were chosen Seven, viz. 1st, Dr. John Harding, President of Magdalen College. 2dly, Dr. John Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College; dyed soon after his ingaging in this Work: He was born at Pinkhoe in Devonshire, bred in Oxford where he was King's Professor; his Brother William and himself happened to divide in their Persuasion; John was a zealous Papist, and William as heartily engaged in the Reformation. Afterwards the two Brothers entring into a close Dispute, argued with that Strength, that they turned each other. This Dr. Reynolds, notwithstanding his appearing for the Dissenters at the Hampton-Court Conference, conformed himself to the Church Ceremonies. 3dly, Dr. Thomas Holland, Rector of Exeter College, and the King's Professor of Divinity. 4thly, Dr. Richard Kilby, Rector of Lincoln College, and Hebrew Professor. 5thly, Mr. Miles Smith, after Doctor in Divinity, and Bishop of Gloucester. He wrote the Preface to the Translation, and was one of the Revisers of the whole Work, when finished. 6thly, Dr. Richard Brett, Rector of Quainton in Buckinghamshire. 7thly, Mr. Fairclowe.

These had for their Task the four great Prophets, with the *Lamentations*, and the twelve lesser Prophets.

4thly, For the Prayer of Manasses, and the rest of the *Apocrypha*, Seven were appointed at Cambridge. 1st, Dr. Duport, Prebendary of Ely, and Master of Jesus College. 2dly, Dr. Braithwaite, first Fellow of Emanuel, then Master of Gonvil and Caius College. 3dly, Dr. Radcliff, Fellow of Trinity. 4thly, Mr. Ward of Emanuel, after Doctor in Divinity, Master of Sidney College, and Margaret Professor. 5thly, Mr. Downs, Fellow of St. John's, and Greek Professor. 6thly, Mr. Boyse, Fellow of St. John's, Prebendary of Ely, and Parson of Boxworth in Cambridgeshire. 7thly, Mr. Ward, Fellow of King's College, after Doctor in Divinity, Prebendary of Chichester, and Rector of Bishop-Waltham in Hampshire.

5thly, For the New Testament, there were the Four Gospels, Acts, and Revelations, assigned to Eight at Oxford, viz. 1st, Dr. Thomas Ravis, Dean of Christ Church, afterwards Bishop of London. 2dly, Dr. George Abbot, Master of University College, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. 3dly, Dr. Eedes. 4thly, Mr. Thompson. 5thly, Mr. Savil. 6thly, Dr. Peryn. 7thly, Dr. Ravens. 8thly, Mr. Harmer.

6thly, The Epistles of St. Paul, and the Canonical Epistles, were assigned to Seven at Westminster, viz. 1st, Dr. William Barlow, of Trinity Hall in Cambridge, Dean of Chester, after Bishop of Lincoln. 2dly, Dr. Hutcheson. 3dly, Dr. Spenser. 4thly, Mr. Fenton. 5thly, Mr. Rabbet. 6thly, Mr. Sanderfon. 7thly, Mr. Dakins.

That these might proceed to the best Advantage in their Method and Management; the King recommended the following Rules to be by them most carefully observed:

1st, The Ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the Original would permit.

2^{dly}, The Names of the Prophets and Inspired Writers, with the other Names in the Text, to be kept as near as may be, as they stand at present by customary Use.

3^{dly}, The old Ecclesiastical Words to be kept, viz. the Word Church, not to be translated Congregation, &c.

4^{thly}, When a Word hath divers Significations, that to be kept, which hath been most commonly used by the most of the Ancient Fathers, being agreeable to the Propriety of the Place, and the Analogy of Faith.

5^{thly}, The Division of the Chapters not to be altered, or as little as may be, if Necessity so require.

6^{thly}, No Marginal Notes at all to be affixed, but only for the Explanation of the *Hebrew* or *Greek* Words, which cannot, without some Circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be expressed in the Text.

7^{thly}, Such Notations of Places to be marginally set down, as shall serve for the fit Reference of one Scripture to another.

8^{thly}, Every particular Man of each Company, to take the Chapter or Chapters assigned for the whole Company, and having translated or amended them severally by himself, all the Division was to meet together, examine their respective Performances, and agree for their Parts what shall stand.

9^{thly}, As any one Company hath finished a Book in this Manner, they shall send it to the rest to be further considered.

10^{thly}, If any Company, upon the Review of the Book so sent, doubt or differ upon any Place, they were to note the Place, and send back the Reasons for their Disagreement. If they happen to differ about the Amendments, the Difference was to be referred to a general Committee, consisting of the chief Persons of each Company, at the End of the Work.

11^{thly}, When any Place is found remarkably obscure, Letters were to be directed by Authority, to any learned Person in the Land, for their Judgment thereupon.

12^{thly}, Letters to be sent from every Bishop to the rest of his Clergy, admonishing them of this Translation in Hand; and to move and charge as many as being skilful in the Tongues, and having taken Pains in that Kind, to send their particular Observations to the Company, either at *Westminster*, *Cambridge*, or *Oxford*.

13^{thly}, The Directors in each Company to be the Dean of *Westminster*, and *Chester* for that Place, and the King's Professors in *Hebrew* and *Greek*, in each University.

14^{thly}, The Translations of *Tyndal*, *Matthews*, *Coverdale*, *Whitchurch*, and *Geneva*, to be used, when they come closer to the Original, than the Bishops' Bible.

Lastly, Three or Four of the most eminent Divines in either of the Universities, though not of the Number of the Translators, were to be assigned by the Vice-Chancellor, to consult with other Heads of Houses, to be Overseers of the Translations.

These entred upon the Work in the Spring 1607, and prosecuted it with all due Care and Deliberation; but it was about Three Years before it was finished. The untimely Death of Mr. *Edward Lively* (much Weight of the Work lying on his Skill in the Original Tongues) much retarded the Proceedings; however, the rest vigorously, though slowly, proceeded in this hard, heavy, and holy Task, nothing offended with the Censures of impatient People, condemning their Delays (though indeed but due Deliberation) for Laziness. But after long Expectation and great Desire, came forth this new Translation Anno 1610, the Divines having been at great Pains in the Work, not only examining the Channels by the Fountain, Translations with the Original, which was absolutely necessary, but also comparing Channels with Channels, which was abundantly useful, *Italian, Spanish, French, and Dutch Languages.*

The Design, as the Preface tells us, was not to make a Translation altogether new, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one, but to make a good one better; or of many ones, one principal good one, not justly to be excepted against.

But this glorious Work did not want Detractors to defame it; the *Romanists* much excepted hereat. Was their Translation (say they) good before? Why do they now mend it? Was it not good? Why was it obtruded upon the People? These observe not, that whilst thus in their Passion they seek to lash the Protestants, their Whip flies in the Faces of the most learned and pious Fathers, especially *St. Jerom*, who, not content with the former Translations of the *Septuagint*, *Symacus*, and others, did himself translate the *Old Testament* out of the *Hebrew*. Yea, their Cavil recoils on themselves, and their own Vulgar Translation, whereof they have so many and different Editions. *Isidorus Clavius*, a famous Papist, observed and amended, as he says, Eight Thousand faults in the Vulgar *Latin*. And since his Time, how do the *Paris* Editions differ from the *Louvaine*, and *Hentenius's* from them both? How infinite are the Differences of that which Pope *Clement* the VIIIth published, from another which *Sixtus Quintus*, his immediate Predecessor, set forth? Thus we see, to better and refine Translations, hath ever been accounted a commendable Practice, even in our Adversaries.

Besides this, the *Romanists* take Exception, because in this our new Translation, the various Senses of Words are set in the Margin. This they conceive a shaking of the Certainty of the Scriptures, such Variations being as Suckers to be pruned off, because they rob the Stock of the Text of its due Credit and Reputation. But on serious Thoughts it will appear that these Translators, affixing the Diversity of the Meaning of Words in the Margin, deserve Commendations for their Modesty and Humility therein. For though all Things that are necessary to Salvation are plainly set down in the Scriptures, yet seeing there is much Difficulty and Doubtfulness (not in Doctrinal, but) in Matters of less Importance, Fearfulness did better besem the Translators than Confidence, entring in such Cases a Caution, where Words are of different Acceptations.

Some of the Presbyterians were not well pleased with this Translation, suspecting it would abate the Repute of that of *Geneva*, with their Annotations made by the *English* Exiles, and printed with the general Liking of the People, above thirty Times over. And some complained that they could not see into the Sense of the Scriptures, for the lack of those *Geneva* Annotations. But to say nothing of the Defects and Faults of those Annotations, (though the best in those Times which are extant in *English*) these Notes were so tuned to that Translation alone, that they would jar with any other, and could no way be fitted to this new Edition of the Bible.

Some of our Church also would pretend to find Errors and Mistakes in it (and no Body thinks it wholly free). Mr. *Walton* in the Life of Bishop *Sanderfon* gives a remarkable Instance of this: Dr. *Kilby*, an excellent Critick in the *Hebrew* Tongue, Professor of it in the University, a perfect *Grecian*, and one of the Translators, going into the Country, took Mr. *Sanderfon* to bear him Company. Being at the Church on *Sunday*, they found the young Preacher to have no more Discretion, than to waste a great Part of the Time allotted for his Sermon in Exceptions against the late Translation of several Words, (not excepting such a Hearer as Dr. *Kilby*) and shewed Three Reasons why a particular Word should have been otherwise translated. The Preacher in the Evening was invited to the Doctor's Friend's House, where, after some other Conference, the Doctor told him, he might have preached more useful Doctrine, and not have filled his Auditors Ears with needless Exceptions against the late Translation; and for that Word, for which he offered that poor Congregation Three Reasons, why it ought to have been translated as he said, he and others had considered all of them, and found Thirteen more considerable Reasons, why it was translated as now printed. And told him, if his Friend, (Mr. *Sanderfon*) then attending him, should prove Guilty of such Indiscretion, he should forfeit his Favour. To which Mr. *Sanderfon* said, he hoped he should not.

At a Grand Committee for Religion, in a pretended Parliament summoned by *Oliver Cromwell* Anno 1656, it was ordered that a Subcommittee should advise with Dr. *Walton*, Mr. *Hughes*, Mr. *Castle*, Mr. *Clerk*, Mr. *Poult*, Dr. *Cudworth*, and such others as they thought proper, to consider of the Translations and Impressions of the Bible, and to offer their Opinion therein to the Committee, and that it should be more particularly recommended to *Bulstrode Whitlock*, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, to take Care of that Affair. The Committee met frequently at *Whitlock's* House, where the learned Men in the Oriental Languages attended, made many Observations upon this Subject, and pretended to discover some Mistakes in the last *English* Translation, which yet they allowed was the best extant. They took a great deal of Pains in this Business, which yet came to nothing by the Dissolution of the Parliament.

After the Restoration, the King granted a Commission Anno 1661, to several Persons to review the Liturgy, in order to have it farther accommodated to a general Satisfaction, and the Bishop of *London's* Lodgings

ings in the *Savoy* were appointed for the Place of Meeting, when the Presbyterian Divines delivered in their Exceptions to the Common-Prayer, together with the additional Forms and Alterations which they desired. One of their Exceptions was, that there were many Defects observed in the Version of the Scriptures, used in the Liturgy, that it was either obsolete in Language, or mistaken in Sense, as they endeavoured to prove in several Instances; they therefore moved that this Version might be struck out, and the new Translation allowed by the Authority substituted instead thereof. To which the Commissioners on the Liturgy's Part returned their Answer, wherein they were willing that all the Epistles and Gospels, be used according to the last Translation, but that the Psalms be used after the former Translation, mentioned in the Rubrick, and printed according to it; which was done accordingly.

Leave we then these worthy Men the Translators, now all of them gathered to their Fathers, whose Industry, Skilfulness, Piety, and Discretion, hath therein bound the Church unto them, in a Debt of special Remembrance and Thankfulness. These with *Jacob Gen. xxix.* rolled away the Stone from the Mouth of the Well of Life, so that now even *Rachel's* weak Women may freely come both to drink themselves, and water the Flock of their Families at the same. And the Church has not only permitted all Believers, without Distinction of Age or Sex, to read these Holy Books, but always exhorted them to do so (till these last Ages) by the Mouths of its Pastors, without excluding any. It has exhorted Children to it, that according to the Example of *Timothy*, they might be nourished and brought up in the Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. It has exhorted Catechumens to it, and admitted them to hear the Word of God, though it excluded them from its Mysteries, that they might conceive a Veneration and Respect for the Religion which they embraced. It has exhorted Women, Maids, and young Widows to it, that they might learn from it their several Duties, and by a continual Meditation on it, arrive to a greater Perfection of Spiritual Life. It has exhorted to it the Ignorant, and Men of low Degree, being persuaded that *Jesus Christ* had chosen such, even before the Great and Wise; and that the Holy Scriptures, though they contain Mysteries and very sublime Things in them, are nevertheless suited to the Capacities of all Persons, and accommodated to the Understanding of the meanest Readers, so that a Mechanick, a Servant, a poor Woman, and the most ignorant of Men may profit by reading them. It has exhorted to it not only such as profess to lead a Spiritual Life, but those who live in the World, who have a Family and Employment, that they might find there a Support for their Weakness, in the midst of the Dangers to which the Occupations of this World expose them, and Assistance against the Temptations, to which they are continually liable. It has exhorted to it Sinners, and Persons engaged in a vicious Course, that they might there seek a Remedy for their Spiritual Distempers; and hearkning to the Voice of God, and being enlightened by his Word, might be sensible of their Errors, and embrace the Means of breaking off the Chains of their wicked Customs. So that neither Age, nor Sex, nor Ingenuity, nor want of Capacity, nor a Man's Profession, nor the Condition he is in, have been ever

looked upon as sufficient Reasons to forbid Christians to read the Holy Scriptures. In a Word, the Church has not only exhorted all Believers to read them, but told them, by the Mouths of the holy Fathers, that it is the Devil, who diverts Christians from so doing. It has reprov'd and blamed those who neglected it, and declared that the Ignorance of the Holy Scriptures, is one of the chief Causes of all our Miseries; that from thence, as from an unhappy Spring, had proceeded innumerable Disorders; that thence came such a swarm of Heresies, such Depravation of Manners, such a Multitude of uselefs Labours, and vain Employments, in which Christians engaged themselves.

Happy! thrice happy! hath our *English* Nation been, since God hath given it learned Translators, to express in our Mother Tongue the Heavenly Mysteries of his holy Word, delivered to his Church in the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Languages; who although they may have in some Matters of no Importance unto Salvation, as Men, been deceived and mistaken, yet have they faithfully delivered the whole Substance of the Heavenly Doctrine, contained in the Holy Scriptures, without any Heretical Translations, or wilful Corruptions. With what Reverence, Joy, and Gladness then ought we to receive this Blessing! Let us read the Scriptures with an humble, modest, and teachable Disposition, with a Willingness to embrace all Truths which are plainly delivered there, how contrary soever to our own Opinions and Prejudices; and in Matters of Difficulty readily hearken to the Judgment of our Teachers, and those that are set over us in the Lord; check every presumptuous Thought or Reasoning which exalts itself against any of those Mysterious Truths therein revealed. And if we thus search after the Truth in the Love of it, we shall not miss of finding that Knowledge, which will make us wise unto Salvation.

A N

I N T R O D U C T I O N

T O T H E

READING OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

17

T H E

T R A N S L A T O R ' S P R E F A C E .

THE authors of this incomparable *Version* and learned *Commentary* having given a particular account, at the end of the *Introduction*, of each branch of their *work*, the *translator* has thought fit to prefix, by way of preface, the substance of what is there said, that the reader may beforehand have a just notion of the nature of the whole undertaking.

It having been represented to the late king of *Prussia*, that the *French Versions* of the *holy scriptures* being, by length of time, become *obsolete* and *unintelligible*, it was necessary either to make a *new translation*, or *revise* the *old ones*; he was pleased to cast his eyes on *Messieurs De Beausobre* and *Lenfant*, as the properest persons to do the publick that important piece of service. Accordingly they jointly set about this work, by the king's express order, and after some years compleated the whole, consisting of the following parts; *An Introductory Discourse to the Reading of the Scriptures*; *An Abstract or Harmony of the Gospel History*; *A New Version of all the Books of the New Testament*; *A literal Commentary on all the difficult Passages*, with a *General Preface to all St. Paul's Epistles*, and a *Critical Preface to each book in particular*.

I. *The* INTRODUCTION.

THOUGH there is nothing in the *Introduction* but what *divines* are well acquainted with, yet it may not be displeasing to them to see so many particulars alluded to in the scriptures, and dispersed up and down in the *works* of the *learned*, brought together and handled in one treatise. It was chiefly intended for *students in divinity*, who have not the opportunity, or perhaps the ability, of coming at those *voluminous* works that treat of the many curious as well as *necessary* points here discussed. In the first part you have a clear account of all the *Jewish* matters as far as is requisite for the understanding the scriptures. The *civil* and *religious* state of the *Jews*: The *Samaritans*: *ceremonies*: The *Temple*: *sacrifices*: *synagogues*: *high priest*, and others: *courts of justice*, particularly the *Sanhedrim*: *prophets* and *scribes*, *Jewish* *sects*, *Pharisees*, *Sadduces*, *Essenes*: *Profelytes of the gate*, and *Profelytes of righteousness*: *years*, *months*, *days*, and *hours* of the *Jews*: *fasts* and *feasts*, particularly the *Jewish sabbath*, &c. In the second part, which relates more especially to the *New Testament*, you have the *proofs* of the truth of the *Christian religion*: The nature of the *New Testament style*: The *chronology*, and *geography* of the *New Testament*: The *Hebrew money*, *weights*, and *measures*: The *various readings*: The division into *chapters* and *verses*: The *heresies* in the days of the *Apostles*: The *versions* of the *New Testament*, *ancient* and *modern*, to which will be added an account of our *English* ones, &c.

II. *The Abstract or Harmony of the* GOSPEL HISTORY.

As for the *evangelical* and *apostolical* Harmony, 1. It contains the history of the actions of *Jesus Christ* and the *Apostles* in their true order of time, which the *Evangelists* did not so much regard, as not conducing to their principal design of proving *Jesus* to be the *Messiah* from his *doctrines* and *miracles*. 2. It shews what is common to all the *Evangelists*, and what is particular to each of them. 3. It paraphrases or explains in other words the original *text*, which otherwise would require *notes*. 4. It clears up many things which could not so well be treated of in the *Commentary*. 5. It may serve also for a *table* of the principal *matters*.

III. *The* VERSION.

When our authors were ordered by the king of *Prussia* to undertake this work, they consulted whether they should revise the *old versions*, or make an entire *new* one. But when they considered that a *new* translation would cost them no more time and pains than the revising an *old* one, and that it was impossible to revise an *old version*, so as to make it all of a piece; they resolved upon the former, well knowing that the best

best way to make an ancient misshapen edifice regular and uniform, is to pull it down, and build it all anew.

As the most approved *versions* are those, that adhere not too *close* to the *letter*, nor deviate too far from it, our authors profess to have kept between both. Indeed they have often, out of a regard to the *sacred text*, and a deference to the opinion of the generality of the world, not taken the liberty necessary to an exact and perfect translation. But lest the liberties they have sometimes taken, may not be relished by those, who have not sufficiently attended to the rules of a good translation, they thought proper to make the following remarks upon that subject.

1. In the first place it must be observed, that in translating we are not to render *word* for *word*, but *sense* for *sense*, and that the most *literal versions* are not always the most *faithful*. There is a great deal of difference between the *letter* and the *literal sense*. The *letter* is the *word* explained according to its *etymology*. The *literal sense* is the *meaning* of the author, which is frequently quite different from the *grammatical* signification of the words. The design of a *version* is not to explain the *words* of a book, that is the office of a *grammarian*, the intent of a translator ought to be to express the *thoughts*. Thus a man may be a good *grammarian*, and at the same time a wretched *translator*.

2. Nothing is more common than for the same words, in the mouths of *different* nations, to have *different* significations. In this case to consult your *dictionary* would be a certain means to put you wrong as to the *literal sense* of an author. For instance, were we to render the *Greek* word *scandalizein* by the *English* word to *scandalize*, we should be far from expressing the meaning of the *sacred penmen*. For *scandalizein*, in *Greek*, signifies *to lay a snare, to put an obstacle in the way, to dishearten, to cause to waver and fall, &c.* Whereas in *English*, to *scandalize*, is properly to *speak ill* of a person, to *defame*, and the like.

3. It often happens that one author uses a word in a different sense from that of another. Of this, to *justify* and *justification* are instances. In *English* to *justify* a person, is, *to speak in his defence, to clear him from what he is accused of*; whereas in the *scripture* language, to *justify*, is an act of God's mercy, whereby pardoning our sins, in consideration of our *faith* and *repentance*, he declares us *just* or *righteous*, and treats us as such, for the sake of Jesus Christ. There are abundance of words of the like nature; the *sacred* writers of the *New Testament* forming their *style* upon the *Hebrew* and *Septuagint version*, often give a particular meaning to the *Greek* words. If therefore we were to render such words by their most usual signification, we should indeed render them according to the *letter*, but at the same time we should be far from expressing the *ideas* annexed to them by the author. The same writer also very often uses the same word in different senses, not only in different places, but sometimes in the same sentence. If we were to render them always by the same word, on pretence of being *faithful* and *exact*, we should on the contrary, express ourselves in a very *improper* and frequently in an *unintelligible* manner. The *Greek* word, for example, that signifies *faith**

is made use of by St. Paul in very different senses ; sometimes he means by it *the being persuaded of a thing* †, sometimes *trust* or *reliance* ‡, and sometimes the *object of faith* §, that is, the *gospel*. As these are very distinct *ideas*, the rules of a good translation require, that in each place we give the word *faith* the meaning which is agreeable to the *context*.

4. It is well known, that in *Hebrew*, upon which the *Greek* of the *New Testament* is formed, there are certain *expletives*, or superfluous *particles*, which in that tongue may possibly have their *graces*, or at least may not be so disagreeable as in *ours*. Such is the *conjunctive copulative*, *kai*, and, which commonly in the *New Testament* instead of *connecting* begins the discourse. Hence it is that we meet with such multitudes of *ands*, without any meaning at all, and which in the *living languages* sound very odd. Of the same nature is the *adverb* *behold* or *lo*. It often has its meaning and *emphasis*, but for the most part it is a mere *Hebraism* without any particular signification.

5. As for the other particles, *for*, *but*, *as*, *now*, *then*, &c. the *criticks* have very well observed, that they have not *determinate* significations, and therefore it would be very wrong to render them always in the same manner. In fixing their sense the context and connection of the discourse must be our guide. These several meanings of the same *particle* are owing to the *Hebrew*, where the *particles* vary extremely in their signification * ; but the same thing is to be met with in both *Greek* and *Latin* authors.

6. As several may think it strange that in this *version* *thou* and *thee* are changed into *you*, it will be proper to remove their scruples, which can proceed only from their being used and accustomed to the contrary. But such should consider, That no prescription ought to be pleaded against reason, and that to speak in a *barbarous* style in a *polite* age and language, is highly unreasonable. Those, who object against this, either forget or do not know that the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* tongues having no *you* in the *singular number*, it was impossible for the *sacred* penmen to speak otherwise. The pretended dignity of *THEE* and *THOU* in the *gospels*, is to be met with in all the discourses and books of those times, because they could not talk to one another in any other manner. But now-a-days that *YOU* is made use of in the *singular number*, when we would speak *handsomely*, and that to say *THOU* is extremely *rude* and *uncivil*, or a sign of great familiarity, or of the meanest dependance, there can be no reason of admitting this indecent manner of expression in the *version* of the *New Testament*. What can be more gratifying than to hear the *disciples* calling their Lord, *thou*, and *thee*, and our Saviour talking to the Apostles as to the meanest of servants ?

It is not the same thing when we address ourselves to God, as when men are talking to one another. God is infinitely above the little rules of our *breeding* and *civility*, and as the addressees of the *faithful* to this *Supreme Being* are of a *supernatural* order, it is proper their language

† Rom. xiv. 23.

‡ Heb. xviii. &c.

§ Rom. iv. 14.

* See Boyle on the style of the holy Scriptures. Obj. 3. c. 2.

guage should in some measure be so too. Upon this occasion the *oriental* style has a certain *sublimity* in it, which may be much easier conceived than expressed. And if, when we speak to kings in an *heroick* style, we find *thou* has something very noble, grand, and respectful, how much more so when we address ourselves to the King of kings !

7. In this *version* the translators had solely in view the *thoughts* of the *sacred* penmen, without any regard to the particular *explanations* and *applications* of divines. *Systems of divinity* are to go by the *scriptures*, and not the *scriptures* by them. To prove a doctrine by a *text*, which in its natural sense proves it not, or does not do it without a strained and forced interpretation, is to betray at once both the *scriptures* and doctrine too. *Divines*, who go this way to work, expose at the same time the Christian religion in general, and their own principles in particular.

In each *communion* a man is obliged to adhere to the *articles*, therein established, but then every one ought to be left free to interpret the *scriptures*, by the same rules that are necessary for explaining any other book whatsoever. Besides, when a doctrine is proved by several express *texts*, or by one such, to endeavour to prove it by passages quite foreign to the purpose, is unfair dealing, a *pious* fraud very blame-worthy, or at least shews such a strong prejudice and blind obstinacy, as can never make for the credit of any sect or party. *Calvin* was a truly *orthodox* divine. But he ingenuously disclaimed both the *ancients* and *moderns*, when in proof of certain *mysteries* they alledged *texts*, which in his opinion had no manner of relation with the matter in hand. However, the like liberty is not here taken, but without confuting any particular explanation, our authors have laid it down as a law, to represent the *text* just as it is, and to have every one at liberty to judge of the truths therein contained.

8. There are two sorts of *Hebraisms* in the *New Testament*. Some there are, which all the world understand, having been accustomed to them; but there are others, which would be unintelligible, if not explained. The first of these are preserved, in order to give the *Version* the air of an *original*, which is essential to a good translation. The others have an [*English*] turn given them, and the *Hebraism* is marked in the *Comment*. For instance, as it is usual in all languages, as well as in *Hebrew*, to term the *disciples* or *followers* of any person, his *children*, this expression is retained, as the *children of God*, and the *children of the devil*. The *Hebrews* say, to eat bread*, when they would express eating in general or making a meal. Now this *Hebraism* cannot be rendered literally without ambiguity. Again, for the edge of the sword, they say, the mouth of the sword†, which is unintelligible in *English*. For a thing they say, a word; for posterity, they say, seed; for a tree, they say, wood; and make use of the word, to answer, in the beginning of a discourse, before any person has spoke. It is evident in these and the like cases the *Hebraism* must be dropt, and the author's meaning, not his expressions, must be kept to. To give the *Version* a certain *oriental* turn,

natural

* John xiii. 18.

† Luke xxi. 24.

natural to the *New Testament*, all the *figures* are carefully preserved, as far as perspicuity and the purity of language will admit. There are several *ellipses*, that is, *words understood*, which it was necessary to supply; and several *enallages*, or changes of *tenses* and *persons* which cannot be imitated without *barbarism*, and leaving the sense obscure, equivocal, and sometimes entirely wrong*. In fine, there are several allusions to words, which are very seldom capable of being translated from one language to another. This is done where the words in our language would bear it; for instance, *let the dead bury their dead*, which is a sort of an *enigmatical* expression, the understanding whereof depends on the taking the word *dead* in two different senses.

To conclude, nothing has been omitted to keep up the *character*, *genius*, and *style* of the *sacred* penmen, as far as was consistent with preserving their sense. If there are any *supplemental* words, they are no more than the *text* necessarily requires. They, for whom the *sacred* writings were at first designed, supplied without any difficulty the words that were wanting, being used to that way of expression. But our language will not admit of any of these *ellipses*. All *modern* and *affecting* expressions are carefully avoided, and though the *familiar* and *popular* style of the *Evangelists* is closely imitated, yet is it done without descending to any *mean* or *low* expression. There is a *nobleness* in the *simplicity* of the language of the *sacred* authors, which distinguishes them in an eminent manner from *common* writers, and no endeavours have been wanting to follow them in that particular.

IV. The NOTES.

The *Notes* were designed for the following uses. 1. They shew the difference between the [*English*] and *Greek*, to the end they, who understand the *original*, may the better judge of the *faithfulness* of the translation. 2. They serve to clear up the *literal sense*, when any obscurity occurs. 3. They describe the *places*, *persons*, and *usages*, spoken of or alluded to, as well as explain the *proverbial sayings*, *ways of expression*, and the like, the knowledge whereof gives great light to the meaning of a passage. For instance, our Saviour prefers the *whiteness of the lily* before all the magnificence of *Solomon's* royal robes. Now the *beauty* and *force* of this comparison are much more conspicuous, when we are told, the *robes* of the *eastern* princes were *white*. 4. When a passage may be rendered several ways, or is not understood in the same manner by interpreters, the different senses are taken notice of in the *Notes*, and either *that*, which is thought the best, is remarked, or the reader is left to judge for himself, when the case is doubtful. 5. The *various readings*, that make any alteration in the *sense*, are set down. 6. Our authors candidly own, they know not the meaning of
some

* See Luke xiii. 34. Mat. xxiii. 37.

some passages. They lay nothing down for certain but what appears so, and what they cannot rationally explain, they leave as they found it, doubtful and obscure. It is impossible, a work of so great antiquity, should be every where equally clear, since we are deprived of many *helps*, which would have given great light into several difficult places. It is sufficient that every thing, relating to our *faith* and *morals*, is delivered with all imaginable plainness and perspicuity.

V. *The* P R E F A C E S.

As there will be an occasion to mention the *Prefaces* to each book of the *New Testament*, in the Introduction, the reader is referred thither, in order to avoid repetition.

A N

I N T R O D U C T I O N

TO THE READING OF THE

N E W T E S T A M E N T,

P A R T I.

The previous knowledge of several things is necessary to the understanding the scriptures.

GOD having been pleased to make use of the *ministry* of men, in revealing to us his *will*, and transmitting to posterity the *divine oracles*; a general knowledge, at least, of several previous articles, is absolutely necessary for a right understanding the *holy scriptures*. We must know, for instance, the *time* and *country* the *sacred* penmen lived in; their *language* and *character*; the *religion*, *manners*, *customs*, and *usages* of the people with whom they conversed; and many other particulars taken notice of hereafter.

Though there be this material difference between the *sacred* writings, and all others, of what character soever, that the *first* having been inspired by the Spirit of God, their authority is *divine*, and consequently *infallible*, beyond all *contradiction*, as well as beyond all *parallel* and *comparison*; yet in explaining both *sacred* and *profane* authors, the same rules of *common sense* must be observed: we must have recourse to *study* and *meditation*, we must call in the help of *history*, *chronology*, *geography*, and *languages*; in a word, of what the *learned* term *criticism*, or the *art* of *judging* of authors and their works, and of arriving at the true sense of them. This method is absolutely necessary for the understanding both the *Old* and *New Testament*; but then there is this difference between them, that the *New* having succeeded the *Old*, and been, as it were, the accomplishment of it, the *sacred* writers of the *former* have borrowed

the language of the *latter*, have perpetually alluded to it, and applied the *predictions* to the *events* of their own times, in imitation of their Divine Master; who always referred back to that Source. So that in order rightly to understand and explain the *New Testament*, one ought to be well read in the *Old*, and have a true notion of the state of things in the days of the *Evangelists* and *Apostles*.

These are the reasons that have induced us to compose this Discourse, as an *Introduction to the Reading of the New Testament*. It is indeed true, that all things necessary to salvation are clearly and plainly revealed, and therefore such persons as have neither the leisure nor opportunity of improving themselves in such parts of learning as are before mentioned, have yet this comfort and satisfaction, that they may easily find and discover all *saving Truths* without much study and application; as, on the other hand, they are entirely without excuse, if they neglect to *search the scriptures* on pretence of ignorance or inability. However, it must be owned, when we come to a close and thorough examination of the *holy scriptures*, we shall, unless furnished with the knowledge of the particulars above-mentioned, be continually liable to mistakes, imagine we understand what we have no notion of, or, at best, but a very imperfect one, and find ourselves puzzled and put to a stand at every turn. For want of these helps, the *scriptures* are frequently ill understood, and ill explained. Some put *abstracted* and *metaphysical* senses on passages that contain *plain* and *simple* truths, and expressed in *common* terms. Others having learnt a *system of divinity*, instead of explaining scripture by scripture, by considering the *context* and *parallel* places, wrest the word of God to their pre-conceived opinions. Others again, having regard only to the *modern* languages, customs, and manners, cannot but mistake the meaning of the *inspired* writers, for want (if I may so say) of conveying themselves back to the time *when*, and country *where*, the *sacred penmen* wrote. Hence it comes to pass, that the holy scriptures, and the christian religion, are so disfigured, as hardly now to be known in the *schools* and *seminaries* of learning; where the heads of young students are filled with a thousand chimerical notions, entirely unheard of by the *Evangelists*. In order to remedy these inconveniences, we shall endeavour to give a general knowledge of what is necessary for the more profitable reading of the *holy scriptures*, especially the *New Testament*.

I. As God designed, and had accordingly revealed The Gospel was
it to the world by his prophets, (a) that the gospel to be preached to
should be preached to the *Jews* first; so was it natural, the *Jews* first,
and even necessary for JESUS CHRIST to chuse at first and by *Jews*.
Disciples or *Apostles* out of the *Jewish* Nation and Religion. It was more-
over requisite that they should be *mean* and *illiterate* persons, not only for
the greater manifestation of God's glory, but because of that spirit of
pride and incredulity, which reigned among the rich and powerful, and
rendered the precepts of the gospel odious in their eyes, as they were in-
consistent with their prejudices and passions. But though the Apostles
were *mean* and *illiterate*, it must not from thence be concluded, that they
were

(a) Isa. ii. John iv. Acts xiii. 46.

were entirely destitute of learning and judgment, or of such improvements as were necessary to qualify them for the discharge of their glorious function. Though their discourses are commonly expressed in a plain and familiar manner, yet you may frequently discover in them such eloquence and sublimity, as could not have proceeded from men of no education: Though they are sometimes guilty of failings, as unbelief, ambition, presumption, and the like; yet it may be said in their behalf, that it proceeded not so much from their own, as the general temper of their nation. Nor let it be thought a disparagement to the Apostles, that some of them had learned and followed handy-crafts; for it may reasonably be inferred from the instance of *Joseph*, who, though he was descended from the royal family of *David*, was yet a carpenter; and from that of *St. Paul*, who, notwithstanding his being a *Rabbi*, and a citizen of *Rome*, had learnt *tent-making* (b); that mechanical employments were not inconsistent with learning, or accounted a disparagement (c). Though *St. John* was a fisherman, yet there are several passages in his gospel, whereby we may be convinced that he was versed in the mystical writings of the *Jews*; and had even some tincture of the *Grecian* philosophy. Which last will appear the more probable, if it be considered, that this Apostle lived for a considerable time in *Asia*. The office of a *Publican*, which was that of *St. Matthew*, was indeed looked upon as scandalous among the *Jews*, who were extremely jealous and tender of their liberty; but it was in such high esteem and repute among the *Romans*, that, according to *Cicero* (d), *The order of the Publicans consisted of the choicest of the Roman Knights, was the ornament of the city, and the support of the commonwealth*. Hence it is evident, that though *St. Matthew*, in all appearance was a *Jew*; yet he could not be of the meanest of the people, since he had been admitted to so considerable a post. These few reflections and instances may serve to shew, how false and groundless the objections are, that were urged by the *Heathens* against the Apostles, as if they had been a parcel of *weak* and *silly* men. Hence, also, on the other hand, it is manifest, that they had neither *learning* nor *authority* enough, as that the wonderful propagation of the gospel throughout the world, could be ascribed merely to their own power and wisdom.

However this be, in reading the New Testament, we must have always in our minds, That the *gospel* was at first preached by the *Jews*, and

(b) Acts xviii. 3.

(c) "It was a custom among the *Jews*, of what rank or quality soever, to teach their children some ingenious craft or art, not only as a remedy against idleness, but as a reserve in time of want.——We have a memorable instance of this custom in those two brothers, *Chasnai* and *Chanilai*; whose story *Josephus* relates at large:——though they were persons of note, they were nevertheless put with a weaver to learn the trade, which, says the historian, was *no disparagement to them*, (ποῦνος ἐκ ἑνὸς ἀπρεπὲς τοῖς ἱπποπόλοις, &c.) *Rabbi Jose* was a currier, or a leather-dresser; *Rabbi Jochanan* was a shoe-maker, and from thence surnamed *Sandalar*, &c." *Mr. Falle's Sermon on Acts xviii. 3, p. 12, &c.*

(d) — *Flos equitum Romanorum, ornamentum civitatis, firmamentum reipublicæ, Publicanorum ordine continetur. Orat. pro Plancio.*

and in *Judea*, the *Evangelists* and *Apostles* having been all of that nation; (excepting *St. Luke*, who was born at *Antioch* in *Syria*, and concerning whom it is not well known whether he was a *Jew*, or a *Heathen*, when he embraced the Christian Religion. It is very likely that he was a *Heathen* by birth, but a *Jewish* Proselyte, as we have observed in our preface on his gospel, and in *St. Paul's* epistle to the *Colossians*). For this reason, we meet, in the *New Testament*, with frequent allusions to the *Jewish* customs and ceremonies. Their *proverbs* and *moral sayings* are often made use of; and for want of being acquainted with the style of the inspired writers, we are apt to be at a loss, and look for mysteries where there are none, by understanding *literally* what is only an *allusion* to some custom or saying of the *Old Testament*.

The author of the *new covenant* proceeded in the same manner as the legislator of the *old* had done before. God's design in giving the children of *Israel* a law, being to distinguish them from the rest of the world by a particular kind of worship; he adapted, in the best manner that can be conceived, the *ordinances* he gave that people, to their state and circumstances. Whatever might lead them into idolatry, that he forbid upon the severest penalties. But lest they should, at the same time, have an aversion for the religion he instituted, he was therefore pleased to appropriate to his worship, some of the *harmless* customs and ceremonies that were received among those nations whom the *Israelites* had conversed with. The same method was observed by *JESUS CHRIST* in his establishment of the religion which he revealed to mankind. Though circumcision was a seal and token of the ancient covenant, yet the mediator of the new was circumcised, that the *Jews* might have no manner of pretence for rejecting him: and, for the same reason, all other things relating to him were performed according to the law of *Moses*. The baptism of *John* assured men of pardon, provided they repented of their iniquities. The Son of God had undoubtedly no need of it; yet we find that he desired to be baptized, not only that he might thereby authorize the *ministry* of his forerunner, but more especially, that he might by this means *fulfill all righteousness*; i. e. omit no custom that was practised by the *Jews* (e). *JESUS CHRIST* being the accomplishment of the law, it consequently ceased to be in force at his coming: But as it was not then a proper time to reveal this *mystery*, our Saviour therefore observed the law with great exactness, and even constantly went up to *Jerusalem* at the *solemn* feasts. If he is sometimes accused of breaking the *sabbath*, he answers all objections of that kind, with such reasons and instances as ought to have convinced at once those that made them, that they were guilty both of calumny and superstition. From these several particulars it appears, how necessary it is, for the right understanding of the New Testament, to be furnished with such parts of learning, as have been mentioned above.

II. The condition mankind was in, at the time The state of mankind, and of *JESUS CHRIST's* appearance in the world, may of the *Jewish* nation in very fitly be represented under the idea of a person particular, at the time of afflicted with a deadly distemper; and the coming our Saviour's appearance. of our blessed Redeemer be considered as the critical time, which was to decide

(e) Matth. iii. 15.

decide either the death or cure of that diseased person. What therefore *John the Baptist* said of the *Jewish* nation, that *the ax was laid unto the root of the tree* (f), hath, in other words, been said by *St. Paul* (g), of all the inhabitants of the world. The best part of the universe was *without God* (h); idolatry, which then generally prevailed, being the most inexcusable sort of *atheism* (i), because not content with not acknowledging the true God, it rendered to creatures a worship that was only due to the Almighty Creator of all things. It is indeed no wonder, that since the heathen worshipped for their gods monsters of *uncleanness*, and of all kinds of *injustice*, they should give themselves up to the most enormous vices, as we are told by *St. Paul* they did (k). But, on the other hand, the *Jewish* nation, that had been so highly favoured by Almighty God, was neither more holy, nor less vicious than the rest of the world, as the same Apostle observes in several parts of his epistles (l). We do not find indeed that they were ever guilty of idolatry after their return from the *Babylonish* captivity. But they had fallen into several other heinous crimes, whereby they no less deserved the wrath of God, or the compassion of the great lover and physician of souls. Though God had, by a very special favour, committed his holy oracles to them, yet they had been so ungrateful as to slight and neglect so valuable a treasure. For after the gift of prophecy ceased among them, and their *Rabbins* and *Scribes* came to interpret and comment on the *sacred* writings, they adulterated them to that degree, that they rendered them of none effect by their false *glosses*, and foolish *traditions* (m). They made the essence of their religion to consist in ceremonies, while they trod under foot the weightier matters of the law, and their worship was resolved into a set of formal shews and hypocritical pageantry. Puffed up moreover with arrogance and pride at this their specious outside, and for having a law, which would indeed have promoted their glory and happiness, if they had stuck to the true sense of it; they fancied they had a right to hate and despise the rest of mankind, with whom they agreed in no one point, but in an extreme corruption of manners. Those authors that are most jealous of the glory of the *Jewish* nation, for instance, *Josephus*, have given a most shocking description of it, in this respect.

The necessity of The account we have here given of the moral state
a forerunner. of the *Jews*, affords us an occasion of admiring the excellent method God was pleased to follow when he sent his Son into the world. For hence it is evident, that it was absolutely necessary the *Messiah* should have such a *forerunner*, as *John the Baptist* was. Before any precepts can be instilled into men's minds, it is proper that the errors and prejudices which they labour under, should be removed; to the end that the obedience, which they render to God, may be the effect of deliberation and choice: but when their corruption is come to an exorbitant height, and their understandings are clouded with a
thick

(f) Matth. iii. 10. (g) Rom. i. 18. (h) Eph. ii. 12.

(i) *Ibid.* "Ἀθεοὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ.

(k) Rom. i. 21, &c.

(l) *Ibid.* ii. 17, 24, iii. 9. Ephes. ii. 3. Titus iii. 3.

(m) Matt. xv. 3, 4, 5, &c.

thick darkness, we must create in them a *new heart*, and disperse all the obstacles, which prevent them from admitting the light of the truth. Before our *lands* are sown, they must be grubbed, cleared and plowed. Above all, the doctrines of the gospel were of that nature, that they could not be received but by persons well disposed, because they were contrary to all the passions and prejudices of men, and especially to the pride and sensuality of the *Jews*. This made JESUS CHRIST say to them (*n*), *Men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil*. And in another place, *How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another* (*o*)? It was then suitable to the dignity of the Son of God, and expedient for the interest of the *Jews*, that JESUS CHRIST should have a forerunner, that might go before him in the spirit and power of *Elias*, to prepare the way of the Lord. For, if notwithstanding all this, our blessed Saviour met with so much obstinacy among the greatest part of the *Jewish* nation, is it not very probable that it would have been universal, had it not been for the preaching of *John the Baptist*? This method was, in short, absolutely necessary either to bring about the conversion of the *Jews*, or that they might be entirely without excuse, if they persisted in impenitence and unbelief.

The extreme corruption of that people, and the great care God was pleased to take, of removing all the obstacles that might any way prevent their conversion, help us moreover to discover the reason why JESUS CHRIST made use sometimes of very harsh expressions, when he addressed himself to them, and particularly to the *Pharisees*. It is somewhat shocking to find, at the entrance of a dispensation full of *grace* and *mercy*, the blessed Author of it, who was certainly the meekest person upon earth, using very hard, and seemingly injurious words; as when he calls the *Jews*, an *evil and adulterous nation* (*p*), and stiles the *Pharisees*, *hypocrites*, *a generation of vipers*, that presumed to set their *traditions* and *maxims* above the *law* of God. But our wonder ceases, when we consider that the last stroke was now to be given, and no more measures to be taken with a people, that had so shamefully slighted and abused all the means which God had used for their conversion. For, 1. They had the predictions of the prophets, wherein were set down the characters of the *Messiah*; and that the greatest part of them agreed to *Jesus of Nazareth*, is what they did not deny. 2. *John the Baptist* was come with the same spirit and power, as had been foretold by the same prophets; he had exhorted them to repentance, and warned them that the *Messiah* was at hand. 3. JESUS CHRIST came at the very time the *Jews* professed to be in expectation of their *Messiah*, and appeared with all the *external* and *internal* marks, wherewith he had been described. But they rejected him, as they had done before *John the Baptist*, and made them both alike the objects of their derision and calumnies. So far certainly ought we to be from wondering at the heavy censures which JESUS CHRIST passes upon a people so wickedly inclined; that, on the contrary, we shall, upon a due examination, find his language to them had an equal mixture of kindness and severity.

Their

(*n*) John iii. 19.

(*o*) *Ibid.* v. 44.

(*p*) Matt. xii. 34. 39.

These few reflections may serve to clear up several passages in the gospel; but we must descend to a more particular account of the *Jewish* nation, and go on from their *manners* to the consideration of their outward *state* and *polity*.

Of the political and religious state of the *Jews*.

III. We may consider the *Jews* with regard both to their *civil* and *ecclesiastical* state. The *Jewish* nation in general was the posterity of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*. This the scripture often takes notice of, to distinguish the people of God from the posterity of *Ishmael*, who was also the son of *Abraham* by *Hagar*. The *Jews* were also named *Israelites* or the *children of Israel*, which was the surname of *Jacob*; that they might not be confounded with the descendants of *Esau* the brother of *Jacob*, and son of *Isaac*. They were moreover called *Hebrews*, either from *Heber* one of *Abraham's* ancestors, or from a *Hebrew* word of the same sound, that signifies *passing* or *crossing over* (q); because *Abraham* passed over the river *Euphrates*, when in obedience to God's command, he came from *Ur* of the *Chaldees* into the land of *Canaan*. After the carrying away of the *ten tribes* into captivity, the two remaining *tribes* were most commonly known by the name of *Jews*, [*Judæi*] so called from the tribe of *Judah*, which remained in possession of the regal authority, and out of which the *Messiah* was to be born: Perhaps this name was not given them till after their return from the *Babylonish* captivity.

Never did any nation receive more extraordinary favours from the hand of God, and never did any one render itself more unworthy of them. God had no sooner brought them out of *Egypt*, with a *strong hand*, and a *stretched out arm*, but their ingratitude appeared by their idolatry and continual murmurings in the *desert*. When the descendants of these rebels were put in possession of the *land of promise*, they followed the steps of their forefathers, turned idolaters, and proceeded to that unbridled licentiousness, as to prefer *anarchy* before the government of God's own establishing. God delivered them up frequently to the fury of their enemies, as a punishment for their crimes, and to make them see the error of their ways. He raised up from time to time *deliverers*, which were so many *forerunners* of the great *Redeemer* of mankind. Uneasy at having God for their King, and weary at being governed by his *judges*, they demanded a king to judge them like other nations; fulfilling thereby, though undesignedly, the purposes of the Almighty, who had ordained that the *Messiah* should be born of a *Royal Family*. They obtained their request, and yet made an ill use of that favour. After the death of *David*, who was a type of the *Messiah*, and to whose family God had annexed the *regal* authority, because out of it was the *Christ* to be born, *ten tribes* revolted against *Rehoboam*, and chose for their king *Jeroboam*, of the tribe of *Ephraim*; a revolt permitted by God as a punishment for *Solomon's* idolatry.

The captivity of the *ten tribes*.

This schism, which lasted above two hundred years, ended at last in the captivity of the *ten tribes* (r) which were carried away by *Shalmaneser* into *Assyria* and *Media*; whereby were executed the *judgments* of God against that nation. It doth

doth not appear from history that they ever returned into their own country, at least all of them, though we find it asserted by some *modern Jews*, and ancient *fathers* of the church (s). It is true that mention is often made in the *New Testament* of the *twelve tribes* (t), and that St. *James* directs his *Epistle* to them: but it cannot be concluded from these passages, that they were then gathered together: all that can be inferred from them, is, that they were still in being. Perhaps the whole body of the *Jewish* nation retained the name of the *twelve tribes*, according to the ancient division, as we find the disciples called *the twelve*, after the death of *Judas*, and before the election of St. *Matthias* (u), as we have observed on the *Epistle* of St. *James*. There were moreover *Jews* enough of the *ten tribes* mixed with that of *Judah*, or dispersed into several parts of the world, to give the *sacred* writers an occasion of speaking of the *twelve tribes*, as making but one *body* with the *Jewish* nation. What *Josephus* says concerning the *Samaritans* (x), that they stiled the *Jews* their brethren, as long as they were prosperous, and called themselves the posterity of *Joseph*, gives us reason to believe that there was abundance of *Israelites* among them, since the *Cutheans* could have had no manner of pretence for saying any such thing; and accordingly he expressly says elsewhere (y), that in the time of *Alexander the Great*, *Samaria* was peopled by *Jewish* deserters. The same *Historian* relates upon the authority of *Aristeas* (z), that the high-priest *Eleazar* sent *Ptolemy Philadelphus* king of *Egypt*, six men out of each *tribe*, to make that *Greek* translation of the holy scriptures which goes by the name of the *LXX*: from which it is evident that there was a considerable number of *Jews* of the *ten tribes* mixed with those of *Judah* and *Benjamin*. We own that this account of the *Version* of the *LXX*, is justly looked upon as a forgery, as we shall have occasion to shew hereafter. But then, unless it had been true that there were at that time a great many *Israelites* of the *ten tribes*, among those of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, the falsehood would have been so very palpable; that every one could have discovered it. *Josephus* tells us in the same place, that *Ptolemy* informed the high-priest *Eleazar* by letter, "That there were great numbers of *Jews* in *Egypt*, that were brought captives thither by the *Persians*." A heathen author (a) quoted by *Josephus*, affirms that the *Persians* had carried several thousands of *Jews* into *Babylon*, from whence it is natural to conclude, that a considerable number returned home with the others, when they were set at liberty by *Cyrus*. But, without having recourse to the authority of *Josephus*, we are assured from scripture that the *ten tribes* were not confined to *Persia* or *Media*. For it appears from the II^d book of *Chronicles* (b), that in the reign of *Josiah*, there were great numbers of *Israelites* in *Palestine*, and particularly of the tribes of *Simeon*, *Manasseh*, and *Ephraim*, since the *Levites* collected

(s) See Dr. *Hody* de vers. 70 Interpr. p. 79.

(t) Matt. xix. 28. Luke xxii. 30. Acts xxvi. 7. James i. 1.

(x) John xx. 24. (x) *Joseph. Antiq.* l. ix. c. 14. and l. xi. c. 8.

(y) *Joseph. Antiq.* l. xi. c. 8.

(z) Id. l. xii. c. 2.

(a) *Hecataeus ap. Joseph. contra Appion.* p. 1049.

(b) 2 *Chron.* xxxiv. 9.

collected money from them for repairing the temple. It may also be inferred from the IXth chapter of the 1st book of *Chronicles* (c), where we find the *Israelites* distinguished from the *Jews*, and mention made of the tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, that several persons belonging to the ten tribes fled into *Judea*, when the rest of their countrymen were carried away captive. The prophet *Jeremiah* (d) when he foretold the return from the *Babylonish* captivity, declared likewise, that at that time, the children of *Israel* should come, they and the children of *Judah* together, and seek the Lord their God. The same thing is further evident from the gospel. *Anne* the daughter of *Phanuel*, mentioned by *St. Luke* (e) was of the tribe of *Aser*. *St. Matthew* says (f) that *JESUS CHRIST* went and preached in the borders of *Zabulon* and *Nepthalim*, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by *Esaïas* the prophet, saying, The land of *Zabulon*, and the land of *Nepthalim* hath seen great light. It may indeed be said that the tribe of *Judah* and the remains of that of *Benjamin* took possession of these countries after their return from the captivity. But this opinion cannot well be reconciled with the contemptuous manner with which the *Jews* treated the *Galileans* and their extreme aversion of the least mixture with the *Gentiles*. It is manifest from the whole tenour of the gospel, and the testimony of *Josephus* (g), that though the *Galileans* professed the *Jewish* religion, and had some dealings with the *Jews*, yet that they were looked upon by the latter as persons of a quite different character from themselves. It is moreover evident from the same authors, that *Galilee* was a very populous country, which could not possibly have been if it had been peopled only by colonies sent thither from the tribe of *Judah*, whose country was large enough to hold them all. It is then very probable, that the cities of *Galilee* were peopled with such of the ten tribes, as remained in the land, or had returned thither from several parts, upon different occasions.

The Captivity of the tribe of *Judah*. The tribe of *Judah* did not continue more faithful to God, than *Samaria*, the metropolis of the kingdom of *Israel* had done. Accordingly they were alike severely punished for their disobedience, by being (h) often delivered into the hands of their enemies, and at last carried all captive away by *Nebuchadnezzar* in the 19th year of his reign. *Nebuzaradan*, the captain of his guard, having taken and destroyed the city and temple of *Jerusalem*, carried away *Zedekiah*, the last king of *Judah*, captive to *Babylon*, with such as survived their unhappy country, excepting some of the poorest, whom he left to dress and till the ground. Their number must notwithstanding have been pretty considerable. For they are stiled a people; they inhabited several towns; and *Nebuchadnezzar* appointed a very famous man for their governor, since all the *Jews*, who had fled for refuge among the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Idumeans*, and other neighbouring nations, came and implored his protection. As soon indeed as this president had been barbarously murdered by the treachery of

(c) 1 Chron. ix. 3.

(d) Jer. l. 4.

(e) Luke ii. 36.

(f) Matt. iv. 13. 15. 16.

(g) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 2.

(h) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 2. xxxvi. 6. 17. 2 Kings xxiv. xxv. Jer. lii.

of *Ismael*, the greatest part of them being afraid of falling into the hands of the *Chaldeans*, went down into *Egypt*; though God had given them an express prohibition to the contrary by his Prophet *Jeremiah* (i), because he was desirous of keeping together these remains of *Judah*.

However this be, after the captivity of *Babylon* had lasted seventy years, according to the prophecy of *Jeremiah* (k), it ended with the empire of the *Chaldeans*, which was destroyed by *Cyrus* the founder of the *Persian* monarchy. This prince, being moved thereto by God, in a special manner, signalized the first year of his reign over the *Babylonians*, by his edict in favour of the *Jews*; fulfilling thereby the prophecy of *Isaiah* (l), which, as *Josephus* pretends (m), *Cyrus* himself had read. Thus much is plain from scripture (n), that he acknowledges, it was by God's order he set the *Jews* at liberty, and caused the city and temple of *Jerusalem* to be rebuilt. However, this work was but just begun during the life-time of *Cyrus*, wholly taken up with his war against the *Messagetae*, wherein he fell. It was afterwards interrupted and stopped (o) for several years, under the reigns of some of *Cyrus's* successors, by the treachery and calumnies of the *Samaritans* or *Cuthæans*, the professed and perpetual enemies of the *Jews*. So that the temple could not be finished till the reign of *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes* (p), nor *Jerusalem* rebuilt till the time of *Artaxerxes* his successor, according to the opinion of the most famous *Chronologers*. About these times prophesied *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, and *Malachi* the last of the prophets, with whose writings the *Jewish* canon ends. This is necessary to observe in relation to the *New Testament*, because neither the sacred authors, nor *Jesus Christ*, have quoted any other books but what were in that canon.

The *Jews* after their return from the *Babylonish* captivity, remained in subjection to the kings of *Persia*, till the time of *Alexander the Great*. Though they were tributary to them, yet they enjoyed the free exercise of their religion, and were governed by kings of their own nation. *Josephus* relates (q) that *Alexander the Great* being highly incensed against the *Jews*, because they had refused him assistance, had resolved to go and lay siege to *Jerusalem*; but that as he was marching towards it, his anger was immediately turned into a reverend awe at the sight of *Jaddus* the high-priest, who came out to meet him in his pontifical robes, and that he granted the *Jews* all the privileges they required of him. We are not indeed obliged to give credit to all the fine things *Josephus* hath advanced in this part of his history. But thus much is certain, that from that time the *Jews* began to *hellenize* (r); that the *Greek* tongue, spoken by the *Macedonians*, became more common among them; and that they also embraced some of the opinions of the *Greek* philosophers,

as

(i) Jer. xli. xlii. xliii.

(k) Jer. xxix. 10.

(l) Isa. xlv. 28. xlv. 13.

(m) Jos. Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. 1.

(n) 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23. Ezra i. 1, 2.

(o) Ezra iv.

(p) Ezra vi. vii. Euseb. Chron.

(q) Josephus Antiq. Jud. l. xi. c. 8.

(r) See Euseb. Chron. & Præpar. Evang. vii. 14. & viii. 10.

as the *transmigration* of souls, for instance. We find some steps of this notion even in the *New Testament*, as in St. *Luke* xvi. 23. where there is an account of the abode of departed souls, conformable to the *Grecian Philosophy*, and in St. *John* ix. 2. where we find an allusion to the *præexistence*, and *transmigration* of souls. It is moreover evident from the *apocryphal* writings (s), from *Philo* (t), *Josephus* (u), and the *Talmudists*, that the *Jews*, especially the *Pharisees*, had learned and followed the *Grecian Philosophy*, ever since their conversing with the *Greeks* under *Alexander the Great*, the *Ptolemies* and *Seleucidae* his successors, who reigned in *Egypt* and *Syria*. After the death of this illustrious monarch, the administration of the common-wealth of *Israel* came into the hands of the high-priests, and was sometimes protected, and at other times oppressed by the kings of *Egypt*, and *Syria* its neighbours, who became successively masters of it. *Ptolemy Lagus* (x) king of *Egypt* and successor of *Alexander the Great*, surprised *Jerusalem*, and carried several thousands of *Jews* with him prisoners into *Egypt*, where they were followed by several others, who were induced to go thither, upon account of the great trust which *Ptolemy* reposed in them. *Ptolemy Philadelphus* had a great kindness for them, and gave several thousands leave to return into their own country. They underwent very great hardships, during the long and continual wars between the kings of *Egypt* and *Syria*. But their religion and state never were in so great danger, after their return from the *Babylonish captivity*, as under *Antiochus Epiphanes*. What a terrible persecution that cruel and impious prince raised against them, is so well known, that we need not give an account of it here; nor of the valour nor heroic zeal of the *Maccabees*, who then freed them from it. A few years after, the regal authority and the priesthood were united in *Aristobulus*, the son of *Hyrcaus* (y), who had shaken off the yoke of the *Macedonians*, destroyed the temple of *Gerizim*, sacked several towns in *Syria*, and forced the *Idumeans* to be circumcised, for which reason they were thenceforward looked upon as *Jews*. We may observe by the by, that it came likewise to pass about the same time that *Onias*, exasperated at seeing the high-priesthood given to *Alcimus*, who was not of the sacerdotal race, went into *Egypt*, and got *Ptolemy Philometor's* leave to build a temple there upon the model of that at *Jerusalem*. Thus the *Jews* came to have three temples, that rivalled one another, one at *Jerusalem*, another at *Gerizim* in *Samaria*, built by the permission of *Darius*, and afterward of *Alexander the Great*; and that of *Onias* in *Egypt*.

The *Jewish* state remained in this condition till the time of *Pompey the Great*, who deprived *Hyrcaus* of his crown, leaving him however in possession of the priesthood, and invested with princely power, and made the *Jews* tributary to the *Romans* (z). Thus did the *Jews* forfeit their liberty, by means of the factions
of

(s) Wisdom vii. 17.

(t) Philo passim.

(u) Jos. de Bell. Jud. l. ii. 12.

(x) Id. Antiq. Jud. l. xii. c. 1.

(y) Jos. Antiq. Jud. l. xiii. c. 19.

(z) Lami Appar. Chron. p. 11.

of those very *Asmoneans*, whose valour had procured it for them before (a).

JULIUS CÆSAR having defeated *Pompey*, he continued *Hyrchanus* high-priest, and gave the government of *Judea* to *Antipater*, an *Idumæan* by birth, but a *Jewish* Proselyte, and the father of *Herod*, surnamed the Great (b), who was afterwards king of the *Jews*. *Antipater* divided *Judea* between his two sons, bestowing upon *Phasaël*, who was the eldest, the government of *Jerusalem*; and that of *Galilee*, upon *Herod*, his second son: who, being naturally bold and active, was not long without shewing the greatness of his mind; for he cleared his country of the robbers it was infested with, and signalized his courage against *Antigonus* the competitor of *Hyrchanus* in the priesthood, who was set up by the *Tyrians*. *Mark Anthony* ratified these regulations of *Antipater*, and gave his two sons the name of *Tetrarchs*, or *Princes* (c). In the mean time, the *Parthians* having invaded *Judea*, carried away captive *Hyrchanus*, and *Phasaël*, *Herod's* brother (d). Whereupon *Herod*, giving up all for lost, fled to *Mark Anthony* at *Rome*, who, with the consent of the *Senate*, bestowed upon him the title of *King of Judea* (e), which he designed to beg for *Aristobulus* the brother of *Mariamne*, and grandson of *Hyrchanus*, of the *Asmonean* family. He kept himself in possession of this dignity by the help of the *Roman* arms, notwithstanding the faction of *Antigonus*, who had the greatest part of the *Jewish* nation on his side (f). The intestine war that happened upon this occasion, and lasted for about three years, brought *Judea* to the very brink of destruction: *Jerusalem* was taken, the temple plundered and ravaged, and a dreadful slaughter ensued on both sides. Though *Herod* got the better, yet he was not well settled on his throne, so long as he had the displeasure of *Augustus* to fear, after the overthrow of *Mark Anthony*, with whom he had sided. However he was continued by *Augustus* in his government of *Judea*.

If this prince may be said to have had any good qualities, his vast magnificence in buildings must be reckoned as one. This manifestly appeared in his founding or repairing of several cities (g), to which he gave the names of *Augustus Caesar*, and *Agrippa*; as for instance, *Samaria* which he called *Sebastæ* (h), that is *Augusta*; *Turris Stratonis* (i) which he named *Cæsarea*, different from that other *Cæsarea* which *Philip* the *Tetrarch* honoured with that name out of respect to *Tiberius Caesar*, and which for that reason is stiled in the *New Testament* *Cæsarea Philippi* (k). But the greatest glory and ornament of *Herod's* reign, in this respect, was the building of the temple of *Jerusalem* anew, which had been rebuilt about five hundred years before by *Zerubbabel*. The reason he alledged for this undertaking, was, that the second temple was sixty cubits

(a) Jos. de Bello Jud. l. i. c. 5.

(b) Jos. Antiq. xiv. 2. 12.

(c) Id. Antiq. xiv. 23. & de Bell. Jud. l. ii. 8.

(d) Id. Antiq. xiv. 25.

(e) Id. ibid. c. 26.

(f) Dio. Hist. l. 49. p. 463.

(g) Jos. de Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 16.

(h) Id. Antiq. l. xv. c. 11.

(i) Id. ibid. & c. 13.

(k) Matt. xvi. 13.

cubits lower than Solomon's (l). When he acquainted the *Jews* with his design, they were alarmed at it, thinking that it would be both difficult and dangerous to put such a thing in execution, and moreover judging it unlawful to meddle with a temple which God had restored to them in so wonderful a manner. Besides, they were afraid that the *divine service* would have been interrupted for a considerable time, while this new temple was a building. But *Herod* removed their fears, by assuring them that the old temple should remain untouched, till all the materials of the new one were got ready. And accordingly it appears from history, that the *divine service* was performed all the time the new one was building, or rather the old one repairing. *Josephus* observes (m), that *Herod* "durst not presume to enter into the *holy place* himself because not being a priest, he stood prohibited by the law; but that he committed the care of this part of the work to the priests themselves:" from whence it plainly appears, that place was not pulled down, but only some alterations made in it. The same is further evident from the gospel (n) wherein it is said, that *Joseph* and *Mary* went to Jerusalem every year at the feast of the passover, which was celebrated in the temple, and that they went thither with *Jesus Christ*, according to custom (o). Had there been any interruption in that matter, the *Evangelist* could not have used that expression. And therefore the *Jews* never make mention of any more than two temples, looking upon *Herod's*, only as *Zerubbabel's* repaired, though it might justly have been reckoned a new temple; both upon the account of the magnificent buildings he added to it, and the rich materials he used; which whilst the disciples of *Jesus Christ* were once admiring (o), he took an occasion from thence of foretelling the ruin of that temple. This magnificence the prophet *Haggai* (p) had an eye to, when he declared that the glory of this latter house was to be greater than that of the former. But, notwithstanding all the beauty and sumptuousness of *Herod's* temple, this prophecy was not fulfilled but by *Jesus Christ's* coming into it; He, who was the true temple of God, and of whom that of Jerusalem was no more than a very imperfect figure, as *St. Paul* (q) and *Jesus Christ* himself (r) do intimate. How noble soever the descriptions are (s) which the *Jews* have given us of *Herod's* temple, yet they unanimously agree (t) that there were several things wanting in it, as well as in that of *Zerubbabel*, which were the chief glory of the first temple; that is, the *Ark of the covenant*, wherein were put the two tables of the law, with the pot of manna, and *Aaron's rod* that budded; the *Urim* and *Thummim*; the cloud, or *Shecinah*, which was a token of the *divine* Presence; the spirit of prophecy; and the holy anointing oil. Of all these there were but faint representations, and imperfect copies in the second temple, as is owned by the *Rabbins* themselves. And therefore *Haggai's* prophecy was applied to the *Messiah* by the ancient *Jewish* doctors (u), who say, that the glory of the second temple

(l) *Jos. Antiq.* l. xv. c. 14.(m) *Id. ibid.*(n) *Luke* ii. 41, 42.(o) *Matt.* xxiv. *Mark* xiii. 1. *Luke* xxi. 5.(p) *Hag.* ii. 9.(q) *Colos.* ii. 9.(r) *John* ii. 19.(s) *Jos. Antiq. Jud.* l. xv. c. 14.(t) *Thalmud. ap. Lightfoot*, Tom. ii. *Opp.* p. 275.(u) *Aben-Esra ap. Deyling Obs. sacr. Part. iii. Obs.* 20.

temple consisted in this, that it was honoured with the *Messiah's* presence. *Josephus* tells us (x), that *Herod* set about this work in the eighteenth year of his reign; and finished it in the space of nine years and a half. Which must necessarily be understood of the walls and main body of the building, and not of all its parts and ornaments, since the same *historian* relates in another place, that it was not quite finished till the time of *Agrippa the Younger*, the grandson of *Herod*, that is about sixty years after the birth of *Jesus Christ*. We have no reason therefore to be surprised at what the *Jews* told *JESUS CHRIST* (y), that *this temple was forty and six years in building*, since if we reckon from the eighteenth year of the reign of *Herod*, [when he undertook to rebuild the temple,] to the thirtieth year of *Jesus Christ*, [in which this dispute happened between him and the *Jews*] we shall find just *forty-six years*. It is more natural to put this sense upon the words of the *Jews*, than, as others have done, to compute those forty-six years from the order given by *Cyrus* for rebuilding the temple, to the finishing of it; because by this last calculation those years cannot well be made out.

Josephus relates that the people were overjoyed to see the work completed, and that they offered numberless sacrifices upon that occasion. How great a shew soever there might be of religion in this undertaking, yet it could by no means make amends for the miseries which that unhappy people suffered from the impieties, and above all from the cruelties of *Herod*. If he built a temple in honour of the true God, he erected several, on the other hand, to false deities, in order to ingratiate himself with *Augustus* and the *Romans* (z). But his prevailing character was an extreme inhumanity, and the most enormous cruelty.

Though *Josephus* hath extolled, as much as possible, the good qualities of *Herod*, yet he could not conceal his crimes and vices, and above all his horrid cruelty. He imbrued his hands in the blood of his wife, of his children, and of the greatest part of his family: Of so restless and jealous a temper was he, that he spared neither his people, nor the richest and most powerful of his subjects, nor even his very friends (a). He was naturally so suspicious, that he put the innocent to the torture for fear the guilty should escape (b). It is justly wondered at that *Josephus* should make no mention of the slaughter of the infants at *Bethlehem* (c), which was done by *Herod's* order, not long after our *Saviour's* birth. To account for this omission, some learned men have imagined, that this massacre having been done privately from house to house by a few soldiers, it made no great noise, or else was not set to *Herod's* account (d). But it is most probable that *Josephus* knew nothing of it, since he found it not in the memoirs of *Nicolaus Damascenus*, an historian of those times; whom he himself charges with having palliated and disguised

(x) *Jos. Antiq.* l. xv. c. 14.(y) *John* ii. 20.(z) *Joseph. Ant.* l. xv. c. 12, 13.(a) *Jos. Ant.* l. xi. cap. 11. & *de Bell. Jud.* l. i. p. 17.(b) *Id. ibid.* p. 19.(c) *Matth.* ii. 16.(d) *Lami Harm. Evang.* p. 54.

guised the most notorious and extravagant cruelties of *Herod (e)*. It seems however not to have been unknown to a *heathen author (f)*, who speaks of it (though confusedly,) in the following manner: “Augustus “*having been informed, that among some children, which Herod had ordered “to be killed in Syria, (he should have said Judea) he did not spare one of “his own sons, said, That it was much better to be Herod’s swine, than his “son,*” alluding to the Jewish custom of not eating swine’s flesh. However this be, as *Herod* was a *Jew*, he could not be the author of so barbarous a cruelty without making himself guilty of the utmost impiety, since he did it with a design to cut off the *Messiah*, being fully satisfied by the answer which he received from the chief priests and elders (g), that the new-born infant was the promised *Christ*.

His end, and a *very dismal one*, being a visible punishment of his wickedness, closely followed this horrid butchery. He died as he had lived, contriving nothing but mischief, and framing the most bloody and inhuman designs (h). His death was looked upon as a very happy deliverance, and the tidings of it received with the utmost joy and satisfaction; which that vile monster well foreseeing, he had ordered *all the chief men of the city to be barbarously murdered before he died, that there might be a general mourning at his death (i)*. A *Jewish doctor*, supposed to be pretty ancient, affirms that the day of his death was kept by the *Jews*, as a festival (k). The learned are not agreed about the year of his death; but thus much is certain, that he died 34 years after the expulsion of *Antigonus*, and in the 37th year from his being declared king of the *Jews* by the *Romans (l)*. We shall have occasion to examine this more particularly hereafter, when we come to treat of the *chronology* of the *New Testament*.

Of the posterity of *Herod*. After having spoken of *Herod the Great*, it is proper that we should next give an account of his *sons* and

grandsons, as far as is requisite for the understanding the *New Testament*. We find *three* of his *sons* mentioned there, between whom, by his last *will and testament*, he divided his dominions; *viz.* *ARCHELAUS*, to whom he gave the kingdom of *Judea*, together with *Idumæa*, and *Samaria*; *HEROD Antipas*, or *Antipater*, whom he appointed *Tetrarch* or governor of *Galilee* and *Peræa*; and *PHILIP*, whom he made likewise *Tetrarch* of *Ituræa*, *Bataneæ*, *Trachonitis*, *Auranitis*, and some other countries. It was necessary that *Herod’s will* should be ratified by *Augustus Cæsar*, and it was accordingly done, excepting this, that he would

(e) Jos. Ant. l. xvi. p. 11.

(f) Macrobian. Saturn. ii. 4.

(g) Matt. ii. 4, 5, 6.

(h) Jos. Ant. l. xvii. cap. 8. He was parched up with a faint, inward fever, that almost burnt his heart out, and yet scarce sensible to the touch. He was tormented with an insatiable appetite, ulcers and cholicks in his bowels; pblegmatick tumors in his feet and groin; asthma, cramps; &c.

(i) Id. ibid.

(k) Megillath Taanith ap. Usser. Ann. p. 535. Lami Appar. Chron.

p. 73.

(l) Josephus ubi supr.

would not bestow upon *Archelaus* the title of *king*, but only that of *Ethnarch*, that is, prince or chief of the nation (*m*). This name, which had been given before to some of the high-priests, (as to *Hyrcaus* for (*n*) instance,) seems to denote a dignity superior to that of a *Tetrarch*, but inferior to that of a king, since *Augustus*, refusing to confer this latter title upon *Archelaus*, was however willing to distinguish him from his brothers by that of *Ethnarch*. The learned are not agreed about the meaning of the word *Tetrarch*. But it may be inferred from what hath been just now said, that it was reckoned less honourable than the name of king or prince. In its primary and original signification it implies a governor of a fourth part of the country, and this seems to have been the first meaning that was affixed to it (*o*). But it was afterwards given to the governors of a province, whether their government was the fourth part of a country, or not; as it happened in the case now before us, for *Herod* divided his kingdom only into three parts. However, the *Tetrarchs* were looked upon as princes, and sometimes complimented even with the name of kings (*p*), but this was a misapplying of the word. *Archelaus* was acknowledged king by the people with vast expressions of joy; but though he had declared that he would not usurp that title, without the emperor's consent, yet he soon acted like a king, or rather a tyrant, that is, in a very absolute and arbitrary manner. *Augustus* had promised him the kingly power, whenever he should make himself worthy of that honour (*q*); but he, instead of endeavouring to gain the favour of his sovereign, and the good-will of his subjects, exercised in the very beginning of his reign such cruelties towards them, that, not being able to bear his unjust and barbarous dealings, they complained of him to *Augustus*. It was undoubtedly upon the account of the tyrannical temper of this prince, that *Joseph* and *Mary*, when they came back from *Egypt*, and heard that he reigned in Judea, in the room of his father *Herod*, were afraid to go thither: and therefore came and dwelt in a city of Galilee called *Nazareth* (*r*), which was under the jurisdiction of *Antipas*, a good and mild governour. We cannot exactly tell whether this return of *Joseph* and *Mary* happened before, or after, *Archelaus's* journey to *Rome* to have his father's will confirmed. However, when he came back to *Jerusalem*, he acted in as tyrannical a manner as ever, so that the chief men of the *Jews* and *Samaritans* joined in such grievous complaints against him, that *Cesar* banished him to *Vienne*, a city in *Gaul*, where he died (*s*). From that time *Judea* was made a province of the *Roman* empire, and as well as *Samaria* and *Idumaea*, governed by *Roman* magistrates, which had the name of *Procurators*, the first of whom was *Caponius* of the *equestrian* order (*t*). These *Procurators* depended upon the president of *Syria*, to which *Judea* and *Samaria* also were annexed, after *Augustus* had reduced them into provinces. *Quirinus*, a *Roman* senator, was then governor of *Syria*, and he it was who with the assistance of

Caponius

(*m*) *Joseph. Antiq. l. xvii. p. 13.*

(*o*) *Harpocrat. Lexic. p. 330.*

(*q*) *Joseph. Antiq. l. xvii. p. 13.*

(*r*) *Joseph. Antiq. l. xvii. p. 15.*

(*s*) *Id. de Bello Jud. l. ii. p. 7.*

(*n*) *Id. Antiq. l. xiv. p. 22.*

(*p*) *Matt. xiv.*

(*r*) *Matt. ii. 22.*

Caponius put the emperor's commands in execution, by thus reducing Judea and Samaria into provinces. This is the same *Quirinus* whom St. Luke and Josephus (u) call *Cyrenius*, who by *Cæsar's* order, made a taxing in Judea and Syria.

JOSEPHUS mentions only this last taxing. But it is unquestionably manifest from St. Luke, that there was another ten years before, that is, at the time of our Saviour's birth (x). It is therefore to distinguish this first taxing from the second, that the Evangelist says, that *this*, which happened at the birth of our Saviour, was made before *that* of *Quirinus*, which the same divine author makes also mention of in the Acts of the apostles (y). It is true that St. Luke's words are obscure and ambiguous, for one would think at first sight that they should be rendered, *This first taxing was made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria* (z). But this translation of them cannot be reconciled with the history of those times; for it appears that, at the time of our Saviour's nativity, it was either *Sentius Saturninus* or *Quintilius Varus*, that was president of Syria, and not *Quirinus* (a). It may however be supposed, that, as it happened sometimes, *Quirinus* was sent by the emperor into Syria with an extraordinary commission to make his first taxing, and was perhaps invested with the title of governor or procurator, these two names being often promiscuously used by sacred and profane writers (b).

But, in short, there is no occasion of having recourse to this supposition, if we do but render the words of S. Luke thus, *This taxing was made before Cyrenius was governor of Syria*. The original will admit of this sense, as well as the other, and therefore we have followed it in our translation after several learned critics (c). *Quirinus's* taxing had made so much noise, and the memory of it was so fresh in men's minds, when St. Luke wrote his gospel, that he had reason to suppose it had caused the other to be forgotten; since it had been, in all likelihood, less taken notice of, as being no more than a bare enrolling of the citizens names, without taking an estimate of their estates, as was done by *Quirinus*; therefore the Evangelist thought fit to distinguish them one from another. For it is to be observed, that when JESUS CHRIST was born, Judea was not the tributary to the Romans, as it had been before in the time of Pompey, because Augustus had given it to Herod; but, when after the banishment of Archelaus, it was again reduced into a province, it became of course tributary to the Roman empire, and accordingly an estimation of it was made in order to settle and regulate the taxes and tribute. The reason why Josephus doth not speak of the first taxing mentioned

(u) Luke ii. 2. Joseph. Antiq. l. xviii. p. 1. For an account of the nature of the Procurator's office, see Bishop Pearson on the Creed, upon these words, *Under Pontius Pilate*.

(x) Luke ii. 2.

(y) Acts v. 37.

(z) Ἀὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρῶτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου.

(a) Tertull. adv. Marc. l. iv. p. 19.

(b) Lami Appar. cap. 10. sect. iii.

(c) See Perizonius, Dissertat. de Aug. Descript. And Dr. Whitby, in his Comment on this place.

mentioned by St. Luke, is, in all likelihood, because it being only an enrolling of the people's names, he did not meet with it in the acts of *Nicolaus Damascenus*, as having no relation to the life of *Herod*, which that author wrote. It is probable that this taxing was made according to *Augustus's* survey of the *Roman* empire, which he had (*d*), that he might readily know, how many forces, and what sums of money he could raise in his provinces.

Before we conclude this digression, it will be proper to add a word or two with reference to the *version* and *notes* on *Luke* ii. 1. where the terms in the *original*, which according to the *letter* signify, *All the habitable earth*, are rendered by, *the whole country*, that is, *Judea*. We are not ignorant, some famous authors understand by this expression, that great part of the world then in subjection to the *Romans* (*e*), and that they actually stiled themselves *The masters of the world* (*f*). But it is extremely improbable that ever *Augustus*, or any other emperor, did enrol, or tax the whole *Roman* empire at once. For, 1. No *historian* makes mention of any such thing, excepting *Suidas*, and he is too modern an author to be credited; besides, he has it from an *anonymous* writer. Now can it be imagined that among so many *Roman* *historians*, as have been handed down to us, not one should mention this supposed *general taxing* of the whole empire, especially since they have taken notice of several particular ones (*g*)? 2. Taxing of particular countries, always occasioned abundance of murmurings and discontent, and therefore what noise must a general one have caused? *Dio Cassius* relates, that *Augustus* having once attempted to take an account of the value and incomes of some provinces, in order to lay a tax upon them for the maintaining his armies, they declared, that they were resolved rather to undergo the greatest hardships and miseries, than suffer any such thing; so that *Augustus* was forced to get it done privately and by stealth (*h*). Which certainly was very far from being like a publick decree for a general tax. It is well known, that when *Quirinus* undertook, by *Cæsar's* order, to raise a tax in *Judea*, the *Jews* could hardly be prevailed upon to submit, and that it caused a very great sedition (*i*). *Tacitus* informs us, that when *Cappadocia* was reduced to a province, part of the country rebelled upon their being enrolled, in order to be taxed (*k*). The emperor *Chaudius*, in a speech to the *senate*, speaks of *enrollings* as a very ticklish point, though designed only to know the riches of the empire (*l*). 3. As St. Luke takes occasion of mentioning this first taxing, when he is speaking of *that* of *Quirinus*, which was confined to *Judea*, it is natural to judge of the one by the other; and by *all the world*, to understand only the whole country of *Judea*, including the *Tetrarchies*. This way of speaking seems to be

(*d*) Tacit. Annal. l. i. p. 11. Sueton. Vit. Augusti, cap. ult.

(*e*) Petron. Satyr. Florus, l. iv. p. 2. S. 1. Dionys. Halicarn.

(*f*) Athen. Deipnosoph. l. 1.

(*g*) Dio Cassius, p. 56. Monum. Ancyr. Suet. Aug. p. 27.

(*h*) Dio Cassius, ubi supr.

(*i*) Joseph. Antiq. l. xviii. p. 1. & de Bello Jud. l. ii. p. 8. Acts v. 37.

(*k*) Tacit. Annal. l. vi. p. 41.

(*l*) Gruter. Inscript. p. 502.

be very conformable to the stile of this *Evangelist*. Thus he tells us (*m*), that men's hearts shall fail them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on *the earth* (*), that is, on *Judea*, as is evident from the 23d verse. It is also much more probable that when he tells us, in another place (*n*), that *Agabus* had foretold there should be great dearth throughout all the world, he understood thereby only all *Judea*. It is true some historians (*o*) mention a famine that happened at *Rome* in the time of the emperor *Claudius*; but *Rome* was not the whole world; and this dearth was neither in *Egypt* nor *Cyprus*, since according to *Josephus* (*p*), queen *Helena* sent for provisions from thence to relieve the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, which were ready to perish for want of sustenance. You may observe here, that *Josephus* mentions only *Jerusalem*, and therefore it may from hence be inferred that the famine was not universal. This way of speaking was not peculiar to *St. Luke*, for the sacred writers of the *Old Testament* often give *Judea* the name of the *whole earth* (*q*), which the *seventy* most commonly render by the *habitable world* (*r*); and they call so not only *Judea*, which was looked upon as the *earth* by way of eminence, but any other country they are speaking of, as *St. Jerome* hath observed (*s*).

In the mean while, *Herod-Antipas* and *Philip* were in peaceable possession of their *Tetrarchies*. As mention is often made of these princes in the gospel, it will be proper to give some account of them. *Josephus* (*) seems not to be consistent with himself, when he speaks of the mother of *Herod-Antipas*; he calls him sometimes the son of *Cleopatra*, and at other times of *Malthace*, which were two of *Herod's* wives; but this is a matter of a very little consequence to our present purpose. He cannot but very improperly be called a king (*t*), since he never was so. *Herod* had indeed in his first will nominated him his successor to the kingdom; but he altered it afterwards, and conferred that dignity upon *Archelaus*, who notwithstanding had it not. *Antipas* is represented in the *New Testament* as a very vicious prince, who added the death of *John the Baptist* to all the evils which he had done (*u*). *Josephus* gives him no better character (*x*). He plainly discovered his incontinence by marrying *Herodias*, his brother *Philip's* wife. It must be observed, by the by, that this *Philip* seems not to have been the *Tetrarch* of *Ituræa*, and son of *Cleopatra*; for, according to *Josephus* (*y*), he, whose wife *Antipas* married,

(*m*) Luke xxi. 26.

(*) Τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, the same word as is used chap. ii. p. 1. See Dr. *Hammond* in loc.

(*n*) Acts xi. 28. (*o*) Dio Cassius, p. 60. Sueton. Vit. Claudii, p. 18.

(*p*) Joseph. Antiq. l. xx. c. 2.

(*q*) כָּל-הָאָרֶץ Deut. xxix. 23. Josh. xi. 23. Jer. i. 18. iv. 20. viii. 16. xxiii. 15.

(*r*) οἰκουμένη. Isaiah xiii. 5. xiv. 26. &c.

(*s*) Hieronym. in Esai. xiii. 5. (*) De Bello Jud. l. i. c. 20, 21.

(*t*) Matt. xiv. 9.

(*u*) Luke iii. 19, 20.

(*x*) Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xix. c. 7.

(*y*) Id. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7. de Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 19.

married, was the son of *Mariamne*, the daughter of the high-priest *Simon*. *Josephus* does not indeed call this son of *Mariamne*, *Philip*; but all the Evangelists give that name to him, whose wife *Antipas* married (z). That historian styles him only *Herod the brother of Herod* (*Antipas*), *by another mother*. And therefore in the note on that place we have chose rather to follow the Evangelists, who lived in those days, than *Josephus*, who might easily be mistaken in a fact so long before his time, and besides of very little consequence. There is certainly a vast deal of confusion in the genealogies of *Herod's* family, given us by *Josephus* (a). However this be, such a vile thing as the debauching his brother's wife, and basely putting away his own, which was the daughter of *Aretas* king of *Arabia*, manifestly shews the character of *Herod-Antipas* was but very indifferent. The death of *John the Baptist*, of which he was the author, was a complication of crimes; for he could not commit this murder without great impiety, because *John* was looked upon as a prophet, and *Herod* himself seems not to have been ignorant of it. However, he was severely and justly punished for this wickedness: for *Aretas*, to revenge the injury done to his daughter, denounced war against *Herod*, and utterly routed his army: the generality of the *Jews*, if we may believe *Josephus* (b), were of opinion that this was a just judgment of God upon that prince, and his army, for the murder of *John the Baptist*; but it is doubted whether this passage be genuine. In what year the death of *John the Baptist* happened, is not well known; but it is certain, that *Jesus Christ* had then preached a considerable time, and done many miracles in *Galilee*. It may therefore seem strange, that *Herod-Antipas* should have so little knowledge of what passed in his dominions, as never to have seen *Jesus Christ*, as the Evangelists tell us (c). But it may be *Herod* was absent while our blessed Saviour preached in *Galilee*; accordingly *Josephus* makes mention of his taking a journey to *Rome*, before he married *Herodias*. After his return from thence, he had not the satisfaction of seeing *Jesus Christ*, though he was very desirous of it. This was indeed a very suspicious kind of curiosity in a prince, who well knew how to disguise his ill designs with a fair outside, and draw the innocent into his snares, as well as oppress them by open force. *Jesus Christ* was so far from gratifying his desire, that he went away into another place, that he might elude and defeat the craftiness and devices of that fox, as he is pleased to stile him (d). *Herod* could not therefore obtain his desires in this respect, till the time of our Saviour's arraignment and condemnation; when *Pilate* knowing that *Jesus* was a *Galilean*, and consequently belonged to *Herod's* jurisdiction, sent him to him, intending thereby to do him a pleasure, and also that he might at the same time get rid of the trouble of judging him. In what a ridiculous and indecent manner he treated him, we are told by *St. Luke*, who adds, *that at that time Pilate and Herod were made friends together, when before they had been at enmity* (e).

The

(z) Matt. xiv. 3. Mark vi. 17. Luke iii. 19.

(a) Joseph. Antiq. l. xvii. c. 1.

(b) Id. ibid. l. xviii. c. 7.

(c) Luke xxiii. 8.

(d) Luke xiii. 32.

(e) Luke xxiii. 7, 8, 11, 12.

The unlawful marriage which this prince contracted with *Herodias*, was the cause of his ruin. For that ambitious woman, out of the pride of her heart, not being able to bear that her brother *Agrippa*, the son of *Aristobulus*, and nephew of *Antipas*, should be advanced to the throne; and excel her in splendor, dignity, and power, compelled, in a manner, her husband to go to *Rome*, and get the like honour and preferment for himself (f). But *Agrippa* countermined him, by giving *Caligula*, who was then emperor, just reason of suspecting his loyalty to him (g); so that instead of making him king, he banished him to *Lyons*, and afterwards to *Spain*. This *Herod* built or repaired some cities, as *Sephoris* (h), which he named *Tiberias* in honour of *Tiberius*; and another in *Perea*, which was by him called *Julias*, in memory of *Julia* the daughter of *Augustus*. He enjoyed his Tetrarchy forty-three years.

As for his brother *Philip*, who was Tetrarch of *Ituræa*, and *Trachonitis*, mention is made of him only in *St. Luke* (i). It is true that *St. Matthew* and *St. Mark* (k) speak of one *Philip*, the brother of *Herod*; but, as hath been already observed, *Josephus* gives us reason to doubt, whether this was *Philip* the Tetrarch, or another *Herod*, that had also the name of *Philip* (l). This historian represents *Philip* as a meek, just, and peaceable prince; and therefore *Jesus Christ* was wont to retire into his dominions, in order to secure himself against the insults and attacks of the *Jews* (m). He also built or beautified and enlarged some cities, as *Paneas* for instance, to which he gave the name of *Cæsarea* (n), (and which is commonly called *Cæsarea Philippi* (o), that it may thereby be distinguished from another *Cæsarea* or *Turris Stratonis*, which lay on the sea-coast;) *Bethsaida* was likewise enlarged by him, and named *Julias*. He reigned thirty-seven years; and as he died without issue, *Tiberius* annexed his dominions to *Syria*. It remains now to give some account of the grandsons of *Herod* the Great, as far as is requisite for the understanding of some parts of the New Testament.

Of the grandsons of *Herod the Great*. *ARISTOBULUS*, who was put to death by his father's orders, left behind him two sons, of whom mention is made in the *Acts* of the Apostles and the history of *Josephus*. The first of them was *Agrippa* surnamed *the Great*, the son of *Mariamme*, a princess of the *Asmonean* race: to him *Caligula* gave the kingdom of *Judea*, *Idumæa*, and *Samaria*, with the Tetrarchy of *Antipas*, which was approved of and confirmed by the emperor *Claudius*, who moreover added to his dominions the territories which had belonged to *Philip* (p). This is the same *Agrippa* who in the *Acts* is named *Herod the king* (q), and who, to please the *Jews*, killed *James* the son of *Zebedee* with the sword, and cast *St. Peter* into prison. Like his grandfather, he was cruel, effeminate, and impious; and he met also with the same unhappy end, for he was smitten by the hand of God for his crimes (r).

After

(f) Joseph. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 9.

(g) Id. Ibid.

(h) Joseph. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 3.

(i) Luke iii. 1.

(k) Matth. xiv. 3. Mark vi. 17.

(l) Joseph. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 6.

(m) Id. Ibid.

(n) Joseph. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 3.

(o) Matth. xvi. 13.

(p) Joseph. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 9. & de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 8.

(q) Acts xii. 1.

(r) Ibid. c. 23.

After his death, which occasioned great joy to all his people, Judea became again a province to the Roman empire, and was governed by Cuspidius Fadus; the son of Agrippa being then too young to be entrusted with the government of a kingdom (s). The other son of Aristobulus was Herod king of Chalcis, commonly known by the name of Claudius's favourite; from whom he obtained the privilege of chusing and deposing the high-priests (t), together with the charge of the *temple*, and the *holy treasure*; though, in other respects, he had no manner of authority or power in Judea. We find no mention at all of him in *scripture*.

After the decease of Herod king of Chalcis, Agrippa the Younger, the son of Agrippa the Great, was put in possession of that little kingdom; the situation whereof, historians are not well agreed about. The most probable opinion is, that it lay between Libanus and Antilibanus. To this prince was likewise committed the keeping of the *temple*, the *holy treasure*, and the *priestly garments*. Before this Agrippa it was that St. Paul made that noble defence for himself which we read in the xxvth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles; where he is always stiled *king*, either upon the account of his being *king of Chalcis*, as he actually was, or else because he had a great power in Judea, though he was not invested with the supreme authority, since we find that it was in the hands of governors appointed by the Romans, as Festus, Felix, Albinus, and Gessius Florus (u). The last of whom was the occasion of those grievous disturbances and troubles in that province, which in the end proved the cause of its total ruin and destruction. Agrippa is well known in history by his criminal, or, at least, his too free conversation, with Berenice, the daughter of Agrippa the Great, and consequently his own sister, which before had been the wife of Herod king of Chalcis, his uncle, and was after married to Polemo king of Cilicia (x), whom he soon forsook, being drawn away by her immoderate and excessive lust. This is the same with him in the Acts of the Apostles (y). Agrippa was the last king of Herod's race. In what year he died is uncertain: Some imagine that he lived till the time of Trajan. Thus much we know, that he survived his country, and endeavoured to prevent the fall of it by his wise counsels, and prudent administration (z). But the time appointed for the destruction of that impenitent people was come; they were now become their own enemies, contriving, as they did, their own ruin, by repeated seditions, and continual revolts.

Thus have we brought down the history of Herod and his posterity, to the downfall of the Jewish commonwealth, which happened in the 70th year of the Christian æra, and 40 years after it had been foretold by Jesus Christ.

To finish the account of the state of the Jewish nation as far as it relates to the New Testament, Of those Jews who were dispersed in several parts of the world, it will be necessary to speak of the Jews that were dispersed in several parts of the earth. There were great numbers of them

(s) Joseph. Antiq. l. xix. c. 7.

(t) Id. ibid. l. xx. c. 1.

(u) Joseph. Antiq. l. xx. c. 8, 9.

(x) Id. ibid. c. 5.

(y) Acts xxv. 13.

(z) Joseph. de Bello Jud. l. ii. p. 17, & 24.

them in Greece, and all the other parts of the Roman Empire, which had at that time no other bounds, but those of the then known world. It is of the *Jews dispersed among the Gentiles*, that the *Jews of Jerusalem* speak, in the seventh chapter of St John's gospel (a). Jesus Christ likewise seems to allude to them, when he saith, *he hath yet other sheep* (b); without excluding nevertheless the Gentiles, who were also to enter into his sheepfold, or to be admitted into his church. Let this be as it will, some of the dispersed Jews were met together from all parts of the world at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, after our Saviour's ascension (c). It was then the critical time, in which the Jews openly professed they were in expectation of the coming of the Messiah. God moreover ordered it so, (that they should now be at Jerusalem) to the intent that the miraculous effusion of the Holy Ghost might be made known to all nations, in order to convince them of the *divine mission* of Jesus Christ, and the truth of the Christian religion.

To these dispersed Jews it was that St. James and St. Peter wrote their epistles; the former to those of the *twelve tribes which were scattered* throughout the world; the latter to those in particular that were in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. We may judge of the prodigious number of them by what king Agrippa the Elder wrote to the emperor Caligula, to dissuade him from setting up the statue of Jupiter in Jerusalem, and from ordering that he himself should be worshipped there as a god (d). "Jerusalem, saith he, is the metropolis not only of Judea, but of many other colonies that have been planted from thence. In the neighbouring parts there are abundance of them, as in Ægypt, Phœnicia, Upper and Lower Syria, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and several parts of Asia, as far as Bithynia and Pontus: And so in Europe, Thessaly, Bœotia, Macedonia, Ætolia, Athens, Argos, Corinth, and the better part of Peloponnesus. And not only the continent, but the islands also of most eminent note, are filled with Jewish plantations; as Eubœa, Cyprus, Crete; to say nothing of those beyond the Euphrates."

These words of Philo give a great light to the second chapter of the Acts. And that the case was the same even in the time of Josephus, appears from the speech which Agrippa the Younger made to the Jews, with a design to persuade them not to engage in a war against the Romans; where, among other arguments, he offers this, that "*the Jews, who were scattered over the face of the whole earth, would be involved in their ruin* (e)." These dispersions of the Jews were owing to particular occasions and causes (f), but they were undoubtedly the effect of the wonderful wisdom of God, who thereby gave the Apostles an opportunity of preaching the gospel to the Gentiles, because the Jews, who were mixed with, and resided among them, professed to be in expectation of the Messiah. It cannot moreover be questioned, but that this dispersion

(a) John vii. 35.

(b) Id. x. 16.

(c) Acts ii. 5, &c.

(d) Vid. Philonis Legationem ad Caium, p. 16.

(e) Joseph. de Bello Jud. l. ii. c. 16.

(f) You may see an account of the several dispersions of the Jews, and the causes and occasions of them, in the famous Mr. Basnage's history of the Jews.

dispersion did very much contribute towards the preserving the body of the Jewish nation, as a lasting monument of the truth of Christianity; since very few of them survived their country, and, such as then remained, were almost entirely destroyed and cut off by the emperor Adrian afterwards.

Having given an account of the Jewish nation, properly so called, it will not be amiss to give an abstract of the history of the Samaritans, who were a branch of the Jews, and of whom mention is often made in the New Testament. The Samaritans were so called from Samaria (*g*), which formerly was the capital of a country of the same name, as it was also of the kingdom of the *ten tribes*: Omri king of Israel, by whom it was built, gave it that name, because he bought the hill, on which it stood, of one Semer or Samar (*b*). One would be apt to think, by what Josephus says, that Samaria and Sichem were one and the same city, since that historian places Sichem on mount Gerizim, and calls it the capital of the Samaritans (*i*). But the most exact *Geographers* make Samaria and Sichem to have been two different cities. This being of little moment, we shall spend no time in examining it. What is certain is this, that Sichem is the same with Sichar in the gospel (*k*); the alteration of the name being occasioned, either by changing the letter *M* into an *R*, agreeably to the different dialects of the Jews and Samaritans, as the learned have observed; or else by way of reproach, because the Hebrew word Sichar, according as it is written and pointed, signifies several scandalous and ignominious things, *viz. a liar, mercenary, drunkard, sepulchre*. We have spoken already of the *schism* of the *ten tribes*, which was the first rise of the extreme aversion the Jews had for the Samaritans, Samaria being the metropolis of the kingdom of Israel, and set up, in a manner, as a rival to Jerusalem. Samaria stood firm, for a considerable time, against the repeated and violent assaults of Benhadad king of Syria; but was, at last, entirely destroyed by Salmaneser king of Assyria, when he carried away the *ten tribes* captive (*l*). It seems, nevertheless, to have risen again out of its ruins, since we read that the Samaritans got leave from Alexander the Great, to build a temple upon mount Gerizim (*m*), because from thence had been pronounced the blessings annexed to the observance of the law of Moses (*n*). It became subject to the kings of Egypt or Syria, till it was besieged and taken by Johannes Hyrcanus, the high-priest of the Jews (*o*); who defaced and laid it waste to that degree, that (to use Josephus's (*p*) words) "there was not the least mark left of any building that had ever been there." It was afterwards wholly rebuilt, and considerably enlarged by Herod the Great, who gave it the name of Sebaste, that is, Augusta, and who built therein a temple in honour of Cæsar

(*g*) 1 Kings xvi. 24. & 2 Kings xxiii. 19.

(*b*) 1 Kings, ubi supra. The Hebrew name of it is Schomeron.

(*i*) Joseph Antiq. l. 11. sub finem.

(*k*) John iv. 5.

(*l*) 2 Kings xvii.

(*m*) Anno 3668. Joseph. Antiq. l. 11. c. 8.

(*n*) Deut. xi. 29. xxvii. 12.

(*o*) Anno 3869.

(*p*) Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. 18.

Cæsar Augustus (q). Lastly, as it was united with the kingdom of Judea, it became with it a province of the Roman empire.

The origin of the Samaritans is well known ; and the account which the scripture gives us of it is undoubtedly to be preferred before that which we meet with in the Samaritan Chronicle (r), for this is manifestly a new-fangled and spurious work, and therefore deserves no credit. Josephus agrees in this particular with the sacred writings (s).

The Samaritans were a mixture of such Jews as remained in the land, when the *ten tribes* were carried away captive ; or of those that afterwards returned thither upon several occasions ; as likewise of those idolatrous people, which were transplanted thither by Salmaneser, and are known by the general name of Cuthæans (t). *These* brought their gods along with them, and highly provoked the true and great God to indignation against them for the worship they paid to these idols ; whereupon God, to punish them for their idolatry, and to keep the rest of the inhabitants from following their example, sent lions among them, which devoured several of them. But they having been informed (as Josephus (u) tells us) by an oracle, that this punishment, which he calls a plague, was brought upon them, because they did not worship the true God ; they sent commissioners to the king of Assyria, with a petition, that he would be pleased to send them some of the priests that were carried away captive with the Israelites, to teach them the worship of the true God, whom they called the *God of the land*. Which having been granted, they ceased to be infested with lions, but continued still to be idolaters ; *fearing the Lord, and serving withal their graven images*. Thus there came to be among the Samaritans a mixture of religions as well as of nations. It cannot exactly be determined how far the ancient inhabitants of Samaria were concerned in this way of worship ; but it is very probable, that they embraced the religion of their conquerors, as people are naturally apt to do (x). And that even before this time they had not been entirely free from idolatry, as is plain from Jeroboam's golden calves (y), and the scriptures reproaching them upon that score. What helped moreover to spread the infection, was their neighbourhood to Syria, the kings whereof had great power in Samaria (z). It is however generally supposed that their worship was reformed by Manasseh, whom Sanballat made high-priest of the temple of Gerizim (a). At least it is certain that Manasseh, who was the brother of Jaddus the high-priest of the temple at Jerusalem, was very zealous for the law of Moses, though he had married a *strange* woman. Josephus tells us that several Jews, whose case was the same with Manasseh's, withdrew to Gerizim ; from whence we may infer, that, bating these marriages, they observed in other respects the law of Moses. He further testifies, that the Samaritans kept the *sabbatical* year, and desired of Alexander

(q) Joseph. Antiq. xv. 12. & de Bello Jud. l. i. c. 16.

(r) Reland. Differt. de Samarit. p. 14, 17.

(s) Joseph. Antiq. l. 9. c. 14.

(t) 2 Kings xvii.

(u) Joseph. Antiq. l. ix. 14.

(x) 2 Kings xvii. 29, &c.

(y) 1 Kings xii. 28.

(z) Reland de Samarita. p. 6, 7.

(a) Jos. Antiq. l. xi. c. 3.

ander the Great that they might be exempted from paying tribute that year ; because they could neither reap, till, nor sow (*b*). St. Chrysostom, who might possibly have received it from tradition, says, in his xxxth *homily* on St. John, that in process of time the Samaritans forsook idolatry, and served the true God. But it is plain from history that their worship was far from being entirely free from idolatry (*c*). Their temple was dedicated to Jupiter of Greece in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. And even, if we may believe Josephus, they solemnly abjured their religion, in a letter which they wrote to that king in order to avert from themselves the terrible calamities which were by him brought on the Jews, pretending they were originally Sidonians, and that they looked upon the observance of the *Mosaic law* as a crime, moreover styling Antiochus *a God*. But it may be questioned whether Josephus is absolutely to be depended upon in this matter ; at least if we judge of him by other Jewish authors, who have, upon all occasions, made it their business to cry down the Samaritans, as a pack of idolaters. However this be, as the persecution of Antiochus did not continue long, they might repent of this their shameful dissembling, and return to the worship of the true God. Nevertheless one would be apt to conclude from these words of our Saviour to the woman of Samaria, *ye worship ye know not what* (*d*), that the faith of the Samaritans was neither grounded upon clear evidence, nor their worship so pure as it ought to have been. The which would be no wonder at all, considering the strange mixture before observed ; but in the *comment* on this place it will be made appear, that our Saviour's words will admit of another sense. In the mean time, these four things may be inferred from this passage in St. John's gospel concerning the Samaritans. 1. That the Samaritans did at that time call themselves the *posterity* of Jacob (*e*) ; which inclines one to entertain a favourable opinion of their religion and worship. 2. That they professed to be in expectation of the Messiah (*f*) ; which was one of the chief Articles of the Jewish faith. 3. That Jesus Christ found them well disposed to embrace Christianity, before it appears he had wrought any miracles among them, which, had they been idolaters, would scarce have happened (*g*). Besides, our Saviour's sojourning with them so long as he did, is a good argument that they were not such. 4. That they looked upon the temple of Gerizim as the *only place where men ought to worship*.

If the Samaritans had known or received all the books of the Old Testament, they could not possibly have been ignorant that Jerusalem was the only place God had chosen and appointed for the performance of his worship. Perhaps, the reason why they rejected all the *sacred* writings, except the five books of Moses, and it may be those of Joshua and Judges, was, that they found therein all their pretensions, which they alledged in favour of their temple on mount Gerizim, absolutely condemned and overthrown. Though their hatred and aversion to the
Jews

(*b*) Id. *ibid*.(*d*) John iv. 22.(*f*) Ibid. v. 25.(*c*) Id. l. xii. c. 7.(*e*) Ibid. v. 12.(*g*) Ibid. v. 42.

Jews was the true cause of their adhering so obstinately to Gerizim, yet they alledged some specious pretences for what they did. They pleaded, in their defence, the *blessings* that were pronounced on mount Gerizim on the faithful observers of the law. Moreover they found in their Pentateuch, that Joshua built an altar on the same mount after the blessings were pronounced, whereas in the Hebrew the altar is said to be erected on mount Ebal (*b*). This supposed altar of Joshua, they pretend, was afterwards converted into a temple; and so by a fabulous tradition they have ascribed to their temple on mount Gerizim a much greater antiquity than that of Solomon's; which Jeroboam had induced them to forsake, by erecting an altar at Dan, and another at Bethel, the latter of which places was apt to create reverence not only by its name, which signifies the *house of God* , but especially upon account of the vision which Jacob was there honoured with (*i*). The Samaritans, not satisfied with asserting their temple to have been built by Joshua, endeavoured to render mount Gerizim still more venerable, by affirming that the twelve patriarchs were buried there (*k*), and that Abraham was met there by Melchisedech (*l*); applying to it what the Jews say of Jerusalem. The contests and disputes between the Jews and Samaritans about their temples rose to the greatest degree imaginable. Josephus relates that they came to that height at Alexandria (*m*), that Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt was forced to take the matter into his own cognizance, who accordingly appointed advocates on both sides, the one to speak in defence of the temple of Jerusalem, and the others of that of Samaria. The king was prevailed upon to decide the case in favour of Jerusalem, and the Samaritan advocates were condemned to death for having so wretchedly defended their cause.

(*n*) The difference between the Jews and Samaritans in point of religion may be reduced to these three heads: (For we are not to believe all the scandalous stories, which are by the Jews laid upon them in this respect;) 1. That they looked upon the temple of Gerizim as the only place which God was pleased to be worshipped in, and as the center of true religion. 2. That they received none other scriptures but the Pentateuch, that is, the five books of Moses, rejecting all the other books of the Old Testament, excepting perhaps the books of Joshua and Judges, which they also acknowledged, but would not allow to be of the same authority as the Pentateuch. 3. That their worship had some tincture of paganism, and of the opinions of the nations with whom they conversed. But it is very probable it was reformed in the time of Jesus Christ. The Jews indeed and some ancient Christian writers, confounding

(*b*) Deut. xxvii. 4.——To reconcile the greater veneration to mount Gerizim and their place of worship thereon, they have been guilty of a very great prevarication in corrupting the text (here quoted) —— for they have made a sacrilegious change in it, and instead of mount Ebal have put mount Gerizim, the better to serve their cause by it. Dr. Prideaux, *Connect.* Part 1. Book 6. ad Ann. 403.

(*i*) Gen. xxviii. 16, 17.

(*k*) Epist. Samar. ad Scalig. p. 126.

(*l*) Euseb. *Præp. Evangel.* ix. 17.

(*m*) Joseph. *Ant.* l. xiii. c. 6.

(*n*) See Dr. Prideaux, *Conn.* Part. 1. B. 6. sub finem.

ing them with the Sadducees, have accused them of denying the resurrection of the dead and the immortality of the soul (*o*), but this accusation is so far from being proved, that it plainly appears by their *chronicles* these doctrines were firmly held and certainly believed among them, as learned critics have observed (*p*). The Samaritans are still in being, and profess to be more strict and exact observers of the law of Moses than the Jews themselves. Some of them are to be found in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and other parts of the East. What their religious tenets and notions are, may be seen in several letters which they have wrote to some learned men in Europe, and which have been collected in one volume (*q*).

There is no necessity of aggravating or multiplying the errors of the Samaritans, to account for the extreme aversion which the Jews had for them. That it actually was so, is undeniably manifest from history. The son of Sirach ranks the *foolish inhabitants of Sichem*, that is, the Samaritans, amongst those whom his soul abhorred, and reckons them among the nations which were most detestable to the Jews (*r*): If the Jews hated the Samaritans, the Samaritans were even with them, as is plain from the gospel. Jesus Christ going one day through a village of Samaria, the inhabitants would not *receive him, because his face was as though he would go to Jerusalem* (*s*). The way from Galilee to Judea being through the country of the Samaritans, they often exercised acts of hostility against the Galileans, and offered them several affronts and injuries, when they were going up to the solemn feasts at Jerusalem. Of which there is a very remarkable instance in Josephus, *viz.* That in the time of the emperor Claudius, the Samaritans made a great slaughter of the Galileans, as they were travelling to Jerusalem, through one of the villages of Samaria (*t*). The same thing is also evident from what the woman of Samaria, or rather St. John, in a *parenthesis*, says; to wit, That *the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans* (*u*). Commentators are not indeed agreed about the nature and extent of the dealings, or communication here mentioned. Some think that these words contain only an *exaggeration*, which, as they imagine, ought to be restrained to their *not joining together in religious performances; not intermarrying; avoiding eating and drinking together; never making use of one another's utensils*; but not to all manner of *civil* intercourse. Others, on the contrary, find in them a *diminution*, or *meiosis*; as if by them it had been intended to express the greatest aversion imaginable, even to the not asking or giving one another a glass of water. The words may likewise be looked upon as an *ironical* saying; as if the woman, out of an ill-natured joy and satisfaction to find a Jew forced to beg a little water of her, should have insulted over him for acting inconsistently in this respect, with the hatred which his countrymen had for the Samaritans. Whatever sense

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(*o*) See Dr. Prideaux, *ibid.*

(*p*) Reland *ubi supra*, p. 30.

(*q*) Under the title of *Antiquitat. Ecclési. Orient.* Londini 1682. 8°. See also Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, Tom. v. Præf. Introduct. in Lect. N. Testam.

(*r*) Ecclus. L. 26.

(*s*) Luke ix. 52, 53.

(*t*) Joseph. *Antiq.* l. xx. c. 5.

(*u*) John iv. 9.

You put upon them, it amounts to the same; that is, to shew that there was a mutual *antipathy* between the two nations. It appears from the eighth chapter of St. John's gospel, that the most opprobrious name the Jews thought they could give our Saviour, was, to call him a Samaritan (*x*). And it was undoubtedly for fear of creating in them a prejudice against his doctrine, that he ordered his disciples not to enter into *any city of the Samaritans* (*y*), till they had preached in Judea: For, in the main, that great lover of souls had the salvation of the Samaritans as much at heart, as that of the Jews, and they were indeed equally deserving of that favour, as is manifest from several places in the gospel.

This inveterate hatred begun with the schism of Jeroboam. Though it was exceeding great, yet certainly it was very ill-grounded: for if they hated one another upon the account of their religion or *morals*, they were inexcusable, since they were both alike very much corrupted; as may be inferred from the threatnings which the prophets denounced against them upon this account, and from Jeremiah in particular (*z*). Besides, the revolt of the *ten tribes*, instead of creating such an extreme hatred and aversion for them in the *tribe of Judah*, as we find it did, should in reality have humbled and covered them with confusion, since this was brought upon them as a just punishment for their manifold iniquities. And lastly, the extraordinary care God was pleased to take of sending from time to time his prophets to the *ten tribes* (*a*), and the fatherly tenderness and affection which he expressed in several places, when speaking of them, ought to have taught them to look upon one another as brethren.

The hatred of the Jews against the Samaritans was very much increased by the opposition *these* last made against the former, on their return from the Babylonish captivity, both in the rebuilding of the temple, and the repairing of the walls of Jerusalem (*b*). As on the other hand, the building of the temple on mount Gerizim served very much to swell the Samaritans with arrogance and pride (*c*), and to raise the jealousy of the Jews; so that the feuds and animosities between them became fiercer than ever (*d*). Insomuch, that Hyrcanus, the grandson of Mattathias, was prompted at last utterly to destroy Samaria and the temple of Gerizim, as has been already shewn. The Samaritans, for their part, were likewise very industrious in showing their anger and resentment upon all occasions. As they did once (for instance) when a few years after the birth of Jesus Christ, they strewed the temple of Jerusalem with dead men's bones, to defile and pollute it (*e*). Less plausible pretences than these have often been known to breed an irreconcilable hatred between two nations.

(*x*) John viii. 48.

(*z*) Jerem. xiii. 11, 12. xxiii.

(*b*) Ezra iv.

(*d*) Id. i. xiii. 18.

(*y*) Matt. x. 5. Luke x. 33.

13. (*a*) Jerem. xxxi. 20. Hosea xi. 8.

(*c*) Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. 2. 4.

(*e*) Id. l. xviii.

Of the religious state of the Jews.

HAVING spoken of the *external* and *political* state of the Jews, it will now be proper to take a view of their religion. As the Jewish church was a *type* of the Christian, it is worth while to have a thorough knowledge of its *ceremonies*. When any one considers the ceremonial law in itself, without reflecting upon the state and circumstances of the people for whom it was calculated, there is something in it that appears, at first sight, shocking and unaccountable to human reason. But upon a closer examination, and especially by the help of that light which the gospel affords, it will appear, on the one hand, to have been so excellently adapted to the *necessities* of those for whom it was instituted, and on the other, to be such an exact representation of things future, that the wisdom of its author cannot be sufficiently admired. The ceremonial law may be said to have had two *objects*, a *nearer* and a more *remote* one. The *proximate* or *nearer object* were the children of Israel, to whom God gave it, to distinguish them from the rest of the world, and make them his *peculiar* people (*a*). As they had been very prone to idolatry in Egypt, and had since discovered a very great hankering after it, there was need of a strong barrier to keep them off from so pernicious a bent and disposition. And accordingly this was the end of the *ceremonial* law, as might easily be shewn, if it was proper to do it here. It cannot be doubted but that each of these laws had some other particular views; but it is certain that *this* was the chief design and intention of the legislator in giving them, as hath been proved by some learned writers (*b*).

Of the Jewish ceremonies in general.

But besides this end and design, which related directly to the *people of Israel*, the New Testament lays before us a view more extensive, and more worthy of the Supreme Being: it teaches us that the *law* was a *shadow of things to come*, a *school-master to bring us unto Christ* (*c*), and that Jesus Christ was the accomplishment, the substance, and the end of the law. So that christianity may be looked upon as the key of that law, and, as it were, an apology for the law-giver against the objections that may be advanced against it. Whoever hath read the New Testament, cannot deny, but that besides the *plain* and *literal* sense, this law admitted also of a *mystical* or *allegorical* one, which was reckoned much more sublime than the *literal*. Though therefore these words of our Saviour, *I am not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil it* (*d*), ought chiefly to be understood of the moral law, which he was then speaking of, yet this is not the full and adequate meaning of them. For it is plain from the following verse, that by that *law* which he said he was *come to fulfil*,

(*a*) Josh. xxxiv. 14. Ezek. xxiii. 2. 8. 21.

(*b*) Particularly by Dr. Spencer.

(*c*) Rom. x. 4. Gal. iii. 24. Coloss. ii. 8. 17. Heb. x. 1.

(*d*) Matth. v. 17.

fulfil, we ought to understand the whole body of the law both *moral* and *ceremonial*, and the prophecies relating to the Messiah. Thus likewise, when speaking of himself, he said to the Jews *Destroy this temple (e)*, he thereby intimated to them that he was the true *temple* of God, of which *theirs* was only a *figure*; that he was the only true expiatory sacrifice, without which there could be no remission of sin, and consequently that he was the Messiah whom they expected. For this reason it was, that St. John said, *The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ (f)*; that is, our blessed Redeemer was the reality and substance of what the *ceremonial law* was only a shadow and faint representation.

This *typical* way of reasoning is mostly used by St. Paul in his *epistles*, and especially in *that* to the Hebrews. And it may very reasonably be supposed that the method he hath followed in applying the Jewish *ceremonies* to Jesus Christ and the Christian religion was familiar to the Jews, since he takes it for granted and argues from them, as from truths generally owned and received; though some passages in the *epistle* to the Hebrews may now seem to be very hard and obscure to us that are not accustomed to such a way of reasoning, it is very probable that they were plain and intelligible to those whom it was at first directed to. Upon the whole, it is certain, that whoever rejects and condemns absolutely all *typical* reasoning, doth manifestly depart from the end and design of the law, and contradicts Christ and his Apostles.

But if it be a very great rashness to censure and find fault with the *allegorical* interpretations which the *sacred* writers of the New Testament hath given of several parts of the Old, it is on the other hand of a pernicious consequence to give too much scope to one's fancy in this particular, and to find *types* and *allegories* every where. Some authors have long ago complained of the excessive liberty which some of the fathers have taken in turning the whole Bible into *allegory*. St. Jerome, for instance, who was himself a noted *allegorist*, accused Origen of departing from the truth of *scripture history*, and of delivering his *own inventions and witty conceits for sacraments of the Church (g)*, i. e. for essential parts of the christian religion; and St. Basil compared such as gave into the *allegorical* way, to those men that endeavour to make their own conceptions and whimsical dreams become subservient to their private interests or systems.

The design of these *allegorical* writers was, as they pretended, to give mankind a more exalted notion of the *holy scriptures*; but they did not consider that they brought in at the same time a very bad precedent; for this way of reasoning proved afterwards a great disservice to true religion; the *school-men*, treading in the steps of the fathers, had recourse to *allegories*, in order to make out and confirm some *odd* opinions, and *unaccountable* ceremonies, which were no way countenanced by the word of God. Our first *reformers* therefore, and after them several learned
protestant

(e) John ii. 19.

(f) John i. 17.

(g) Ingenium facit Ecclesiæ Sacramenta. Hieron (de Orig. Loqu.) Commentar. in Eia.

protestant divines (*b*), have very justly observed what pernicious consequences such a method as this must inevitably be attended with, since it renders the only rule of christian faith *equivocal* and *ambiguous*; and makes it as capable of as many senses as the fruitful fancy and copious invention of superstitious men are able to frame. It must indeed be owned, that the immoderate use of *allegories*, which hath been in fashion for a long time, and is not yet out of date in some places, destroys the very substance of all true religion, and *sound* divinity. By means of them, holy scriptures become a mere quibble, or at best, a perpetual riddle, which will admit of as many different solutions and meanings, as there are persons to read them: this shamefully betrays and exposes them to the scorn and contempt of profane and unbelieving persons, and to the reproaches and insults of hereticks. Moreover, supposing this *allegorical* way of expounding scripture to be the best, or the only true one, then what occasion was there, that God (in order to adapt himself to the capacities of his rational creatures) should reveal his *will* by the ministry of men, if quite another sense is to be put upon the *sacred* writings, than what the words naturally convey to one's mind. Besides, it would be entirely needless to learn the original languages, in which the Old and New Testament are written, or to get an insight into the customs and manners of the Hebrews; if, in order rightly to explain the holy scriptures, nothing more was requisite, than a strong and lively imagination, and to fill one's head with *airy* and *metaphysical* notions. There is, in short, no one thing in the world, though never so out of the way, or so contradictory in itself, but what may be represented as countenanced by the sacred writings, with the help of *forced* and *unnatural* types; especially, if a *maxim* laid down by some divines be true, *That the words of scripture mean every thing they are capable of signifying*. By this *maxim*, the glorious objects which the word of God sets before us, to exercise our faith and piety, will be banished, in order to make room for empty trifles, and vain subtilties; which may indeed amuse and divert the mind, but can never afford any solid instruction, or lasting satisfaction. Most of the facts, upon which the truth of our religion depends, will be converted into *types* and *prophecies*. The duties of *morality* will be *allegorized* into *mysteries*, which method the corrupted heart of man will readily close in with, as more reconcilable with its depraved appetites.

Hence it is evident there is a necessity of setting some bounds to the *mystical* way of explaining scripture; and of our being sparing and cautious in the use of *allegories*. For this reason, it will not be improper to lay down here some general rules and directions concerning this matter. First, then, we ought never to put a *mystical* or *allegorical* sense upon a *plain* passage, whose meaning is obvious and natural, unless it be evident from some other part of scripture, that the place is to be understood in a *double* sense. For instance, St. Paul teaches us that *the law was a shadow of things to come*, that it was a *school-master* to bring men

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(*b*) Luther, Calvin, Sixtinus Amama, Scaliger, Amyraldus, Dr. Hall, Dr. Mills.

to *Christ* (i); we must therefore, without any hesitation, acknowledge that the *ceremonial law* in general, was a *type* of the *mysteries* revealed in the gospel. We must pass the same judgment upon the *brazen serpent*, which Moses lifted up in the wilderness, and which our blessed Redeemer makes a *type* and *emblem* of his own crucifixion (k); as likewise on Jonas's being *three days, and three nights, in the whale's belly* (l), which he likewise represents as a *figure* of his own death and resurrection. There are also abundance of *types* in the epistle to the Hebrews, which therefore ought to be received as such. But it is rash (not to say worse) to seek for *types* and *allegories*, where there are not the least marks of any; and that too, by running counter to the plain and literal *meaning* of scripture, and very often to *common sense*. Should not the prudence and moderation of Christ and his Apostles in this respect be imitated? Is it not pretending to be wiser than they were, to look for *mysteries*, where they designed none? how unreasonable is it to lay an useless weight on the consciences of christians; and to bear down the *true* and *revealed*, under the unwieldy burden of *traditional* mysteries. Secondly, We must not only be careful not to encrease the number of *types*, but also not to carry a *type* too far, but confine ourselves to the relation, which evidently appears between the *type* and *antitype*. In a *type*, every circumstance is far from being *typical*, as in a *parable* there are several incidents, which are not to be considered as parts of the *parable*, nor insisted upon as such. Complaints have long ago been made, that under pretence that the *tabernacle* of Moses was a figure of the *Church*, or of *Heaven*, even the very *boards* and *nails* of it have been converted into *types*.

What we have said concerning *types*, may be applied to *allegories*. But it must be observed that there is this difference between them (m); that a *type* consists in *some action* or *event*, designed to be the figure or sign of some other; as the *brazen serpent*, (for instance) Jonas's being in the whale's belly, the building of the *tabernacle*, &c. Whereas an *allegory* consists rather in certain words or sentences, that have a *figurative sense*, and which are used either to convey more effectually some truth or doctrine into the minds of men, or to recommend some moral duty to their practice. Several *allegories* of this kind are to be found in the *sacred* writings, where an explanation of them is sometimes given at the same time; as when St. Paul represents the *new covenant* under the emblem of Sarah, and the *old* under that of Hagar (n). But it would be as absurd and ridiculous for any one to think himself authorized thereby to turn the whole bible into *allegories*, as to convert it all into *types*, because some are clearly and plainly expressed in it. Care likewise must be taken, not to carry an *allegory* beyond the intention and design of the author. When Jesus Christ, for instance, *speaking of the temple of his body*, said to the Jews, *Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up* (o); we must be careful not to push this *allegory* beyond the design

(i) Coloss. ii. 17. Galat. iii. 24.

(k) John iii. 14.

(l) Matth. xii. 39, 40.

(m) Erasmi de rat. Concionandi, p. 367.

(n) Galat. iv. 24, 25.

(o) John ii. 19.

design of our Saviour, which was, thereby to prefigure his death, and to signify that he should rise again the third day. For if any one should from thence apply to Jesus Christ every thing that could be affirmed of the temple, he must with Irenæus (*p*), conclude that our Saviour was then 46 years of age. Whoever desires more particular directions concerning the use of *types* and *allegories*, let him consult the most excellent and judicious observations of Erasmus upon this point, in his *treatise de ratione Concionandi*, or *The art of preaching*.

After we have thus given a general *idea* of the Jewish ceremonies, it will now be proper to descend to a more particular examination of them; which we shall do, by following the same method a late learned author hath done (*q*); from whose excellent writings we shall extract all that is necessary for our present purpose under the following heads; I. The *holy places* among the Jews. II. Their *holy persons*; and here we shall give an account of their *sects*, and of their most famous *rabbies*. III. Their *sacrifices* and *oblations*. IV. Their *holy-days* and *festivals*.

Of the Holy Places.

WE may reckon among the *holy places* the *land of Israel*, as the Jews term it (*a*), which is also *The holy land*. called *God's inheritance*, or the *earth*, and the *land*, by way of eminence. Jews and Christians have also unanimously bestowed upon it the name of the *holy land*, though for different reasons. It is not our business here to describe the bounds and divisions of it, but only to consider it according to its *real* or *pretended* holiness.

The whole world was divided by the Jews in two *general* parts, *The land of Israel*, and *the land out of Israel*; that is, all the countries that were inhabited by the *nations of the world*, to use their own phrase, *i. e.* by the Gentiles. We meet with some allusions to this distinction in the *holy scriptures* (*b*). All the rest of the world, besides Judea, was by the Jews looked upon as *profane* and *unclean*. The whole *land of Israel* was *holy*, without excepting Samaria, notwithstanding the animosities between the Jews and Samaritans; nor even Idumæa, especially after its inhabitants had embraced the Jewish religion. As for Syria, they thought it between both; that is, neither quite *holy* nor altogether *profane*. Besides the *holiness* ascribed in scripture to the land of Israel in general, as it was the inheritance of *God's people*, the place appointed for the performance of his worship, the Jews were pleased to attribute different degrees of *holiness* to the several parts of it, according to their different situation. They reputed, for instance, those parts which lay beyond

(*p*) Iren. l. xv. c. 39.

(*q*) Reland Antiq. of the Hebrews.

(*a*) 1 Sam. xiii. 19. Ezek. vii. 2. Hos. ix. 3. Ruth i.

(*b*) Mat. vi. 32.

beyond Jordan, less *holy* than those that were on this side. They fancied likewise *walled towns* to be more *clean* and *holy* than other places, because *lepers* were not admitted into them, and the dead were not buried there. Even the very dust of Israel was by them counted *pure*, whereas *that* of other nations was looked upon as *polluted* and *profane*. Which undoubtedly was the reason why our Saviour ordered his Disciples, when they departed out of any house or city that would not receive nor bear them, they should shake off the dust of their feet. As the Jewish traditions concerning the holiness of their country do not directly come under our consideration, we shall be contented with having just pointed out some of them by the way.

Of Jerusalem. There was nothing in the whole land of Israel, that was supposed more *holy* than the city of Jerusalem (*), otherwise called the *holy city*, and the city of the great King (c). Before the building of the temple, the Jewish religion and worship were not fixed to any one particular place, the *tabernacle* having been several times removed from one place to another, for the space of 479 years, according to the calculation of some of their writers. After that time Jerusalem became the center and seat of their religion. As this *capital* of the *holy land* is very remarkable, upon the account of the many wonderful works which God wrought therein; and especially for the preaching, the miracles, and the death of our Saviour Jesus Christ, it therefore deserves a very particular consideration. It is, besides, worth while to have some *idea* of a city, which was the *figure* of that heavenly Jerusalem, of which we have so noble a description in the Revelations (d). Jerusalem (which, according to the Jewish notions, stood in the middle of the world) was formerly called *Jebus*, from one of the sons of Canaan (e). Some authors imagine that it was the ancient *Salem*, mentioned in the scriptures (f), of which *Melchizedek* was king; but this is uncertain. Neither is it well known who was the first founder of it. After the taking of it by *Joshua* (g), it was jointly inhabited both by Jews and *Jebusites* (h), for the space of about 500 (†) years, that is, till the time of king David. This prince having driven the *Jebusites* out of it, made it the place of his residence (i), built therein a noble palace, and several other magnificent buildings, so that he made it one of the finest cities in the world (k). Upon which account it is sometimes called the *city of David* (l). Josephus gives us a full and elegant description of it (m), wherein he represents it as a very large strong place, and divides it into the *upper* and *lower* city. The *upper* was built on mount *Sion*, and the *lower* on the hill *Acra*. The learned are divided in

(*) Authors are divided about the etymology of the word Jerusalem, some imagine it signifies *Fear Salem*, because the city was very strong; others, *They shall see peace*. But others, with a greater probability, say it means, *The inheritance of peace*.

(c) Matt. v. 35.

(d) Revel. xxi.

(e) Joshua xviii. 28.

(f) Gen. xiv. 18.

(g) Josh. x.

(h) Josh. xv. 63.

(†) Or 515. See Joseph. Antiq. l. vii. c. 3.

(i) 2 Sam. v. 6, 7, 8, 9.

(k) Psal. xlviii. 12, 13.

(l) 1 Chron. xi. 5.

(m) Joseph. de Bello Jud. l. vi. c. 6.

in their opinions about the situation of these two cities, and of the hills on which they stood, in respect one of another; some placing the *upper* city and mount Sion on the *north*, and others, on the *south*. We have embraced the latter opinion, judging it to be the most probable. This city was not always of the same bigness, for at first it took up no more than mount Sion. But in Josephus's time it was 33 *stadia* in compass, that is, between 4 and 5 Italian miles. We cannot precisely tell how many *gates* it had: There were *eleven* in Nehemiah's time. We find some of the gates of Jerusalem mentioned in scripture under other names than what Nehemiah gave them (*n*); whether they were the same under different names, or not, we cannot easily determine. It is probable the city had twelve gates, since the heavenly Jerusalem, spoken of in the Revelations, had so many.

As Jerusalem was situated in a dry soil, they took care to make a great number of *ponds*, or *conservatories* of water (*o*) within the city, for washing the sacrifices, and purifying the people; among others, the pools of Bethesda and Siloam mentioned by St. John (*p*), though some are of opinion these were one and the same. There is no need of taking notice here of the several palaces in Jerusalem, as David's, Herod's, Agrippa's, the house of the Asmonæans, and many other noble edifices, which are placed differently by the learned, and described by Josephus. The Jews reckon up a prodigious number of *Synagogues* in this city, of which I shall treat hereafter. They likewise ascribe to Jerusalem several privileges, which the other cities of Judea had not. These last belonged to some *tribe* or other, whereas Jerusalem was common to all the Israelites in general, though it was situated partly in the *tribe* of Judah, and partly in that of Benjamin. This was the reason why the houses were not let, and that all strangers of the *Jewish nation* had the liberty of lodging there *gratis*, and by right of hospitality. Of this custom we find some traces in the New Testament, as in Matth. xxvi. 17, &c. It was unlawful to leave a dead body within the city, even for one night, or to bring in the bones of any dead person. *Profelytes of the gate*, that is, such as were uncircumcised, were not permitted to dwell there. There were no *sepulchres* in the city, except those of the *family of David*, and of Huldah the prophetess. These they took care to *whiten* from time to time, that people might avoid coming near them, and so polluting themselves (*q*). No one had the liberty of planting or sowing within the city; accordingly there were no gardens; but without the walls there were great numbers. In short, whatever could occasion the least uncleanness was carefully banished thence.

But the main glory, and chiefest ornament of Jerusalem, and the true source of its holiness, was the temple Solomon built there by the command of God, (*r*) on mount Moriah, which was part of mount Sion. It was upon the account of the choice God made of this place, that the temple is frequently called in scripture the *house of the Lord*, or the *house*
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(*n*) Neh. iii.

(*o*) Joseph. de Bello Jud. l. vi. c. 12.

(*p*) John v. 2. ix. 7.

(*q*) Matth. xxiii. 27.

(*r*) 1 Chron. xxviii. 12. 2 Chron. iii. 1.

by way of eminence. It is a difficult task to give an exact description of this temple of Solomon, because, on the one hand, the accounts which we have of it in the first book of Kings, and the second of Chronicles, are so lame and imperfect, that they do not give us a true notion of the several parts of it; and, on the other, because we are in the dark, at this distance of time, about the meaning of most of the Hebrew terms of *architecture*. Some learned authors however, are of opinion, that one might frame a full and compleat idea of it, by joining the description given by Ezekiel (s), to that which we have in the first book of Kings, and the second of Chronicles. But to enter into a particular examination of this matter, would be foreign to our present design, which is to make some few remarks on the temple of Jerusalem, as it was in the time of Jesus Christ. I have therefore only this one observation to make, with regard to the *first* and *second* temple: That they were the only places God had chosen and appointed for the performance of his worship, which was one of the chief and most essential parts of the *ceremonial* law. This the supreme Law-giver did, not only for the sake of preserving unity in the common-wealth, but more especially to prevent the Israelites from falling into superstition, idolatry, and the foolish and impure worship which the *heathens* paid to their *Deities* in the *high-places*, that is, in *chapels*, or *temples* built on *hills* and *eminences*. The words of our Saviour to the woman of Samaria, *The time is coming when God shall no longer be worshipped either in Jerusalem, or on Gerizim only, but shall be adored in spirit and in truth everywhere alike by his true worshippers*, are a clear evidence that the fixing of the worship of God to the temple of Jerusalem alone, was a *ceremonial* institution designed merely for the preserving the unity and purity of the Jewish religion.

The temple of Zerubbabel (which we had an occasion to mention, when speaking of Herod) was built in the very place (t) where Solomon's stood before, that is on mount Moriah, *where the Lord appeared unto David* (u), and where this prince was ordered by God to erect an altar, in order to have a stop put to the plague (x). This temple was afterwards very much improved and beautified by Herod; who added exceedingly to the magnificence of it. But notwithstanding all the expence he bestowed upon it, it still came far short of Solomon's; which deserved indeed much better to be ranked among the *wonders of the world*, than some *ancient buildings* that have been honoured with that title.

By the *temple* is to be understood, not only the *temple* strictly so called, viz. the *holy of holies*, the *sanctuary*, and the several *courts*, both of the *Priests* and *Israelites*; but also all the apartments and out-buildings in general that belonged to it. This is necessary to be observed, lest we should imagine, that whatever is said in scripture to have happened in the *temple*, was actually done in the inner part of that *sacred edifice*, whose several parts we are now going to take a view of: Each of them
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(s) Ezek. xl. xli.

(t) And upon the very same foundations, saith Dr. Prideaux. Connect. P. I. B. III. sub. ann. 534.

(u) 2 Chron. iii. 1.

(x) 2 Sam. xxiv. 18.

had its respective degree of *holiness*, which increased in proportion, as they lay nearer the *holy of holies*.

I. Let us then begin our survey of the temple, with considering all that outward enclosure, which went by the name of the *mount of the temple*, or of *the house* (y). This was a square of 500 cubits every way (z), which contained several buildings, appointed for different uses. All round it there were *piazas* or *cloisters*, supported by marble pillars. The *piazza* on the *south* side had four rows of pillars, and all the rest but three. *Solomon's porch*, or rather *piazza*, was on the eastern side. Here it was, that our Saviour was walking at the *feast* of the *dedication* (a), that the lame man, when healed, glorified God, before all the people (b), and that the apostles where used to assemble together (c). On the top of this *portico* is also placed the *pinnacle*, from whence the devil tempted our Saviour to cast himself down (d): because, according to Josephus, there was at the bottom of this portico a valley so prodigiously deep, that the looking down made any one giddy (e). In the four corners of these *piazas* stood a kind of *watch towers*, for the use of the Levites, with several other apartments, and particularly a *synagogue*, where our Saviour is commonly supposed to have been found sitting in the midst of the doctors. (See Luke ii. 46.) In this place likewise the *Sanhedrim*, or *great council*, met in our Saviour's time, after they had forsaken the chamber *Gazith*, which was in one corner of the court of the *Priests*; as did also the *Council of twenty-three*, whose business it was to take cognizance of some capital crimes, but not of all. Here moreover were the animals for the sacrifices sold, and such as happened to be any way tainted or blemished were burned: It was in all probability from this part of the temple that Jesus Christ drove out those that bought and sold doves (f). The Levites had apartments here, where they eat and slept when they were not upon duty. This *outer enclosure* of the temple had five gates, where the Levites constantly kept guard: The most remarkable gate, that on the east, was called the gate *Shushan*, or the *King's gate* (g); which is thought to have been the same with the *Beautiful gate* of the temple mentioned in the Acts (h). Some writers take this place to be the *court of the Gentiles*, and the same as is spoken of in the Revelations (i), though Jewish authors never mention more than the three courts, of the *Women*, of the *Israelites*, and of the *Priests*. The same authors tell us, it was unlawful for any one to come in here with a *stick* or a *purse* in his hand; with *shoes* on, or *dusty feet*; to cross it in order to shorten the way, or to sling down any nastiness in it. Which circumstances may give some light to Matth. x. 9, 10. where Jesus Christ orders his disciples to walk in

(y) 1 Maccab. xiii. 53. Ezra x. 9.

(z) i. e. 750 foot on every side. See Dr. Prideaux Conn. ubi supra.

(a) Joh. x. 23.

(b) Acts iii. 11.

(c) Acts v. 2.

(d) Matth. iv. 5.

(e) Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 14.

(f) Matth. xxi. 12.

(g) 1 Chron. ix. 18.

(h) Acts iii. 2. N. B. Some place the *Beautiful gate* at the entrance of the court of women.

(i) Revelat. xi. 2.

in the discharge of their *ministry*, with the same circumspection and care, as men were wont to take, when they designed to walk in the temple: This may also serve to illustrate Mark xi. 16. where *Christ would not suffer any man to carry any vessel through the temple*.

II. Between this outward space, or the *mount of the temple* and the *courts*, there was another space, called the *Avant-Mure*, through which the way led to the several courts of the temple. This space was separated from the *mount of the temple* by *stone-balustres* three cubits high, at the distance of ten cubits from the walls of the other courts. This is what Josephus calls the *second temple*, that is, the second part of the *temple*; and he tells us, that there were in it several *pillars* at certain distances having inscriptions on them, some whereof contained exhortations to purity and holiness, and others were prohibitions to the *Gentiles*, and all such as were *unclean*, not to advance beyond it, as having some degrees of holiness above the *mount of the temple* (*k*). As people were forced to pass through this place to go into the *court of the women*, wherein was the apartment for the Nazarites; what occasioned the disturbance, of which we have an account in the Acts (*l*), no doubt was the Jews imagining St. Paul had brought Greeks into the *temple* (beyond the before-mentioned *balustres*) and thereby polluted that *holy place*. The wall of this space was not so high as those of the *temple*, and there were several *openings* in it, through which one could see what was doing in the adjoining *courts*.

III. The *court of the women* was the first as you went into the temple. It was called the *outer court*, because it was the furthest from the temple strictly so called; it was named the *court of the women*, not because none but women were suffered to go into it, but because they were allowed to go no farther. It was 135 cubits square. On the four corners of it were four rooms appointed for four different uses. In the first, the *lepers* purified themselves after they were healed; in the second, the wood for the sacrifices was laid, after it had been wormed; the Nazarites prepared their *oblations*, and shaved their heads in the third; and in the fourth the wine and oil for the sacrifices were kept. There were also two rooms more, where the musical instruments belonging to the Levites were laid up. It is commonly supposed, that it was in this court the king read publicly the *law* every seventh year. In this place were the 13 *treasury-chests*, two of which were for the half *shekel*, which every Israelite paid yearly; and the rest held the money appointed for the sacrifices and other oblations. And in this court likewise, as some authors imagine, was the *treasury*, over against which Christ sat and beheld how the people cast money into it (*m*); because none were permitted to *sit down* in the great court (*i. e.* of the Israelites) except the kings of the family of David, and the Priests; and these last too never did it, but when they were eating such remnants of the sacrifices as were ordered to be eat in the

(*k*) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. vi. c. 6.

(*l*) Acts xxi. 26—28.

(*m*) Mark xii. 41.

the temple. Round this court there was a *Balcony*, from whence the women could see whatever was done in the *great court*.

IV. From the *court of the women* they ascended into the *great court* by fifteen steps. This was divided in two parts, one whereof was the *court of the Israelites*, and the other of the *Priests*. The latter was one cubit higher than the other; near the entrance of which there was a gallery, wherein the Levites sung and played on instruments. This *court* had 13 gates, each of which had its particular name and use. There were several rooms and chambers in it, where things necessary for the service of God were got ready; and, among others, the *house of the hearth*, where a continual fire was kept for the use of the *Priests*, because they went always bare-foot on the cold marble pavement.

Of the court of the Israelites.

But what chiefly deserves our notice in this *court* is the *altar of the Lord* for burnt-offerings, otherwise called the *outer altar*; whereon the daily offerings of the *morning* and *evening service* were made. This altar, which, according to the Talmudists, was 32, but according to Josephus 50 cubits square, and 10 in height, was built of rough and unhewn stones (n). The ascent up to it was by a gentle rising, without steps. On this sloping ascent there was always a heap of salt, wherewith they salted whatever was laid upon the altar (o), except wine, blood, and wood. On this altar were kept several fires for different uses. And on the four corners of it were four *horns*, not fashioned like those of bulls, but strait, of a cubit in height and thickness, and hollow within (*). Near this altar stood several marble tables, whereon they laid the flesh of the sacrifices, and other things; and *pillars*, to which they fastened the animals, when they were going to kill or flea them. All this was in the open air. Between the altar and the porch, leading into the holy place, there stood a large *basin*, for the *Priests* to wash in (p), which supplied the want of the *brazen sea*; that was in the *first temple* (q).

The altar of burnt offerings.

V. From the *court of the Priests*, they went up into the temple properly so called, by twelve steps. This building was an hundred cubits every way, excepting the front, which was six score (r). It may properly be divided into three parts, viz. 1. The *porch*; 2. The *sanctuary*, or *holy place*; 3. And the *Holy of Holies*, or *most holy*.

Of the temple properly so called.

The *porch* was about 15 or 20 cubits long, and as many broad; it had a very large *portal*, which instead of folding doors, had only a rich vail (†). In this first part of the temple were hung up several valuable ornaments, which were presents from

The porch of the temple.

(n) Exod. xx. 25.

(o) Mark. ix. 49.

(*) "Herein was to be put some of the blood of the sacrifices." Dr. Prideaux, Connect. Part I. Book III. ad ann. 535.

(p) 2 Chron. iv. 6.

(q) Ibid. 2—5.

(r) It was 150 foot in length, and 105 in breadth, from out to out, saith Dr. Prideaux, ibid. ad an. 534.

(†) Some place here a gate plated with gold. See Lamy, p. 92.

from kings and princes, and which were carried away by Antiochus Epiphanes (s). Josephus and the *Rabbins* speak of a *golden vine* in this place, which crept up the pillars of cedar: this vine was the product of the presents made by private persons when they dedicated their first fruits of their grapes. Here stood also a *golden table*; and a *lamp* of the same metal was fixed over the gate which led into the *sanctuary*: These were given by Helena, queen of Adiabena, when she embraced the Jewish religion. There were two other *tables* in this *porch*; a marble one, whereon were set the loaves of *shew-bread*, before they were carried into the *holy place*; and a *golden one*, on which they were placed, when they were brought back from thence.

The *holy place*. The *sanctuary*, or *holy place*, called by the Jews the *outer house*, (it being such in respect of the *Holy of Holies*) was between the *porch*, and the most *holy place*; being twenty cubits broad, and forty in length and height. It had *two gates*, one whereof was called the *lesser*; through which they went in order to open the *great gate*, which had four folding doors. The *sanctuary* was divided from the *Holy of Holies* neither by a wall nor gate, but only by a double *vail* (t). This is supposed to have been the *vail* which was rent in twain, at our Saviour's death (u), because it was to be of no further use. Allusion seems to be made to this in the Revelations, where it is said, that the *temple of God was opened in heaven, and the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony was opened* (x).

The altar of *incense*. What we are chiefly to consider in the *Sanctuary* are the *golden candlestick*; the *table*, whereon were put the cakes or loaves of *shew-bread*; and (between it and the candlestick) the *altar of incense*, so named from the incense that burnt on it every day, which by St. John is styled the *prayers of the saints* (y). This altar was also called the *inner altar*, in opposition to the altar of *burnt-offerings*, already described; and the *altar of gold*, because it was overlaid with pure gold (z). It was not placed in the *holy of holies*, as some have been induced to believe from a wrong interpretation of some passages of scripture (a); but in the *sanctuary* near the *vail*, which parted it from the *Holy of Holies*, and over against the *ark of the covenant* (b). This is the altar so often mentioned in the Revelations. It was one cubit in length and breadth, and two in height. On the four corners it had four horns like the outer altar. On these horns was the *atonement* made, *once every year, with the blood of the sin offering* (c): Round it there was a very thick border, on which they set the coals for burning the *incense*, which was prepared in the court of the priests (d).

There

(s) 2 Maccab. iii. 2. v. 16.

(t) It was divided by a wall and a *vail*, saith *Lamy*, Appar. p. 92.

(u) Matth. xxvii. 51.

(x) Revel. xi. 19. and xv. 5.

(y) Revel. v. 8.

(z) Exod. xxx. 3.

(a) See 1 Kings vi. 22. and Heb. ix. 4.

(b) Exod. xxx. 6. and xl. 5.

(c) Exod. xxx. 10.

(d) Over the water-gate in the room *Ablutions*.

There is no mention in Exodus of any more than one table for the use of the tabernacle (*e*); but we learn from the second book of Chronicles (*f*), that Solomon *made ten tables* (of gold, as is supposed,) *and placed them in the temple*, (which he had built) *five on the right side, and five on the left*. The table of shew-bread having been carried to Babylon, and lost there, they were forced to make a new one for the *second temple*. This last Titus rescued from the flames, (at the taking of Jerusalem) and had it carried to Rome with the *candlestick*, and some other rich spoils, to grace and adorn the *triumph* of his farther Vespasian. It was made of wood, and overlaid with gold; and was two cubits long, one broad, and a cubit and a half high. It was placed by the altar at some distance, and against the north wall of the *sanctuary*. Upon this table were put the twelve loaves of *shew bread* called in Hebrew the *bread of faces* (*g*), because the table being almost over against the *ark of the covenant*, they might be said to be set before the *face of God* (*h*). These twelve loaves represented the twelve *tribes of Israel*, and were offered to God in their name, for a token of an everlasting covenant. They were oblong, shaped like a brick; ten palms long, and five broad, and might weigh about eight pounds each. They were unleavened, and made of fine flour. After the Levites had made and baked them, they brought them to the priests, who *set them* upon the table *in two rows, six on a row*, on the sabbath day. Frankincense was put upon each row; and to keep them from moulding, they were separated from one another by a kind of reeds. The following sabbath the priest took them away, and put immediately others in their room; so that the table was never without them. The old loaves belonged to the priests that were upon duty, who accordingly parted them among themselves. As this sort of bread was holy, it was not lawful for any but the *priests* to eat of it, except in a case of necessity (*i*). Besides the loaves, there were some vessels and utensils upon the table; but the learned are not agreed about the shape or use of them.

It appears from the II^d book of Chronicles that there were ten *candlesticks* in Solomon's temple, five on the right hand, and five on the left (*k*). But there was only one in the tabernacle, and the second temple, which stood near the south wall of the *sanctuary*, over against the *table*. It was all made of *pure gold*, of *beaten work* (*l*); and had seven branches, three on each side, and one in the middle bigger than the rest. Each branch had three *bowls made after the fashion of almonds*, three *knobs*, and three *flowers*, but the middlemost had four. At the end of each of these branches there was a lamp; but whether fastened to the candlestick or not, is not well known, it is most probable they were not. The *scripture* tells us, that these lamps were to burn continually (*m*), which undoubtedly ought to be restrained to the night-time, at least in respect of the *candlestick*, that

Of the golden candlestick.

(*e*) Exod. xxv. 24.

(*g*) Exod. xxv. 30. & alibi.

(*i*) Matth. xii. 4, 1 Sam. xxi. 3, &c.

(*l*) Exod. xxxvii. 17. &c.

(*f*) iv. 8.

(*h*) Exod. xl. 23. לפני יהוה.

(*k*) 2 Chron. iv. 7.

(*m*) Exod. xxvii. 20.

was in the tabernacle, since it is said (*n*) that the priests lighted them in the evening, when they burned incense upon the altar, and put them out in the morning. These lamps were filled every day with pure oil; to which custom our Saviour alludes in his parable of the ten virgins (*o*). Jewish writers find abundance of mysteries in the *candlestick*, and ascribe to it several uses; but there is no need of having recourse to their fictions, since we are assured by St. Paul that it was one of the *types* of Christianity. St. John also makes frequent allusions to it in his Revelations.

The Holy of Holies. We must now proceed to consider the *Holy of Holies*, otherwise called the *most holy place*, and the *oracle* (*p*). In the *first temple* it was divided from the *holy place*, by a partition of boards overlaid with gold; in which there was a door-place with the above-mentioned vail over it. But in the *second*, it was divided by two *ails* nailed at a cubit's distance one from the other, as is commonly supposed. The *Holy of Holies*, according to the Jews, was twenty cubits in length. Though the *holy place* was reckoned very *sacred*, yet it was not to be compared in this respect with the *most holy*, which was looked upon as the palace of God. For this reason none but the *high-priest* was permitted to go into it, and that but once a year, *viz.* on the great day of *expiation* (*q*); on which day the Jews tell us it was lawful for him to go in several times (*r*). This part of the temple, as well as the whole building, was surrounded with rooms and apartments for different uses (*s*). The roof of the *Holy of Holies* was not flat, (as in the other parts of the temple, and in the houses of eastern nations in general) but sloping as in our buildings; and according to Josephus (*t*), "it was covered and armed all over with pointed spikes of gold to keep off the birds from nestling upon it." Though the roof was inaccessible to all, yet there was round it a kind of rail or balustrade, according to the law (*u*), to keep any one from falling down that should happen to go there.

The *Holy of Holies* was at the *west end* of the temple, and the entrance into it towards the *east*, contrary to the practice of the heathens. The greatest ornament of the *Holy of Holies* was wanting in the *second temple* (*x*), namely,

(*n*) Exod. xxx. 7, 8. Levit. xxiv. 2, 3. 1 Sam. iii. 3. 2 Chron. xiii. 11.

(*o*) Matth. xxv.

(*p*) "It was so called, because God here gave his answers to the high priest, when he consulted him." Lamy p. 92.

(*q*) Exod. xxx. 10. Levit. xvi. 2. 15. 34. Heb. ix. 7.

(*r*) Philon. Legat. ad Caium.

(*s*) "These served to support the height, and were, as it were, so many buttresses, and a great ornament to it at the same time—there were three ranges of them one above another." Lamy p. 92.

(*t*) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. vi. c. 6. (*u*) Deut. xxii. 8.

(*x*) "The defect was supplied, as to the outward Form. For in the second temple there was also an ark made of the same shape and dimensions with the first, and put in the same place. But—it had none of its prerogatives or honours—For there were no tables of the law,—no appearance of the divine glory over it, &c." Dr. Prideaux Con. P. I. B. III. under the year 534.

namely, the *ark of the covenant* or *testimony* so called, because the law, which contained the terms and conditions of the *covenant* God had made with the Israelites, was kept in it; and because it was moreover a pledge or testimony of his gracious presence among them. Some Jewish authors tell us, that they put a *stone* in the room of it three inches thick (y); which, as they pretend, worked abundance of miracles. This same *stone*, (as some imagine) is still in being, and laid up in the *mosque*, which the Mahometans have built in the place where the *temple* of Jerusalem stood, which for that reason is called the *temple of the stone*.

As we meet in the New Testament with frequent allusions to the *ark of the covenant*, it will be proper to say something of it here. It was a *chest* or *coffer*, of *shittim wood* or *cedar*, over-laid with pure gold within and without; which Bezaleel made by Moses's order, according to God's direction (z). As its dimensions were a cubit and a half in height and depth, and two in length, we may from thence judge it was pretty large. Round the edges was a ledge of gold, on which rested the *cover* of it, known by the name of the *mercy-seat*, or *propitiatory*; so called, because on the day of *expiation* the *high-priest* standing between the *staves*, wherewith it was carried upon the shoulders of the Levites, made *atonement* and *propitiation* for the sins of the people, and for his own, by sprinkling some of the blood of the sacrifices before it (a). This *mercy-seat*, which was all made of solid gold (*), ought to be looked upon as the chief part of the ark. For here it was that the voice of God, from between the *cherubims* over the *cover*, was heard, and here he declared to the priests the pardon of the people's offences. Hence in scripture to *cover sins*, and *forgive them*, mean the same thing (b). What shape these *Cherubims* were of, is not well known. All that can be said of them, is, that they were represented with *wings*, *faces*, *feet* and *hands*; that they looked inward towards each other, and that their faces were turned towards the *mercy-seat*, (so that they were in the posture of figures worshipping) (c). Their wings were expanded, and embracing the whole circumference of the *mercy-seat*, met on each side in the middle; and over them did the pillar of the cloud appear, which was a token of the *Shechinah*, or *divine presence* (d). In Solomon's time there was nothing in the *ark*, besides the two tables of *stone*, containing the ten commandments, which Moses put there by the command of God (e). But before that time as some suppose, the *pot of manna* (f), and Aaron's rod that budded (g), had been laid in it. And indeed this opinion seems to be countenanced by these words of the Apostle, *That within the ark*

(y) i. e. The stone on which the ark stood in the first temple. Dr. Prideaux ibid.

(z) Exod. xxv.

(a) According to Buxtorf (*Lexic.* p. 373.) it was so called—Quod illic Dominus se propitium ostenderet.

(*) Of the thickness of an hand's breadth. Dr. Prideaux ubi supra:

(b) Psal. xxxii. 1.

(c) Dr. Prideaux ubi supra.

(d) Levit. xvi. 2. Psal. xcix. 7.

(e) 1 Kings viii. 9.

(f) Exod. xvi. 33.

(g) Num. xvii. 6—10.

ark were the golden pot, that contained the manna, Aaron's rod, and the tables of the covenant (*b*). But the Greek particle *in* doth also signify *with*, or *near*, as we have observed in our commentary on this place. It is very probable, that those *sanctified monuments* were laid up on the side of the ark, in the *Holy of Holies*, as well as the golden censer, mentioned in this place. There stood also near the ark some boxes, wherein were put vessels and utensils of gold (*i*), and the original and authentick copy of the law, as written by Moses (*k*). It cannot be questioned but that the ark had some *typical* uses, but it is not safe to carry *types* further than the *holy scriptures*, and the *epistle* to the *Hebrews* have done.

Thus have we given an account of the temple of Jerusalem, as far as is necessary for our present purpose. It is well known what was the unhappy end of that noble building, and how God was pleased to permit that it should be laid waste, because it had been polluted and profaned, but especially because it was to make room for that *spiritual temple* which God was to raise upon its ruins. We learn from history, that Julian the apostate, out of hatred to JESUS CHRIST and the Christians, used all his endeavours to have it rebuilt; but God rendered this rash and impious attempt of his ineffectual, and put a stop to it by very wonderful and supernatural means (*l*).

Before we leave Jerusalem, it will be necessary to say something of the places about it, especially those which our blessed Saviour was pleased to honour with his presence. The first remarkable place, on the *east side* of the city, was the *Mount of Olives*, from whence Jesus Christ was taken up into Heaven. It was by the Jews called the *mount of anointing*, because abundance of *olive trees* (*m*) grew there, of which oil for *anointing* the priests, and other uses, was made. St. Mark tells us, that this mount was over against the temple (*n*); and St. Luke, that it was a *sabbath day's* journey from Jerusalem (*o*), that is, two thousand cubits, which must undoubtedly be understood of the bottom of the mountain, and not of the top of it, since Bethany, which was built upon it, was fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem (*p*). This hill had three risings or eminences; from the middlemost of which it is supposed (but without any good grounds) that JESUS CHRIST was taken up into Heaven; that on the south was called the *Hill of reproach* or *corruption*, because Solomon built thereon *high places* in honour of false deities (*q*); the third lay to the north, and is in St. Matthew called Galilee (*r*), but for what reason is unknown: here it was that JESUS CHRIST appointed his disciples to meet him after his resurrection. The ceremony of burning the *red heifer*, mentioned in Heb. ix. 13. was performed upon this *mount of olives*; and upon one of its risings was placed the *light*, which was to give notice of the *new moon*.

The

(*b*) Heb. ix. 4. (*i*) 1 Sam. vi. 15. (*k*) Deut. xxxi. 26.

(*l*) Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 20. Sozomen. l. v. c. 22. Chrysostom. Orat. 111. contra Jud.

(*n*) Mark xiii. 3. (*o*) Acts i. 12.

(*p*) John xi. 18. (*q*) 1 Kings xi. 7. and 2 Kings xxiii. 13.

(*r*) Matth. xxvi. 32.

The *mount of olives* was separated from Jerusalem by a valley, through which ran the brook Cedron, so called from a Hebrew word signifying *dark, black*; either because it was shaded with trees, or that the blood of the sacrifices, which was poured round the altar, being conveyed thither, rendered the water of it *black*. The valley of Cedron was bounded on the *south* by that of Hinnom (*s*), that is, *the valley of Gries*, or of the *children of Hinnom*, that is, *of the children of Tears*, because this was the place where the Israelites had sacrificed their children to Moloch. It was also named the valley of Tophet, or of the *Drum*, because during these abominable sacrifices, they were wont to beat *drums*, to hinder the horrible shrieks, and outcries of the tender and innocent babes from being heard. In our Saviour's time, the Jews flung the rubbish of the city, and the bones of the sacrifices, &c. in this place, and kept here a continual fire to consume them. This they reckoned as an emblem of Hell; and therefore gave it a name of *Gehenna* (*t*). Jesus Christ alludes to this, Matth. v. 22. At the bottom of the *Mount of Olives* there was on the one side, a village called Gethsemane, which in Hebrew signifies a *press*, because there were *presses* in it for making oil. There was in this place, a garden, where Jesus Christ was often wont to go with his disciples, and where the traitor Judas led the soldiers that were sent to apprehend him (*). On the other side, stood the town of Bethphage, that is, *the house of dates or figs*; the village where our Saviour sent some of his disciples to fetch the ass on which he rode into Jerusalem, a little before his crucifixion; and where the *barren fig tree* grew, which he cursed (*u*). Somewhat further, *viz.* about fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem, lay Bethany, the town where Lazarus and his sisters dwelt (*x*), and where Jesus led his disciples, and blessed them before his ascension into Heaven.

Among the places about Jerusalem, there was none more famous than the *fountain of Siloam*, called otherwise *Gihon*. Writers are not agreed about the true situation of it, but it is a matter of very little consequence. What we are sure of, is, that it furnished with water several *pools* in Jerusalem, particularly that of Bethesda, which is supposed to be the same as Solomon's. It was named Bethesda, or *the house of gathering*, because it served as a *reservatory* for a great quantity of water; or rather, *the house of grace and mercy*, because there was near it a *hospital* for the reception of sick persons, who were cured in a miraculous manner, by bathing in the waters of this *pool*, as the description St. John has given us of it seems to insinuate, who says, there were four porches or galleries belonging to it (*y*). It was near the *sheep gate*; which was so called, because the sheep appointed for the sacrifices were brought in that way.

As neither Josephus nor any other Jewish author have mentioned this miraculous virtue of the waters of Bethesda, some have thereby been induced to imagine that there was nothing supernatural or uncommon in the

(*s*) 2 Kings xxiii. (*t*) See the Chaldee paraphrase on Isa. xxxiii. 14.

(*) Matth. xxvi. (*u*) Matth. xxi.

(*x*) John xi. (*y*) John v. 2, 3.

the case; but that the true cause of the cures was owing to the blood of the sacrifices that were washed in it, especially at the feast of the *passover*, when vast numbers of animals were slain. They add moreover, that the *angel*, spoken of by St. John, was only an officer, whose business it was to stir the water when it was a proper season, for the cure of the distempers mentioned by St. John (z). It is indeed a good maxim, *Not to multiply miracles without necessity*, nor to receive any as true, but such as are grounded upon sufficient evidence; because, under pretence of magnifying the power of God, we thereby injure his wisdom, and give superstitious people a handle of forging as many false miracles as they please. But when, on the other hand, a miracle is clearly revealed, we must readily acknowledge it for such, when it cannot be fairly accounted for by natural means; which seems to be the present case, where every circumstance tends to represent the matter as something miraculous and supernatural. For those cures were only done *at a certain season* (a). The waters healed all sorts of diseases. There was a necessity for an angel to trouble the waters: whereas people chuse generally to bathe when the waters are still. In fine, he only was cured that first stepped in after the waters were troubled. Besides it is the opinion of the Jews, and of several Christian writers (b), that the entrails of the victims were always washed within the temple. And most certainly the pool of Bethesda was not in the temple. This one observation carries in it a sufficient confutation of those who maintain, that the power of healing diseases which these waters had, was occasioned merely by the blood of the sacrifices which were washed in them. And then farther.

As for the supposition of those who imagine that the *angel*, spoken of in this place, was only an officer appointed for stirring the water at a *certain season*, it is, in my opinion, very groundless and extravagant. For I question whether there be any one passage throughout the New Testament, where the word *angel* (c) is used absolutely, and without some epithet or other; as, for instance, *my angel*, *the angel of some person*, *the angel of the church*, or the like, is ever found to signify an *officer* or *messenger*. We are not ignorant, that the fourth verse of this chapter is wanting in some ancient manuscripts, and that consequently there is no mention in them, either of the *angel* that troubled the water, or of the sick persons that waited for the moving of it. But can it be reasonable to prefer the authority of three or four *manuscripts*, where this passage is left out, to so many others where it occurs; especially since there is no manner of absurdity or contradiction in what it contains? We must pass the same judgment upon the silence of Josephus, and other Jewish writers about this point. For, first, all things considered, this may be reckoned as a good rule, *That the silence or omission, even of many historians, ought not to countervail or make void the testimony of any one author, who positively relates a matter of fact*. Nothing is more common in history, than to find some particulars advanced by one historian, and omitted by

by

(z) John v. 3.

(a) Ibid. v. 4.

(b) Lightfoot, Witius, &c.

(c) ἄγγελος.

by all the rest, and yet who would from the silence of the one, take an occasion of charging the other with forgery and insincerity; especially if there be no manner of ground or reason for calling in question his veracity? Secondly, St. John ought to be believed in this matter, though he were considered not as a divinely inspired writer, but only as an author endowed with a moderate share of judgment and prudence; for it is not to be imagined that he would not have exposed himself to that degree as to have advanced such a notorious untruth, and which might have been so easily detected, had it been one. As for Josephus, this is not the only thing which he hath omitted, especially as to what relates to the historie of the gospel; for he makes no mention of the *taxing* under Augustus (*d*), of the *star* that appeared to the wise *men* (*e*), or of the *slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem* (*f*). And who knows, whether he, and the Thalmudists, looking upon this miracle as a forerunner of the Messiah, have not designedly suppressed it, lest any one should conclude from their own testimony, that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah, since we hear nothing of this supernatural event, either before or since the coming of Christ. At what time these waters were first endued with this miraculous power, we cannot exactly tell. Thus much is certain, that they had it some time before our Saviour's birth, since the man of whom we read in the *gospel*, had been a long time at *the pool*, to be cured (*g*). But because the authors of the Old Testament do no where speak of it, we may reasonably suppose that it had not this virtue in their time.

There was another famous *pool*, which was supplied with water from the fountain of Siloam, and borrowed its name. And that this also had a miraculous power of healing diseases, is evident from the cure of the man who was born blind (*h*). The Jews tell us, that David ordered that his son Solomon should be anointed by the fountain of Siloah, thereby to denote that his kingdom should be as lasting and extensive as the waters of this spring; and they fancy that God speaks of it in these words of the prophet, *With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation* (*i*). For which reason they made use of this water at the *feast of tabernacles*. It is not then without good and sufficient reason that St. John hath observed, by way of parenthesis, that Siloam is by interpretation, *sent* (*k*); for thereby he hints at this, That the healing virtue which was in the waters of Siloam, was an emblem of that great salvation which the Messiah, who was certainly *sent from God*, should bring into the world.

On the west end of the city was mount Calvary, called by St. Matthew (*l*) Golgotha, that is to say, the *Skull*, (either because the Jews were wont to behead criminals there, or else because it was shaped like a skull; and by St. John Gabbatha, that is, *a lofty place*). This place is noted for the death and sufferings of our blessed Redeemer. It was divided from Jerusalem by a deep valley, named, *the Valley of carcases*.

or

(*d*) Luke ii. 1.(*e*) Matth. ii. 2.(*f*) Ibid. v. 16.(*g*) John v. 6.(*h*) John ix. 7.(*i*) Isai. xii. 3.(*k*) St. John ix. 7.(*l*) Matth. xxvii. 33.

or skulls. Mount Calvary stood without the city, according to the law (m). And to this St. Paul alludes in his epistle to the Hebrews, when he saith, that Christ, as a sacrifice for sin, *suffered without the gate*; and when he exhorts Christians to *go forth out of the camp*, that is, out of Jerusalem (*), this city being looked upon by the Jews as the camp of Israel.

As the village Emmaus was no more than sixty furlongs from Jerusalem, according to St. Luke (n), and Josephus (o), it may therefore be reckoned among the neighbouring places of this city, mentioned in the gospel. But we must take care not to confound it with a city of the same name, which was 176 furlongs from Jerusalem, and was afterwards named Nicopolis. This village is the place where the two disciples, who disbelieved and doubted of the resurrection of Christ, were going, when he appeared to them, and convinced them of the truth of it. We are told, that he yielded to their entreaties, when they desired him to abide with them, and that accordingly he went in, and eat with them. On what side of the city Emmaus lay is not well known. But it is very probable that it stood on the road that led to Galilee; and that the two disciples, of whom we have an account in St. Luke (p), being Galileans, were travelling through this place into their own country, thinking there was nothing to be done in Jerusalem, after the death of their divine Master. As soon as they found that their Lord was risen indeed, they returned with the glad tidings, to such of their fellow disciples, as had remained in Jerusalem.

Nothing can be more natural and reasonable, than to desire to know the fate of a city the most remarkable in the world, remarkable upon all accounts. It was four times taken, without being demolished; to wit, by Shishak, king of Egypt (q), by Antiochus Epiphanes, by Pompey, and by Herod the Great; and twice utterly destroyed, by Nebuchadnezzar, and by Vespasian. After this last overthrow Cæsarea, formerly called *Turris Stratonis* (r), or *Strato's Tower*, became the capital of the land of Israel. Some historians are of opinion that Jerusalem was rebuilt by Adrian. It is true, he built a city where Jerusalem stood before, which he called *Ælia* after his own name (s), and *Capitolina* in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus. But not satisfied with having given it a profane name, he made it so very different from the antient Jerusalem, that he seemed to have built it only with a design to be revenged of the Jews, who had rebelled against him, by bringing to their remembrance this once glorious city. He did not take in *mount Sion*, which was the best and strongest part of Jerusalem. He levelled *mount Moriah*, that there should not be the least footsteps of the temple remaining, and joined *mount Calvary* with such parts of the old city, as were still standing. So that *Ælia Capitolina* was not above half as large as Jerusalem, and of a quite different form. Upon one of the gates he caused the figure

of

(m) Levit. iv. (*) Heb. xiii. 12, 13. (n) Luke xxiv. 13.

(o) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 26. (p) Luke xxiv. 33, 34.

(q) 2 Chron. xii. (r) Witfius Hist. Hierosol.

(s) His name was *Ælius Adrianus*.

of a *few* to be carved (*t*), of which several reasons have been assigned; but the most probable, as well as the most natural, is, that he did it out of spite to the Jews, who had an aversion for this animal. Under the reign of this same emperor, that unhappy people attempted the recovery of their liberty, under the conduct of the false Messiah, Barcochebah; who was defeated and slain at Berittus near Jerusalem. Ælia Capitolina remained in this condition till the time of Constantine the Great, when it was again called Jerusalem, though improperly. This emperor built therein a noble and stately *temple*, after he had purged the place from the pollutions of heathen idolatry. We have a description of this temple in Eusebius (*u*). But an ill use was afterwards made of these illustrious monuments of Constantine's piety, as well as of his mother Helena's, who built a temple at Bethlehem, and another upon the mount of Olives; and also of the emperor Julian's, who erected likewise a temple at Jerusalem, which he dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It was this that gave superstitious people an occasion of ascribing a greater degree of holiness, contrary to the nature of the Christian religion, and the express declaration (*x*) of Jesus Christ himself, to these places, than to other parts of the world; and at last, proved the ground of those mad expeditions of the *crusades*, or *holy war*.

We have before observed the fruitless attempts of the Jews, to rebuild their temple, under Constantine, notwithstanding the zeal of this emperor for the Christian religion, and under Julian who favoured their design. The city of Jerusalem, (for so was Ælia Capitolina then called) continued in a flourishing state for a considerable time, under the Christian Emperors. But in the seventh century it fell into the hands of the Persians, who were not long masters of it, and afterwards of the Mahometans, who built (as hath been said) a *mosque* in the place where stood the temple which was destroyed by Titus. The Christians recovered it in the twelfth century from the *Sultan* of Egypt, who had taken it from the Turks, but enjoyed not their conquest long; for the *Sultan* of Egypt taking the advantage of their discords and contentions, took it from them again. It was however retaken in the thirteenth century by the emperor Frederick the II^d; but the *Sultan* of Babylon made himself master of it in a few years after; and at last, in the sixteenth century, it came into the hands of the Turks, who are the present possessors of it (*y*). According to the relations of travellers, it is still large and handsome. The chief inhabitants of it are Moors. There are some Christians, who are even allowed the free exercise of their religion, and but very few Jews, and those in a poor and mean condition. These last are persuaded, that before they are put again in possession of Jerusalem, it is to be consumed by a fire from heaven, that it may be refined, and purged from the pollution, contracted by being inhabited

(*t*) Dio Cassius.

(*u*) Euseb. Vit. Constant. l. 3. c. 25. seq. & c. 42, 43.

(*x*) John iv. 20, 23.

(*y*) It is now called *Alkuds*, i. e. *the Holy*, by the *Turks*, *Arabs*, and all other nations of the *Mahometan* religion in those parts. Dr. Prideaux Connect. P. I. B. I. under the year 610.

bited by foreign and profane nations. For this reason, none but the poorest of them live there, and such as have no where else to go.

Of the *synagogues*. Synagogues (z) are so frequently mentioned in the New Testament, that it is absolutely necessary we should give an account of them here. The Jews looked upon them as *holy places*, and Philo doth actually call them so. The Greek word (*συναγωγή*) as well as the Hebrew, to which it answers, signifies in general any *assembly*, whether *holy* or *profane*; but it is most commonly used to denote the place where people meet to worship God (a). The Christians themselves often gave the name of *synagogues* to their assemblies, as also to the places where they assembled, as is evident from St. James (b), from several passages in the epistles of Ignatius (c), and from the writings of Clemens Alexandrinus. But our business at present is to consider the *synagogues* or *oratories* of the Jews.

Authors are not agreed about the time when the Jews first began to have *synagogues*; some infer from several places of the Old Testament (d), that they are as ancient as the *ceremonial law*. Others, on the contrary, fix their beginning to the times after the Babylonish *captivity*. It is certain they have been long in use, since St. James saith in the Acts (e), that *Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath-day*.

The Jews erected *synagogues* not only in towns and cities, but also in the country, especially near *rivers*; that they might have always *water* ready at hand both to wash and clean them, (which they were very careful to do) and also to purify themselves before they went into them. They were not allowed to build any one in a *town*, unless there were *ten persons of leisure* in it (f). What is to be understood by these *ten persons of leisure*, is not agreed among the learned (g). All that can be gathered from what they have advanced upon this point, after the Thalmudists, is, That they were ten persons of learning and approved integrity, free from all worldly occupations, and disengaged from all civil affairs, who were maintained and hired by the public, that they might always resort *first* to the *synagogue*, that whoever should come in, might find *ten persons* there; which number at least the Jews thought necessary to make a congregation. They assign them other *functions*, but what they say concerning them is not to be relied upon as certain. When there were ten such persons in a town or city, they called it a *great city*, and here they might build a *synagogue*. As for other places, it was sufficient

(z) Upon this head see Buxtorf's treatise *de Synagoga Judaica*, and Vitringa *de Synagoga vetera*, where you may find a very full account of them.

(a) Luke vii. 5.

(b) James ii. 2.

(c) Ignat. ad Polyc. — ad Trall. —

(d) Levit. xxiii. 3, 4. Deut. xxxi. 11, 12. Psal. lxxiv. 4. 8.

(e) Acts xv. 21.

(f) Or *Beth-nim*, see Dr. Pridcaux Connect. P. I. B. VI. under the year

(g) Lightfoot, Rhenferd, Vitringa.

sufficient if there were the like number of persons of a mature age and free condition. These *synagogues* were erected upon the highest part of the town. After a *synagogue* was built, or some house set apart for this use, it was consecrated by prayer, without much ceremony or formality. The which the Jews, who were in other respects superstitious enough, undoubtedly did, that they might not imitate the vain ceremonies used by the heathens at the dedication of their *temples* and *chapels*. When a *synagogue* had been thus consecrated, it was looked upon as a *sacred place*, and particular care was taken not to profane it. It would be too long to mention all their precautions in this respect, and therefore we shall only observe this one, that it was unlawful to speak a word in the *synagogue* (b); to which our Saviour seems to allude, Matth. xii. 36.

There might be several *synagogues* in the same city, and even in one quarter of it. Philo, for instance, says, there were several in every district of the city of Alexandria (*). And it appears from the Acts of the Apostles (i), that there was more than one at Damascus. The Jews tell us, there were 480 in Jerusalem, but so vast a number hath very much the air of a fable, or at least it is a very grand exaggeration (k). It is however true, that there were a great many in this large and famous city, since we find St. Luke mentioning those of the *Libertines*, *Cyrenians*, *Alexandrians*, *Cilicians*, and *Asiaticks* (l). Some authors do indeed fancy that these were but one and the same *synagogue*, where the people of these several countries were wont to assemble; but it is much more natural to understand this of so many different *synagogues*, as the construction of the words necessarily require, since it is well known otherwise, that there were a great many in Jerusalem. The most famous *synagogue* the Jews ever had, was the great *synagogue* of Alexandria, of which the Rabbins say, that *he who hath not seen it, hath not seen the glory of Israel*.

The chief things belonging to a *synagogue*, were, 1. The *ark* or *chest*, wherein lay the book of the law, that is, the *Pentateuch*, or *five books of Moses*. This chest was made after the model of the *ark of the covenant*, and always placed in that part of the *synagogue* which looked towards the *holy land*, if the *synagogue* was out of it; but if it was within it, then the chest was placed towards Jerusalem; and if the *synagogue* stood in this city, the *chest* was set towards the *Holy of Holies*. Out of this ark it was they took, with a great deal of ceremony, and before the whole congregation, the *book of the law*, when they were to read it. The writings of the *prophets* were not laid therein. Before it, there was a vail representing the *vail* which separated the *holy place* from the *Holy of Holies*. 2. The *pulpit* with a *desk* in the middle of the *synagogue*, in which stood up he, that was to read or expound the law. 3. The *seats* or *pews* wherein the people sat to hear the law read and expounded.

Of

(b) Buxtorf Synagog. Jud. c. 2.

(*) Philo Legat. ad Caium.

(i) Acts ix. 2.

(k) Or else they have expressed an uncertain large number, by a certain; see Dr. Prideaux, ubi supra.

(l) Acts vi. 9.

Of these some were more honourable than others. The former were for those who were called *Elders*, not so much upon the account of their age as of their gravity, prudence, and authority. These *Elders* sat with their backs towards the forementioned chest, and their faces towards the congregation, who looked towards the *ark*. These seats of the *Elders* are those which are called in the gospel the *chief seats* (*m*); and which Jesus Christ ordered his disciples not to contend for, as the Pharisees did. It seems as if it may be inferred from St. James (*n*), that the places where the primitive Christians assembled themselves, were like the Jewish *synagogues*, and had their uppermost seats where the rich were placed in contempt of the poor. The women did not sit among the men, but in a kind of *balcony* or *gallery*. 4. There were also fixed on the walls, or hung to the ceilings, several lamps; especially on the sabbath day, and other festivals, which served not only for ornament, but to give light at the time of the *evening service*. They were chiefly used at the feast of *Dedication*, which was instituted in remembrance of the repairing of the *temple*, after it had been polluted by Antiochus. 5. Lastly, there were in the *synagogue rooms* or *apartments*, wherein the utensils belonging to it were laid; as *trumpets*, *horns* (*o*), and certain *chests* for keeping the alms.

To regulate and take care of all things belonging to the *synagogue service*, there was appointed a *council* or *assembly* of grave and wise persons, well versed in the law, over whom was set a president, who was called the *ruler of the synagogue*. This name was sometimes given to all the members of this assembly; and accordingly we find the *rulers of the synagogue*, mentioned in the New Testament, in the plural number (*p*). It is very probable, that these are the same which are stiled in the *sacred writings*, the *chiefs of the Jews* (*q*), the *rulers*, the *priests* or *elders*, the *governors*, the *overseers* or *bishops*, the *fathers* of the *synagogue* (*r*). Their business was, 1. To order and direct every thing belonging to the *synagogue*; and 2. To teach the people. We shall hereafter give an account of this last function of theirs.

The *government* which they exercised in the *synagogue*, consisted of these particulars. To punish the disobedient, either by *censures*, *excommunication*, or other *penalties*, as *fines* and *scourging*; to take care of the *alms*, which the *sacred* writers as well as the *rabbins*, call by the name of *righteousness* (*s*). The chief ruler, or one of the rulers, gave leave to have the law read and expounded, and appointed who should do it. Of this there is an example in the xiiith chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, where it is said, that Paul and Barnabas having entered into a *synagogue* at Antioch, the rulers gave them leave to speak (*t*). As for the *punishments*

(*m*) Matth. xxiii. 6.

(*n*) James ii. 2, 3.

(*o*) With which a man standing at the top of the synagogue, proclaimed the time of prayer, and the hour when every festival begun.

(*p*) Ἀρχισυναγωγοί. Mark v. 35. &c. Luke viii. 41.

(*q*) Acts xxviii. 17.

(*r*) Matth. ix. 18. Mark v. 22. Acts xviii. 8. iv. 5.

(*s*) Psal. cxii. 9. Matth. vi. 1, 2 Cor. ix. 9. (*t*) Ver. 15.

ments which they inflicted on offenders, the Jews have reduced them to these three heads or degrees. 1. *Private reproof*. When the chief ruler of the *synagogue*, or any other of the directors, had admonished or rebuked a person in private, that person was obliged to stay at home in a state of humiliation, and not to appear in public for the space of *seven days*, except in case of necessity. If at the end of those days, the sinner shewed no sign of repentance, then, 2. he was cut off, or separated from society; that is, he underwent that sort of *excommunication*, which they called *niddui*, or *separation*. While he lay under it, it was unlawful for any to come within four cubits of him (*u*), during the space of thirty days. At the end of which term, he was restored by the officers of the *synagogue*, if he repented; but if he did not, the excommunication lasted thirty days longer. However, the rulers of the *synagogue* were at liberty to prolong or shorten it, as they found occasion. But it is to be observed, that this sort of excommunication did not *absolutely* exclude the person, on whom the sentence of it passed, from the *synagogue*. For it was lawful for him to go into any *synagogue*, provided he did not come within four cubits of any one that was in it. 3. At length, if he persisted in his rebellion, without repenting at all, they then proceeded to denounce against him the *greater excommunication*, called by them *anathema*, whereby he was separated from the assembly of the Israelites, and banished from the *synagogue*. Jesus Christ did undoubtedly allude to these three sorts of punishments; in that discourse of his to his disciples, which we find in the xviiith chapter of St. Matthew's gospel (*x*). Mention is likewise made in St. John, of *putting out of the synagogue* (*y*); whereby whether the *greater* or *lesser* excommunication be meant, is not well known. But we may, without any scruple, understand it of both. There are also in St. Paul's epistles several traces of these three sorts of excommunication (*z*). It must be observed, that the Jews were always very backward in excommunicating any famous *rabbi*, or *teacher*, though his offence was great, unless he was actually guilty of idolatry. Which undoubtedly was the reason why they never went about to excommunicate our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, though he was liable to it, for condemning and opposing the doctrines and traditions of the Scribes and Pharisees (*a*).

We shall not here give an account of the *fines*, which the guilty were sometimes wont to pay to redeem themselves from scourging, because they are no where mentioned in holy scripture. As for *scourging*, some are of opinion, that it was a punishment not falling under the jurisdiction of the *rulers of the synagogue*, but belonging to the *civil courts*, which they take to be meant by the *synagogues*, where our Saviour tells his disciples they would be scourged (*b*). Others, on the contrary, have fully and solidly proved from several passages of scripture, that by the word *synagogues*

(*u*) "Except his wife and children." Calmet dissertat. on the several ways of punishing offenders.

(*x*) Ver. 15—18.

(*y*) John ix. 22. xii. 42. xvi. 2.

(*z*) Rom. xvi. 17. 1 Cor. v. 1, 2. 2 Cor. ii. 6, 7. 2 Thessal. iii. 10. Titus iii. 10. And 2d Epistle of John. ver. 10.

(*a*) Matth. xxiii.

(*b*) Matth. x. 17.

synagogues in the place here quoted, we are to understand *synagogues* properly so called; besides, there are several other reasons to induce one to believe that scourging was practised there. This punishment was not reckoned so ignominious as excommunication, and it was sometimes inflicted even upon a *rabbi*, or *doctor*. Very often people submitted to this discipline, not so much by way of punishment for a fault they had committed, as by way of *general penance*. Such was the scourging which the Jews gave one another on the great day of *expiation*. As they were expressly commanded in their law not to give above *forty stripes* (c), the *rabbins*, for fear of exceeding this number, had reduced it to thirty-nine. This limitation was fixed in St. Paul's time, since he tells us he received *five times of the Jews forty stripes save one* (d): and also in that of Josephus, who likewise reduces the *forty stripes* appointed by the law to thirty-nine (e).

The rulers of the synagogue were likewise bound to take care of the poor. As the nature and constitution of things are such, that among the several members of every society, there will always be some poor and indigent persons; the *Divine Lawgiver* had in this particular given directions exceedingly becoming his infinite goodness, and tender regard for his creatures. And the *synagogue* hath always been so careful to execute the orders of the Almighty in this respect, that *alms-giving* was ever accounted by the Jewish *doctors* (f), one of the most essential branches of their religion. Accordingly, there were in every synagogue *two treasury chests*, one for poor strangers, and the other for their own poor. Those that were charitably inclined, put their alms in these chests, at their coming into the synagogue to pray. Upon extraordinary occasions, they sometimes made public *collections*; in which cases, the rulers of the synagogue ordered the person, whose business it was, to collect the alms, to ask *every body* for their charity. And as this was done on a sabbath day, when it was not lawful for a Jew either to give or receive money; therefore every one promised such a sum, which they accordingly brought the next day. This custom of not touching money on the sabbath day, was of a long standing among the Jews, since we find it expressly mentioned by Philo (g): the which may help us to discover the true meaning of this command of the Apostle to the church of Corinth; *Upon the first day of the week, let every one of you lay by him in store as God hath prospered him* (h). For it is probable, that the Corinthians did still observe the sabbath. Every sabbath day in the evening (*), three *collectors* gathered the *alms*, and distributed them the same evening to the poor, to defray their expences for the week last past. Though these *collectors* had a great deal of power and authority, they depended however upon the ruler or council of the synagogue, who, together with the governor, or chief magistrate of one of the cities of

of

(c) Deut. xxv. 3.

(d) 2 Cor. xi. 24.

(e) Jos. Antiq. l. iv. c. 3.

(f) Maimon. Hilck. Zadak. c. 10.

(g) Philo. Legat. ad Caium.

(h) 1 Cor. xvi. 2.

(*) After sun set, I suppose, when the next day began, according to the Jewish reckoning, (i. e. from one evening to another) and so this might be said to be done the *next day*, as is said above.

of Judea, had the absolute disposal of the alms. If the magistrate happened to be a heathen, then the management of them was left, either to the council of the synagogue, or the chief ruler, who acted for the body.

This may serve to give us a notion of the manner how alms used at first to be distributed in the Christian church. The charity of the primitive Christians was so very conspicuous, that Julian the apostate proposes it as a pattern to his own subjects. "What a shame is it, says he, that we should take no care of our poor, when the Jews suffer no beggars (*i*) among them; and the Galileans, (*i. e.* the Christians,) impious as they are, maintain their own poor, and even ours (*k*)."

We may infer from several places in St. Paul's epistles, that he had the management of the alms of several churches, and that there were collectors under him for that purpose. Justin Martyr gives us pretty near the same account of this matter in his time, in his second apology (*l*).

Let us now proceed to the other office belonging to the rulers of the synagogue; which was to teach the people. This they did sometimes by way of dispute and conference; by questions and answers; or else by continued discourses like sermons. All these different ways of teaching they called by the general name of searching (*m*); the discourse they stiled a search or inquisition (*n*); and him that made it a searcher (*o*); from a Hebrew word (*p*), which properly signifies to dive into the sublime, profound, mystical, allegorical, and prophetic senses of holy scripture. In which sense (as we have observed on that place, and in the preface of the epistle to the Hebrews) St. Paul asks the Corinthians (*q*), where is the PROFOUND SEARCHER of this world? It is evident from the epistles of St. Paul, and especially from that to the Hebrews, that the apostle sometimes followed this mystical method of explaining scripture. It may also be inferred from several passages of St. John's gospel, that our Saviour himself seems to give into that way.

There were several places set apart for these searches, or expositions. Sometimes they were done in private houses. For there was no Jew of any learning or fashion, but what had in the upper part of his house (*r*), one or more rooms, where he was wont, at certain times to retire, either to pray, or to meditate, or to discourse upon some subject relating to the law. Several instances of persons retiring on the house top to exercise themselves on works of piety and devotion, are frequently to be met with in the sacred writings (*s*). The windows of these

(*i*) Deut. xv. 7—11.

(*k*) Sozom. Hist. Eccles. l. v. c. 16.

(*l*) Just. Mart. apol. 2. p. m. 99.

(*m*) דרש Darasch.

(*n*) דרש Derasch.

(*o*) דרשן Darshan.

(*p*) Darasch, already set down.

(*q*) 1 Cor. i. 20, συζητητής.

(*r*) They are called in Latin *Cœnacula*. It was in one of them that our Saviour celebrated his last passover. And in a like place where the Apostles assembled together, when the Holy Ghost came down upon them.

(*s*) 1 Kings xvii. 19. Dan. vi. 10. Acts i. 13. x. 9. xx. 8. Ὑπερῶς, or upper room, is called by the Latins *Cœnaculum*. In one of these our Saviour celebrated the passover, and the Holy Ghost descended on the Apostles.

these apartments were to look towards Jerusalem, in imitation of Daniel vi. 10. But generally these exercises and debates were transacted in the *schools, academies, or houses of searching*, which were adjoining to every famous synagogue, and were sometimes also named *synagogues*. In these were the *disciples of the wise* brought up and instructed, in order to be qualified for *rabbies, or doctors*. Lastly, the explanations of scripture, and particularly the *sermons*, were rehearsed in the *synagogue* itself, on the *sabbath days* and other *festivals*.

In the *ancient synagogue*, as it was first settled and established by Ezra, the *priests and Levites* made those discourses, only with a design to facilitate the understanding of the *text* of the *sacred writings* (1). In our Saviour's time, the duty of preaching, and of giving others leave to do so (u), belonged to the rulers of the synagogue. This manifestly appears from the Acts of the Apostles; wherein we are told, that the rulers of the synagogue gave the Apostles leave to speak (x). It is very probable, that whenever Jesus Christ preached in the synagogues, it was not without the permission of the president or chief ruler, though it be not expressly said so in the gospel, without doubt, because it was a known custom. What indeed may seem strange, is that the Jews should suffer Jesus Christ, or his disciples, to preach in their synagogues. But our wonder will cease, if we do but consider, 1. That they were Jews, and strict observers of the law. 2. That they were well versed in the law, and even were *Rabbins, or Doctors*. That Jesus Christ was so, is unquestionably certain, since he is frequently called *Rabbi* by his disciples, and even by the Jews themselves (y): now it was unlawful for them to give this title to any one, but what had been admitted to that honourable degree by the imposition of hands. The same thing may be affirmed of St. Paul, and even of some of the other Apostles. At least we find Barnabas, Simeon, Lucius, and Manacn, stiled *Doctors* in the Acts (z). The same is further evident from this one *circumstance*, recorded in the holy scriptures, That the Apostles *sat down* when they came into the synagogues (a). For several learned authors have observed, that the word *sit down* in these places, doth signify to *sit* among those who were wont to teach or preach. And the rulers of the synagogue undoubtedly supposed, that the Apostles, as they sat in those places were come with a design to teach the people. 3. But supposing that they had not been *Doctors*; yet they might have claimed this privilege, as persons of gravity, learning, and unblameable conversation, such as they were in the judgment even of their very enemies. For we are told, that not only the *Doctors*, but also the sons, or disciples of the *wise*, that is, the young student, and such as stood candidates for the degree of *Rabbi* or *Doctor*; and even some of the common people, if duly qualified for it, were allowed to teach in the synagogues. It was but common prudence therefore in the Jews, to let Jesus Christ, and

(1) Nehem. viii. 2—5.

(u) Philo. de vit. Contemplat. p. 691.

(x) Acts xiii. 15.

(y) Matth. xxvi. 25. 49. Mark ix. 5. John i. 39.

(z) Acts xiii. 1. διδασκαλοι.

(a) Matth. xxvi. 55. Acts xiii. 14. 1 Cor. xiv. 30.

and his Apostles, preach in these assemblies of theirs, for fear of provoking the people, who had a great respect and veneration for them, and to rest satisfied with hindering them, as much as possible, from spreading and publishing their doctrine in other places. It is evident from the *New Testament* and *ecclesiastical history*, that the sermons and discourses spoken by the *primitive Christians* in their assemblies, were regulated much after the same manner, as those that were delivered in the ancient *synagogue* of the Jews. There were also in every *synagogue* several *ministers*, who had different employments assigned them: 1. One called *sheliach zibbor*, or the *messenger* or *angel of the synagogue*, standing before the *ark* or *chest* wherein the *scriptures* were kept, repeated the prayer *cadisch* before and after the reading of the law. This was to be a person very eminent for his learning and virtue. Sometimes indeed the chief ruler, or one of the *elders* of the *synagogue*, repeated this prayer, but most commonly the *sheliach zibbor* did it. And hence it is, that the bishops of the seven churches of Asia, are in the Revelations called the *angels* of those churches, because what the *sheliach zibbor* did in the *synagogue*, that the bishop did in the church of Christ. 2. Another officer, who was called the *minister of the synagogue*, from the pulpit gave the Levites notice when they were to sound the trumpet (*b*). This minister read sometimes the law; though at first there was no particular person set apart for the doing it; for, excepting women, any one that was but qualified for it, and pitched upon by the ruler of the *synagogue*, might do it. It is commonly supposed that the *deacons*, appointed among the *primitive Christians*, of whom mention is made in the *epistles* of St. Paul, were in imitation of these *ministers of the synagogue*. But it is to be observed, that these *deacons* are very different from those of whom we have an account in the 6th chapter of the Acts, and which answered to the collectors of the alms, spoken of before. Besides these two *ministers*, there was another of an inferior degree, called *Chasan*, that is, the *guardian*, or *keeper*. His business was to take the book of the law out of the chest wherein it was kept; to give it the person that was appointed to read; to take it of him after he had done, and to lay it up in the chest again. He was likewise to call out him that was pitched upon by the ruler of the *synagogue* to read the *lesson* out of the *law*, or the *prophets*, to stand by and overlook him whilst he did it, and to set him right, when he read amiss. He blowed also the trumpet upon some particular occasions, as to give notice of the *sabbath*, of the beginning of the *new year*, to publish an *excommunication*, and the like. This *minister* was moreover to let the people know when they should say *amen*, after the prayer which the *angel* of the *synagogue* repeated before and after the reading of the law. Lastly, his business was to take care of the *synagogue*, to shut and open the doors of it, to sweep and keep it clean: he had the charge of the utensils belonging to it, fastened the vail before the ark or chest wherein the law was kept, and took it off, when there was occasion. This office was very much like that of a *church-warden* (or rather *church-clerk*) among us.

Several

(b) See above, p. 160, note (o).

Several learned men are of opinion, and it is indeed very probable, that the *government* and *service* in the *Christian church* were first taken from those of the *synagogue*. Several instances of this agreement between them are to be met with in the New Testament. But we must not expect to find an exact resemblance between them, either for want of ancient monuments, or because the same officers both of the *church* and *synagogue*, had more than one name, which often occasions a great deal of perplexity and obscurity in these matters; or else, because they were confounded, when their *offices* or *employments* had any relation one to another.

The times of the *synagogue service* were *three* times a day; *viz.* in the *morning*, in the *afternoon*, and at *night* (c). But though this *service* was performed every day, yet there were *three* days in the week that were more solemn than the rest, and on which they thought themselves more indispensably obliged to appear in the *synagogue*; namely, Mondays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, the most solemn of all. As more sacrifices than ordinary were offered on the *sabbath day*, and other *festivals*, they were wont to have prayers *four* times upon those days. We shall give an account only of the *morning service* of the *synagogue*, without entering into the particulars of *that* which was performed in the *evening*; because they were both pretty much alike, and besides, the latter was attended with less solemnity than the former.

Before the beginning of the *public prayers* by the *angel of the synagogue*, the people repeated several private ones which were of a considerable length. These consisted of 19 prayers; the *first* of which contained praises to God; in the *second*, they confessed their sins, and begged pardon for them; the *third* contained thanksgivings and petitions, for all the wants and necessities of this life, as well spiritual as temporal, &c. (d). These nineteen prayers were not however said all at length on the *sabbath day*, and other *festivals*; and even on common days, several repeated only a summary of them. When these prayers were ended, the *minister standing* up, began the public prayers, the people likewise *standing* and *bowing* the knee and body, (as did also the minister,) from time to time, at the rehearsing of some particular passages. They had also then their heads covered with a vail. Their service began and ended with the prayer *Cadisch*, which the Jews generally joined at the end of all their prayers; it was composed in these terms, which come very near those of the Lord's Prayer: *Hallowed be his great Name in the world, which he has created according to his good pleasure, and may his Kingdom be established. May we behold his redemption spring up and flourish. May his Messiah suddenly appear in our days, and in the days of all the house of Israel, to deliver his people.* Prayers being ended, the minister or *Chasan*, before mentioned, took out of the chest the book of the law; whereupon

(c) In the *morning*, at the time of the *morning sacrifice*, in the *evening*, at the time of the *evening sacrifice*, and at the *beginning of the night*, because till then the *evening sacrifice* was still left burning upon the altar. Dr. Prideaux Conn. P. I. B. VI. under the year 444. Sect. 3. concerning the time of the *synagogue service*.

(d) You may see all these prayers at length in Dr. Prideaux, *ubi supra*.

whereupon the whole congregation shouted, and expressed a great deal of joy and satisfaction. This book consisted of several large *volumes*, or *rolls* of *vellum*, stitched or glued very neatly together, and fastened at one end to *sticks* very nicely turned (*e*). As the whole Pentateuch, that is, the *five books of Moses*, could not possibly be read over at once in one of their assemblies, the Jews divided it into several large sections, which they called *Paraschahs*; one of which being read every sabbath day, the whole Pentateuch was by this means read over once every year (*f*). They began it on the sabbath next after the feast of *tabernacles*. It was divided into *fifty-three* or *fifty-four* sections (*g*), and each section was again subdivided into *seven* parts for so many readers. The book being opened, or rather unfolded, he that was to read, rehearsed some short prayers over it, which the people joined in, by way of *responses*. After which he that was appointed to read first, began the section for that day. There were commonly *seven* readers each sabbath. Every Israelite had the privilege of *reading*, except women, slaves, and others that were deemed unfit for it. They commonly however pitched upon a *Priest*, a *Levite*, a *Doctor*, or person of distinction among the people, sooner than on any of the *vulgar*, who were not permitted to read till the others had done (*h*). When the last reader had made an end of reading, he folded the book, and gave it the *Chasan*, or Minister, who put it again into the chest. After which followed some thanksgiving or *doxologies*, which ended with the prayer *Cadisch*. The person that read, did it standing; but the audience either stood up, or sat down, as they thought fit.

After the reading of the *law*, followed that of the *prophets*, before which

(*e*) As all books formerly were.

(*f*) Their manner of reading the *law*, was as followeth. "The whole law, or five books of Moses, being divided into as many sections, or lessons, as there are weeks in the year, (as hath been shewn) on Monday they began with that which was proper for that week, and read it half way through, and on Thursday proceeded to read the remainder; and on Saturday, which was their solemn sabbath, they did read all over again, from the beginning to the end of the said lesson or section; and this both morning and evening. On the week days they did read it only in the morning, but on the sabbath they did read it in the evening, as well as in the morning, for the sake of labourers and artificers, who could not leave their work to attend the synagogues on the week days, that so all might hear, twice every week, the whole section or lesson of that week read unto them. Dr. Prideaux, Connect. P. I. B. VI. under the year 444.

(*g*) The Jewish year being *lunar*, they had near 54 weeks in it. See Leuiden's Preface to his Hebrew Bible. Sect. 1.

(*h*) A *Priest* was called out first, and next a *Levite*, if any of these orders were present in the congregation, and after that any other *Israelite*, till they made up in all the number of *seven*. And hence it was anciently, that every section of the law was divided into *seven* lesser sections, for the sake of these seven readers. And in some Hebrew bibles these lesser sections are marked in the margin; the first with the word *Choen*, i. e. the *Priest*; the second with the word *Levi*, i. e. the *Levite*; the third with the word *Shelishi*, i. e. the third, &c. Dr. Prideaux, ubi supra.

which they rehearsed some passage out of the writings of Moses. On Mondays and Thursdays they read only the *law*, but on the *sabbath*, as also on *fast days* and *festivals*, they read the *prophets*, and that in the *morning* only; for in the *afternoon* they constantly read nothing else but the *law*. The Jews did not reckon among the *prophetical writings* the moral books of the^e holy scripture, otherwise called the *Hagiographa*, as the book of Job, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon; which were read in their synagogues only upon particular occasions. Neither did they rank among the *prophets*, the books of Ruth, Hester, Ezra, Nehemiah, nor even *that* of Daniel (*i*), though they read some portions out of the four *first* on their solemn days. As for the Psalms of David, the greatest part of the prayers and thanksgivings that were used in the synagogue being taken from thence, they dispensed with reading some passages extracted out of them. What they meant therefore by the *prophets*, was, the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles: These they supposed to have been written by *prophets*, and gave them the name of the *former prophets*. 2. In the second class they placed Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, with the twelve lesser prophets; all these they called the *latter prophets*. It is indeed amazing how Daniel came to be excluded from among the prophets, since there is no one book more *prophetical* in the whole Bible. Perhaps because it was not read in the *synagogue*, as being too hard to be understood by the people, it came by that means insensibly not to be placed among the prophets. However it be, by the *law* and the *prophets*, mentioned in the New Testament (*k*), we are to understand the five books of Moses, and the *prophetical writings* as here set down, though the Psalms seemed to be included in that division (*l*). The same ceremonies before and after the reading of the prophets were used, as at the reading of the *law*, except that there were some additional thanksgivings then repeated. The prophetical writings were not read over from one end to another; but such parts of them were picked out, as had a relation to what was read before out of the *law*. To read the prophets, there was a particular person appointed different from him that had read the *law*; and sometimes young men that were under age, were admitted to do it.

After the Hebrew *language* ceased to be the mother tongue of the Jews, the *holy scriptures* were from that time forward interpreted in their synagogues either in Greek or Chaldee; which afterwards gave rise to the Chaldee

(*i*) And that for this reason; because, says Maimonides, every thing that Daniel wrote, was not revealed to him when he was awake, and had the use of his reason, but in the night only, and in obscure dreams. Or, according to others, because he lived more like a courtier than a prophet. All these are certainly very insignificant arguments.

(*k*) Matth. v. 17. vii. 12. xi. 13. xxii. 40. Acts xxvi. 22.

(*l*) Luke xxiv. 25, 27, 44. This last verse runs according to the Jewish division of the holy scripture into three parts: *All things must be fulfilled which are written in the law, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, &c.* Where by the *psalms* is meant the third part called *Hagiographa*.

Chaldee *paraphrases* now extant (*m*). Some are of opinion, that this custom was established by Ezra; others, on the contrary, fix the beginning of it to the time of the Maccabees; which last is the most probable. This way of interpreting scripture was performed in the following manner: The *minister*, (or any other person that was appointed to read) read *one verse* in the *original* Hebrew, if it was out of the *law*; and three *verses* together, when it was out of the *prophets*; then stopt to let the *interpreter* speak; who standing near him, rendered the whole in the vulgar tongue (*n*). This *interpreter* was reckoned by the Jews less honourable than the *reader*, undoubtedly out of respect to the *original text*. And even very young persons were admitted to this office, where nothing was wanting but a good memory (*o*). Here we must observe, that there were several places of scripture which it was not lawful to interpret; as the incest of Reuben (*p*), of Thamar (*q*), and Ammon, the *blessing* which used to be given by the Priest (*r*); and the latter part of the history of the *golden calf* (*s*); which last was omitted for fear of creating in the people an ill opinion of Aaron. And this no doubt was the reason why Josephus hath made no mention at all of the *golden calf*. St. Paul in his first *epistle* to the Corinthians (*t*), alludes to this custom of *interpreting the scriptures* in the *synagogue*, as we have observed on that place. The reading of the prophets, according to the Rabbins, was closed with the Priest's blessing; after which the congregation was dismissed, unless some body was to preach.

The *afternoon service* consisted, 1. in singing the eighty-fourth *psalm*, from the fifth verse to the end, and all the hundred and forty-fifth. During which the *Sheliach Zibbor*, or *angel of the synagogue*, stood up, while all the people sat down. 2. In rehearsing the prayer *Cadisch*. 3. In saying first in a low voice, and afterwards aloud, one of the prayers that had been said in the morning, with several other prayers and thanksgivings. 4. They concluded the *service* with the prayer *Cadisch*. The *evening service* was almost the same.

One of the principal ceremonies performed in the synagogue was *circumcision*; though it was also done sometimes in private houses.

(*m*) Such are those of Onkelos, Jonathan, &c.

(*n*) Dr. Prideaux gives us the same account of this matter, *ubi supra*. But according to Lamy, the reader softly whispered in the interpreter's ears, what he said, and this interpreter repeated aloud what had been thus whispered to him.

(*o*) Dr. Prideaux is not of the same opinion,——for, saith he, “learning and skill in both languages (*Heb.* and *Chald.*) being requisite, when they found a man fit for that office, they retained him by a salary, and admitted him as a standing minister of the synagogue.” *Ibid*.

(*p*) Gen. xxxv. 22.

(*q*) xxxviii. 16.

(*r*) Num. vi. 23–26.

(*s*) Exod. xxxii. 21–25.

(*t*) 1 Cor. xiv.

Of Holy Persons.

HAVING dwelt longer upon the *holy places* of the Jews than was at first intended, we shall endeavour to be as concise as possible in other matters, without omitting however any one thing essential or necessary to our present design.

The kings of the Jews. We may very properly set the *kings* of the Jews at the head of those persons they reckoned *holy*. The commonwealth of Israel was at first a *theocracy*, that is, governed by God; he was the ruler of it in a more especial manner than of the rest of the universe (*a*). He had regulated the government thereof, given it laws, and prescribed what rewards and punishments should be dispensed therein. The *judges*, by whom it was governed for a considerable time, held their power and authority immediately from him. Now what can a king do more than this? The *ark of the covenant*, with the *cherubims* that stood over the *mercy seat*, were the throne of this glorious monarch. God therefore being the chief and immediate governor of the Israelites, whenever they committed idolatry, they not only offended against their maker and preserver, but also incurred the guilt of high treason, as acting against their lawful sovereign: which undoubtedly was the chief reason why their magistrates were ordered to punish every idolater with death. The Israelites perceiving Samuel was broken with age, and moreover being disgusted at the administration of his sons, had the boldness to require a king like other nations (*b*). Which request being granted them, their government became *monarchical* and even *absolute*: whereas before, under Moses and the Judges, it was limited. Saul, their first king, wore for the badges of his *regal authority* a *crown* or *diadem*, and a bracelet on his arm. We may frame some idea of these *royal ensigns* used by the kings of the Jews, from the insults of the soldiers over our Saviour Jesus Christ, when they treated him as a mock-king (*c*).

Though the administration of the Jewish government was in the hand of kings, yet God was looked upon as the supreme director of it, whilst the kingdom remained elective, as under Saul and David; but when it once became hereditary under Solomon, the government was entirely managed by the kings. Notwithstanding this alteration, God was still reckoned the king of Israel (*); for which reason Jerusalem was stiled *the city of the great king* (*d*). And the Jews, even when they were in subjection to their kings and the Roman *emperors*, valued themselves upon having had God for their king; and it was undoubtedly upon the account of this privilege they told Jesus Christ, that they

never

(a) Isaiah xlv. 6. Psalm lxxxiv. 4.

(b) 1 Sam. viii. & xii. chap.

(c) Matth. xxvii. 28, 29.

(*) Hosea xiii. 10. Zephaniah iii. 15.

(d) Matth. v. 35.

never were in bondage to any man (e). It was unlawful for them to chuse any one for their king, unless he was an Israelite, or, at least, an Idumæan, those being looked upon by the Jews as their brethren; and therefore the Herods, though Idumæans by extraction, were admitted to the regal dignity. But a woman was absolutely excluded from the throne. So that Athaliah's reign was a downright usurpation, and she was deservedly put to death for it. We find Aša commended in holy scripture for having removed Maachah his mother from being queen (f), when she had invaded the government. There is but one instance of a queen's reigning over Israel, viz. Alexandra the daughter of Jannæus; but she cannot so properly be said to have ruled as the Pharisees, to whom she left the whole administration of affairs.

Anointing was a ceremony that also accompanied the coronation of the kings of Israel (g), and therefore they are frequently named in scripture *the anointed* (h). What sort of oil was used on this occasion, is not agreed among the Rabbins. Some asserting that it was the *oil of holy ointment* (i), which was made for the anointing of the Priests. Others, on the contrary, maintaining that it was a particular kind of *holy oil* made on purpose (k). This ceremony was performed either by a *prophet*, or the *high-priest*. One may see at length in the *sacred writings* the several duties incumbent on the kings of Israel (l), and the abuses they made of their power. Among the duties prescribed to them, there is this very remarkable one, That as soon as they were settled upon the throne, they were to write with their own hand a copy of the book of the law, which they were to carry about with them, and read therein all the days of their life, that they might learn to fear the Lord (m), and have the divine laws constantly before their eyes, as models of those which they prescribed to their subjects. Hereby God gave them to understand, that they were not to look upon themselves as independent, and that their laws were subordinate to his; for when he appointed and set them up, he still reserved the supreme authority to himself.

The last thing we are to take notice of concerning the kings of Israel, is, That, according to the Rabbins, they were obliged to read publicly every seventh year at the feast of *tabernacles*, some passages out of Deuteronomy, in that part of the temple which was called the court of the women. This custom they ground upon Deuteronomy xxxi. 10—13. though there is no mention at all made of a king in that place.

There were three orders of *holy persons* that commonly ministered in the tabernacle, and afterwards in the temple, the *high-priest*, the *priests*, and the *Levites*. The *high-priest* was

(e) John viii. 33.

(f) 1 Kings xv. 13.

(g) 1 Sam. x. 1. xvi. 13. 1 Kings i. 34. xix. 16.

(h) 2 Sam. i. 14. 21. Psalm cv. 15. 1 Sam. xxiv. 6.

(i) Exod. xxx. 25.

(k) Psalm lxxxix. 20.

(l) Deut. xvii. 16—20. 1 Sam. viii. 11—17. See Maimonides Tract. Melakim.

(m) Deut. xvii. 19.

was otherwise called (*n*) the *priest* by way of eminence, and sometimes the *head* or *chief* of the *high-priests*, because the name of *high-priests* was given to the heads of the *sacerdotal* families or courses. He was the greatest person in the state next the king; and was not only above the rest of the *holy persons*, but was also deemed equal to the whole body of the people of Israel, because he represented it. His business was to perform the most sacred parts of the *divine service*, as will be shewn hereafter. He was likewise commonly president of the Sanhedrim; but it doth not seem to have been absolutely necessary that it should be a high-priest who should preside over that body, and whenever one was chose to fill up that post, a greater regard was had to his personal qualifications, than to his office. Though the high-priesthood was elective, yet it was annexed to the family of Aaron (*o*), who was the first that was invested with this dignity. From Aaron it descended to Eleazar his eldest son, and afterwards to Ithamar his second; after whose decease it returned again into the family of Eleazar by Zadock, and remained in it till the Babylonish captivity: Before which, as is commonly supposed, there were thirty *high-priests* successively, and from thence to the destruction of Jerusalem sixty, according to the computation of Josephus (*p*).

Under the *first temple* the high-priest was elected by the other *priests*, or else by an assembly partly consisting of priests. But under the *second temple* they were frequently chosen by the kings. According to the law, they had their office for life. But this custom was very ill observed, especially about the time of our Saviour's birth, when the dignity and authority of the high-priest dwindled almost to nothing; that is, when it came to be purchased for money, or given without discretion and judgment, according to the caprice of those that had the supreme power in their hands, or else to those that had the people on their side; by which means worthless men happened to be promoted to this honourable dignity, or else raw, unexperienced, and ignorant persons, and sometimes even those that were not of the sacerdotal race. While the tabernacle and first temple were standing, these four ceremonies were observed at the consecration of the high-priest. I. He was washed or purified with water (*q*). II. They put on him the priestly garments. Now besides those that he had in common with the rest of the priests, these *four* were peculiar to him. I. The *coat* or *robe* of the *ephod*, which was made of blue wool, and on the hem of which were seventy-two golden bells separated from one another by as many artificial *pomgranates*. 2. The *ephod*, which is called in Latin *superhumeralis*, because it was fastened upon the shoulders. This was like a waistcoat without sleeves, the hinder part of which reached down to the heels, and the fore part came only a little below the stomach. The ground of it was fine twisted linen, worked with gold and purple, after the Phrygian fashion (*r*). To each

(*n*) Exod. xxix. 30. Nehem. vii. 65.

(*o*) Numb. iii. 10.

(*p*) Joseph. Antiq. xx. 8.

(*q*) See Exod. xxix. where you have an account of the priest's consecration.

(*r*) The Phrygians are supposed to have been the first inventors of embroidery.

each of the (*) shoulder-straps of this *ephod*, was fastened a precious stone (an *onyx* or a *Sardonian*) in which were engraven the names of the *twelve tribes* of Israel (*s*). 3. The high-priest wore moreover upon his breast, a piece of cloth doubled, of a span square (*t*), which was termed the *breast-plate*, otherwise the *rationale* or *oracle*. It was wove and worked like the *ephod*, and in it were set in sockets of gold, *twelve precious stones*, which had the names of the *twelve patriarchs* engraven on them. The *Urim* and *Thummim* were also put in it. (The former of these words signifies *light*; and the latter *truth*, or *perfection*.) These were consulted upon important occasions, and especially in time of war (*u*). The learned are not agreed about the *form* or *figure* of them, nor about the *manner* in which the *oracle* or *answer* was given by God, when consulted by the high-priest, nor even whether the *Urim* and *Thummim* had different uses (*x*). There is no mention of this *oracle* in scripture, after the succession was settled on the family of David, and the *Theocracy* was ceased, because as some pretend, it was by this God revealed his will, and gave his orders to the Israelites, as their king (*y*). The *Urim* and *Thummim* did entirely cease under the *second temple*. 4. The fourth ornament peculiar to the high-priest, was a *plate of gold*, which he wore upon his forehead, which was tied upon the lower part of his *tiara* or *mitre*, with purple or blue ribbons. On it were engraved these two Hebrew words, *Kodesch lajehova*, that is, *Holiness to the Lord*, whereby was denoted the holiness belonging to the high-priest. This plate was also called the *crown* (*z*). All these clothes and ornaments the high-priest was obliged to have on, when he ministered in the temple, but at other times he wore the same clothes as the rest of the priests. And this according to some learned writers, was the reason why St. Paul knew not that Ananias was the high-priest, when he appeared before him in the Sanhedrim (*a*).

III. Another ceremony practised at the consecration of the high-priest, was, *anointing with oil* (*b*). The Rabbins tell us that the holy oil, which Moses had made by God's direction (*c*), having been lost during the *captivity*, they observed only the other ceremonies, without anointing the high-priest at all.

IV. The last ceremony performed at the consecration of the high-priest, was a *sacrifice*, of which a full account may be seen in Exodus (*d*), and Leviticus (*e*).

The

(*) Exod. xxviii. 6, 7. Joseph. Antiq. l. 3. chap. 8.

(s) In that on the right shoulder were the names of the six eldest, and in that on the left, those of the six youngest. Lamy, p. 161.

(t) Exod. xxviii. 15, &c.

(u) 1 Sam. xxviii. 6. xxx. 7, 8.

(x) Concerning the Urim and Thummim, See Dr. Prideaux Conn. P. I. Book III. under the year 534.

(y) This is the opinion of Dr. Spencer.

(z) Exod. xxix. 6. and xxxix. 30.

(a) Acts xxiii. 5.

(b) Exod. xxx. 30. &c. The oil was poured upon the priest's forehead, and this unction was made in the form of the letter X. Lamy, p. 160.

(c) Exod. xxx. 22, &c.

(d) Exod. xxix. 1, &c.

(e) Levit. viii. 14, &c.

The high-priest might execute the functions of the other priests whenever he pleased. Those that peculiarly belonged to him, were to make *expiation* for the people; and to ask counsel of God by the *urim* and *thummim*. This he did standing in the sanctuary with his priestly garments on, and his face turned towards the *ark*.

The high-priest being looked upon as the most *sacred* person in the whole land of Israel, nothing was omitted that could any way tend to procure him honour and respect. For, 1. as hath been already observed, *He was to be of the family of Aaron*, which this dignity was so firmly annexed to, and so strictly entailed upon, that all the rest of the Israelites, were as much excluded from it, as if they had been perfect strangers (*f*). The law was so very strict in this particular, that if any one out of another *tribe* presumed to execute the office of high-priest, he was put to death without mercy. 2. It was necessary that he should be of an honourable and creditable family, and also that he should himself be without blemish (*g*). And therefore the officers of the *sanhedrim* were very exact in enquiring into the *genealogy* of every high priest and examining his body (*h*). When they found any one unqualified, according to the law, they put on him a black garment, and a vail of the same colour, and excluded him from the *sanctuary*; whereas they gave a white garment to him that was found blameless, and every way duly qualified for it, and sent him back to minister among his brethren. Some allusion seems to be made to this custom in the Revelations of St. John. (*i*). 3. As of all the *legal* pollutions none was greater than that which was contracted by the touching of a dead body, the high-priest was consequently commanded not to be at the funeral even of his *own father* (*k*). And therefore he never broke off the *divine service* upon such an occasion, as the other priests were obliged to do, when being upon duty, they heard of the death of a near relation. Philo (*l*) expressly says, that the high-priest was to put off all natural affection, even for father and mother, for children, brothers, &c. whenever it came in competition with the service of God. Jesus Christ had undoubtedly an eye to these maxims, when he said to the multitudes that followed him, *If any man come to me, and hate not his father and mother, and wife and children, and brethren and sisters, he cannot be my disciple* (*m*). The high-priest was moreover forbidden to use those outward *marks of sorrow*, which were generally practised among the Jews, as uncovering the head, and rending one's clothes (*n*). But this prohibition must undoubtedly be restrained to the high-priest's garments (*o*), and the times of mourning; since we find in scripture (*p*), that on other occasions they were wont sometimes to rend their clothes, as when *blasphemy*, either real or pretended, was uttered in their presence. 4. The high-priest was ordered to abstain from wine and other strong liquors at the

time

(*f*) Num. iii. 10.(*g*) Levit. xxi. 18.(*h*) Ezra ii. 61, 62.(*i*) Revelat. iii. 4, 5. 18.(*k*) Levit. xxi. 11.(*l*) Philo de monarch. p. 639.* (*m*) Luke xiv. 26.(*n*) Levit. xxi. 10. The Jews were wont in time of affliction to uncover their heads, and put dust or ashes upon them.(*o*) Philo de monarch. p. 639.(*p*) Matth. xxvi. 65. Mark xiv. 63.

time of the celebration of *divine service* (q). The same injunction was also laid upon the rest of the priests. To these particulars, the Rabbins have added several others, which excluded men from the high-priesthood, but there is very little certainty in all they have advanced upon this head. 5. The high-priest was not allowed to marry a *widow*, or a *divorced woman*, or even a virgin, of whose virtue there was the least suspicion. According to Philo (r), she was to be of the sacerdotal race. As for the rest of the priests, they might marry widows, and women of other families (s). If the high-priest had contracted an unlawful marriage, he was obliged either to divorce his wife, or quit the priesthood. His whole family, in short, was to be of so inviolable a chastity, that if any one of his daughters prostituted herself, she was burnt alive.

When the high-priest had happened to pollute himself, before the celebration of *divine service*, there was a sort of a vicar, named *Sagan*, appointed to supply his place. We meet with some footsteps of such an officer as this, in Jeremiah lii. 4. He was also sometimes stiled *high-priest*, which gives some light to Luke iii. 2. where we find Annas and Caiaphas both honoured with that title. This *Sagan* had the precedence before all the other priests. He is thought to be the same as the *captain of the temple*, mentioned in the New Testament (t).

There were also among the priests, several degrees of distinction and subordination. 1. The *Thalmudists*, for Of the priests. instance, authorized by Deuter. xx. 2, 3. speak of a *priest of the camp*, otherwise called *the anointed for the wars*, whose business was to exhort the army to fight valiantly. Some place him above the *Sagan*. 2. The priests were also distinguished otherwise (u). There were usually two, called *Catholicks*, who were set apart to supply the *Sagan's* place, when there was occasion. Besides these, there were seven that kept the keys of the *court of the priests*. 4. Others had the super-intendency of times, places, officers, &c. Such a regulation as this, was absolutely necessary for the maintaining of order in a *service* of so great length, and so full of variety.

The common priests were of the family of Eleazar, and of Ithamar, the sons of Aaron. They were by David divided into four and twenty *courses*, or *families* (x); who performed the *divine service* weekly by turns, and according to their rank. That of Abia, mentioned Luke i. 5. was the eighth (y). But whereas at the return of the children of Israel, from the Babylonish captivity, no more than *four* of these *courses* could be found; Ezra therefore (z), either to keep up the institution of David, or to follow his example, divided those *four courses* into *twenty-four*. The offices which the *course* upon duty was to perform every day, were appointed to the priests by lot (a); but on the solemn feasts, several

(q) Lev. x. 9. See Philo de monarch. p. 637.

(r) Philo de monarch. p. 63c.

(s) Levit. xxi. 7. Joseph. Antiq. l. 3. 10.

(t) Acts v. 24. comp. with 2 Maccab. iii. 4.

(u) Nehem. xiii. 13.

(x) 1 Chron. xxiii. 6.

(y) 1 Chron. xxiv. 10.

(z) Ezra ii. 36—39.

(a) Luke i. 9.

courses joined in the service. Each *course* had its *father*, *head*, or *president*, who were also stiled *high-priests*; and this is the reason, why in the *gospel*, we find the *high-priests* so often mentioned.

The people of Israel were also divided into twenty-four *classes*, each of which had a *head*. One person out of each of these *classes*, was appointed to attend upon the *divine service* on the *solemn feasts*; and to be, as it were, the representatives of the whole nation, because all the people could not possibly be assembled in the *court*, nor be present at the *sacrifices*. These were called the *stationary men* (b).

The same precautions and ceremonies that were used in the choice of a high-priest, were also observed in the election of the common priests. We have already observed, the difference between their quality and habits, which were plainer than the high-priest's, except when he entered into the *Holy of Holies*. They might keep on their habits as long as they staid in the temple, even after sacrificing was over; excepting the *belt*, which they were not allowed by the law to wear, but only in time of *divine service*; because it was made of *linen and woollen* woven together (c).

The *functions* of the priests were of two sorts. Some were *daily* performed, and consisted in general, 1. In offering the morning and evening sacrifices (d). On the sabbath day they offered *three*. 2. In lighting the *lamps*. 3. In burning the incense. 4. In guarding the *temple*, properly so called. And 5. In sounding the *trumpet* at the stated hours. These offices were subdivided into several others, which were appointed unto the priests by lot, four times a day. The other functions belonging to the priests were not daily: they consisted, 1. In judging of the *leprosy*, (which was a distemper that seems to have been peculiar to the Jews) and of other *legal uncleannesses*. This last business was the most troublesome by far, because of the numberless rules and restrictions that were to be observed in it. They were not all indeed prescribed by the *law*; but yet some of them were of a very ancient date. It was undoubtedly upon their account, that St. Peter said (e), *The-law was a yoke, which neither they, nor their fathers, were able to bear*. 2. In judging also of the *things* and *persons* devoted to God, and to appoint the price of their redemption. 3. In making the woman that was suspected of *adultery* drink the bitter water (f). 4. In striking off the head of the *heifer* that was offered as an expiation for murder, the author of which was not known (g). 5. In setting the *show-bread* on the golden table every sabbath day, and in eating the stale loaves. 6. In burning the *red heifer* (h), the ashes of which being mixed with water, served to purify those that had defiled themselves by touching a dead body. To this, as some imagine, St. Paul alludes, when he speaks of those that

(b) See Cunnæus de Repub. Heb. l. ii. c. 12.

(c) Levit. xix. 19.

(d) The *morning sacrifice* was offered, as soon as the day began to break; and the *evening one* as soon as darkness began to overspread the earth. Lamy, p. 147.

(e) Acts xv. 10.

(f) Numb. v. 15, &c.

(g) Deut. xxi. 5.

(h) Numb. xix.

that are *baptized*, that is, *washed for, or because of the dead* (i). This mystical interpretation is agreeable to St. Paul's method. He, in another place (k) alludes to this ceremony, which was most commonly performed by the high-priest. 7. Lastly, the priest's business was to instruct the people, to bring up the children of the Levites, and to answer the doubts and scruples that might be raised about any part of the law.

The Levites were so named, because they were the posterity of Levi, one of the sons of Jacob. In point of dignity, they were of a middle rank, between the priests and the people. They were, properly speaking, the ministers and assistants of the priests, during the whole divine service (l). At first they were divided into three branches, according to the number of the sons of Levi; that is, the Gershonites, the Kohathites, and the Merarites (m). Their business at the time of their first institution, was to carry *the most holy place, the ark, the tabernacle*, with the boards and utensils belonging to it; they did not enter then upon their office, 'till they were thirty years old (n); but after the building of the temple, they were admitted to serve at the age of twenty (o). In process of time they were like the priests, divided into twenty-four classes, over every one of which was set a head or president; and each of these classes was again subdivided into seven others that were to attend every week upon the divine service by turns. King David assigned them other employments (p). To some he committed the care of the *treasury* and holy *vessels*. Some he made *door-keepers, musicians, &c.* And others were appointed *officers* and *judges*. After the building of the temple (q), they kept the several apartments of it; and their business was likewise to instruct the people. The manner of their consecration was as follows (r); after they had been purified with water, they were set apart for the service of God by imposition of hands; after which two young bullocks were sacrificed; the one for a sin-offering, and the other for a whole burnt-sacrifice. Their clothes were made of linen, but somewhat different from those of the priests. They had under them some persons called Nethinim, that is, *given*; because they were given to them as servants. Their business was to carry the water and food, and whatever else was wanted in the temple. The Gibeonites were at first employed in this drudgery (s); as a punishment for the cheat they put upon the children of Israel. These Nethinim were always to be strangers (t), and, according to the Rabbins, were never allowed to marry one of the daughters of the Hebrews.

The Levites had forty-eight cities assigned them (u); but thirteen of them belonged to the priests. The Jews tell us, that all these cities were so many *sanctuaries*, or places of refuge for those that happened to kill

(i) 1 Cor. xv. 29.

(k) Heb. ix. 13.

(l) Num. iv. 15. 1 Chron. xv. 2.

(m) Numb. iii. 17.

(n) Numb. iv. 3.

(o) Ezra iii. 8. 1 Chron. xxiii. 24. 27.

(p) Ibid. ver. 4. and 5. and xxvi. 20. 2 Chron. xix. 11.

(q) 2 Chron.

(r) Numb. viii. 6. 14.

(s) Josh. ix. 23.

(t) Deut. xxix. 11.

(u) Numb. xxxv. 2, 3, 4, 5. 14. Josh. xxi. 4.

kill any one unawares: However, we find but six appointed in scripture for that purpose (x). There was nothing certainly more becoming the wisdom of God than to chuse cities of refuge out of those that belonged to the *priests* and *Levites*, who were to be the dispensers of the divine mercy. This was very ill observed by the *priest* and *Levite*, of whom we read in the gospel (y); who were so far from being inclined to pity an unhappy person that might have chanced undesignedly to kill another, that they would not vouchsafe so much as the least assistance to a poor traveller, that had been beat and wounded by thieves to that degree, as to be left half dead (z). Besides, it would not have been at all proper, that a person guilty of murder, even unawares, should have fled into a city inhabited by common people, because this would have set an ill example; and some relation of the deceased might have been found there, who would have avenged his death. Moreover, the cities of the *Levites* being God's inheritance, they must consequently have been inviolable *sanctuaries*. The magistrates and officers belonging to the land of Israel, took a particular care to keep the roads that led to them very large, and in good repair; as free as possible from any ditch or rising ground that could any way retard the flight of the murderer. When he was come to any one of them, the judges proceeded to examine, whether the murder had been committed designedly, or not: If designedly, he was condemned to die; but if by chance, he remained in *sanctuary* till the death of the high-priest, when he was delivered. It appears from scripture, that before these cities had the privilege of *sanctuary*, the person guilty of manslaughter fled for refuge to the altar (a).

Of the Courts of Judicature among the Jews.

AS the *councils* or *courts* of the Jews (a) partly consisted of *priests* and *Levites*, the *judges* and officers belonging to them may therefore very properly be ranked among their *holy persons*, as upon the account of their office they actually were. It is not consistent with our present design, or intended brevity, to trace up the very first beginning and origin of these *courts*; we shall therefore give only such an account of them, as is necessary for the illustrating the New Testament. Neither shall we say any thing of the seventy *judges* appointed by Moses (b); nor even of the great *synagogue*, which consisted of an hundred and twenty persons, and was instituted, as the Jews pretend, by Ezra, for the restoring of the church and religion (c).

The

(x) Deut. iv. 41. Josh. xxi. 17.

(y) Luke x.

(z) Ver. 30.

(a) Exod. xxii. 14. 1 Kings ii. 28.

(a) Deut. xvii. 12. 2 Chron. xix. 8.

(b) Exod. xviii. 21, 22. Deut. xvi. 18.

(c) See Dr. Prideaux's connect. P. I. B. V. under the year 446.

The Jews had three *councils* or *courts of justice*: 1. The court of *twenty-three*. There was one of these in every city, which had an hundred and twenty inhabitants. They took cognizance of capital causes, excepting such as were to be tried by the *sanhedrim*. 2. The court of *three*, which was instituted in every place, where there were less than an hundred and twenty persons. This determined only common matters between man and man. There is no mention of either of these tribunals in the scripture, or Josephus. Lastly, they had the *great council* or *sanhedrim*, otherwise called the *house of judgment*.

There seems to be some traces of this last tribunal The Sanhedrim. in the book of Numbers (*d*), wherein it is said, that God appointed *seventy* elders to assist Moses in deciding controversies; and also in other places of holy scripture (*e*). But some learned authors are of opinion, that the tribunal of *elders*, mentioned in the several places here referred to, was not the same as afterwards took the name of *sanhedrim* (*f*), because there is not the least mention of it in the Old Testament on several occasions, wherein it must naturally have acted or interposed, had it been in being. Besides, the absolute authority which the kings of Israel took upon themselves, was inconsistent with that which the *sanhedrim* must have been invested with, as being the *supreme* tribunal of the nation. For these and other reasons, the fore-mentioned authors have thought proper to fix the beginning of it to the time when the Macca-bees or Asmonæans took upon themselves the administration of the government, under the title of *high-priests*, and afterwards of kings, that is ever since the persecution of Antiochus. However it be, it is certain that the *sanhedrim* was in being in our Saviour's time, since it is often spoke of in the *gospels* (*g*) and *Acts of the Apostles*, and since JESUS CHRIST himself was arraigned and condemned by it. It subsisted till the destruction of Jerusalem, but its authority was almost reduced to nothing, from the time that the Jewish nation became subject to the Roman Empire (*h*).

This assembly consisted of seventy-one or seventy-two persons, over whom were two *presidents*, the chief whereof was generally the high-priest; though it was not necessary he should always be so, as we have before observed. The other was a grave and sober person, of an illustrious family, that was named the *Ab*, or *father of the council*.

Most of the members of this assembly were *priests* and *Levites*; but any other Israelite might be admitted into it, provided he was of a good and honest family, and unblameable in his life and conversation. Their *manner of sitting* was in a semicircle. At the two extremities there were

two

(*d*) Num. xi. 16.

(*e*) Deut. xxvii. 1. xxxi. 9. Josh. xxiv. 1. 31. Judges ii. 7. 2 Chron. xix. 8. Ezek. viii. 11.

(*f*) The term *Sanhedrim*. was formed from the Greek συνέδριον, which signifies an assembly of people sitting.

(*g*) Matth. v. 21. Mark xiii. 9. xiv. 55. xv. 1.

(*h*) Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. 10. 17.

two *registrars*, who took down the votes. All matters of importance, whether *ecclesiastical* or *civil*, were brought before this tribunal; such, for instance, wherein a whole *tribe* was concerned; or those that related to war, to the priests, the prophets and teachers, and even to the kings. It is an opinion generally received among the Rabbins, that about forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, their nation had been deprived of the power of life and death. And the greatest part of authors, that have treated of these matters, do assert, that this privilege was taken from them ever since Judea was made a province of the Roman empire, that is, after the banishing of Archelaus. They ground their opinion on these words of the Jews to Pilate: *It is not lawful for us to put any man to death* (i). But whoever considers the state of the Jewish nation, and the authority of the *Sanhedrim* at that time, will find much reason to doubt, whether the Jews had then lost that *right*. So that another sense is to be put upon this passage, than what at first sight it seems to import, as is observed in the note on that place. 1. From these words of Pilate to the Jews, *Take ye him, and judge him according to your law* (k), it may justly be inferred, that *they* could dispose of the life of Jesus Christ, there being no manner of ground for supposing this saying of Pilate's to be an *irony*. 2. Pilate found himself at a loss how to pass sentence of death upon a person in whom *he* found *no fault at all*, especially with respect to the Romans; and that in a case he had no notion of. It was not the custom of the Romans to deprive any country of its ancient laws and privileges, when they reduced it to a *province*. And Josephus tells (l) us, that the Roman *senate* and *emperors* gave the Jews full liberty of enjoying their's, as before. If so, it is probable that they would have deprived them of one of the chiefest, the power of condemning a *blasphemer* or *transgressor* of the law to death? 3. There are some instances which undeniably prove, that the Jews had still the power of life and death. In the fifth chapter of the Acts we see their *great council* consulting how they might put the Apostles to death; and perhaps they would have put their wicked purposes in execution, had they not been dissuaded from it by Gamaliel (m). The stoning of St. Stephen was nothing like those riotous and disorderly proceedings, which the Jews were wont to call *judgments of zeal*, as some writers have imagined. All is done here in a regular and legal manner, though with a great deal of rage and fierceness. St. Stephen is brought before the *council* or *Sanhedrim* (*). False witnesses are set up to accuse him of blasphemy (n). He makes a long speech to vindicate himself (o); but not being after all thought innocent, he is condemned to be stoned, according to the law. And lastly, his execution is performed according to all the rules observed upon the like occasion. The witnesses, according to custom, cast the first stones at him, and lay their garments at Saul's feet (p). That the Jews had still power of life and death, is further

(i) John xviii. 31.

(k) John xviii. 31. See Bynæus de Morte Christi, l. 3.

(l) Joseph. contra Appion. p. 1065. Et de Bello Jud. l. ii. chap. 17.

(m) Acts v. 33. 34.

(*) Deut. xvii. 7.

(n) Acts vi. 11.

(o) Acts vii.

(p) Acts xxii. 20.

further evident from what St. Paul says before the *council* of the Jews (*q*), that he persecuted the Christians unto death, and had received letters from the *elders* (or *Sanhedrim*) to bring them which were at Damascus bound unto Jerusalem to be punished. We do not find that the Roman *magistrates* were wont to trouble themselves with causes of this nature: Pilate avoided, as much as possible, condemning Jesus CHRIST, and was brought to it at last purely out of fear of drawing upon himself the *emperors*'s displeasure, because the Jews made treason their pretence of accusing him. The same thing is manifest from what Tertullus the *orator* of the *Sanhedrim* alledged against St. Paul, before Felix, *procurator* of Judea (*r*). *We took Paul, saith he, and would have judged him according to our law. But the chief captain Lyfias came upon us, and with great violence took him away out of our hands.* Which that officer undoubtedly did, because to the charge of *blasphemy* and of profaning the *temple*, they joined that of *sedition*, upon which last account he made his appearance before Felix, Festus, and Agrippa. His appealing to the *emperor* is a farther proof that the *Sanhedrim* had the power of condemning him to death. We may pass the same judgment upon the motion Festus made to him of going to Jerusalem, there to be judged (*s*), because the *Sanhedrim* could not exercise their jurisdiction any where else. From all the particulars we may justly conclude, that the Jews had still the power of life and death; but that this privilege was confined to crimes committed against their *law*, and depended upon the governor's will and pleasure. Which is evident from the instance of the high-priest Ananus, who was deposed for having convened the *Sanhedrim*, and put St. James to death without the consent, and in the absence of Albinus, who succeeded Festus in the government of Judea (*t*).

The judges of Israel were wont formerly to meet at the door of the *tabernacle* (*u*). Afterwards an apartment adjoining to the *court* of the *priests* was set apart for that use (*). It was unlawful to judge capital causes out of that place. The Thalmudists relate, that about forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, i. e. about the thirtieth of Christ, the Jewish *Sanhedrim* removed from that place into another, which was close to the *Mount of the temple*. The reason they give for it, is, that there were then such vast swarms of thieves and murderers in Judea, that it was impossible to put them all to death; both because they were very numerous, and because they were often rescued out of the hands of justice by the people, or the Roman *governors*. So that the *Sanhedrim* thought fit to forsake *that place*, where the extreme iniquity of the times would not suffer them to inflict due punishments on criminals; fancying themselves no longer bound to administer justice, if they forsook the place that was appointed for it. And perhaps when the Jews told Pilate that it was *not lawful for them to put any man to death*, they meant only, either that their power was considerably lessened in this respect, the

(*q*) Ibid. ver. 4, 5.(*r*) Acts xxiv. 6, 7.(*s*) Acts xxv. 9.(*t*) Joseph. Antiq. l. xx. 8.(*u*) Numb. xi. 24.(*) It was called the chamber *Gazitb*, or of freestone.

the whole authority being lodged in the Roman *governors* (*w*); or else that they did not now assemble in the place set apart for taking cognizance of capital crimes. The *Sanhedrim* was afterwards removed into the city, and from thence to several places out of Jerusalem. These frequent removals reduced, by degrees, its power and authority to nothing.

Before the birth of our Saviour, two very famous Rabbins had been *presidents* of the *Sanhedrim*, viz. Hillel and Schammaï, who entertained very different notions upon several subjects, and particularly upon the point of *divorce*. This gave occasion to the question the *Pharisees* put to JESUS CHRIST upon that head (*x*). Before Schammaï, Hillel had Menahem for his associate in the presidency of the *Sanhedrim*. But the latter forsook afterwards that honourable post, to join himself, with a great number of his disciples, to the party of Herod Antipas, who promoted the levying of taxes, for the use of the Roman emperors, with all his might. These, in all probability, are the Herodians, of whom mention is made in the *gospel*, as we have observed on Matth. xxii. 16. To Hillel succeeded Simeon his son, who is supposed to have been the same as took JESUS CHRIST up in his arms (*y*), and publicly acknowledged him to be the Messiah. If so, the Jewish *Sanhedrim* had for *president* a person that was entirely disposed to embrace Christianity. Gamaliel, the son and successor of Simeon, seems also not to have been far from the kingdom of heaven (*z*).

Of the Jewish Prophets and Doctors.

Of the prophets. **T**HE business of the *prophets* was to reveal the will of God to mankind, to teach and reprove, to foretel things to come, and, upon occasion, to confirm religion and the prophecies they delivered, by miracles, which were termed *signs*, because they were plain and manifest proofs of their *divine mission*. Jews and Christians unanimously agree, that Malachi was the last of the *prophets* properly so called. It is observable, that so long as there were prophets among the Jews, there arose no *sects* or *heresies* among them, though they often fell into *idolatry*. The reason of it is, that the *prophets* learning God's will immediately from himself, there was no *medium*; the people must either obey the *prophets*, and receive their *interpretations* of the *law*, or no longer acknowledge that God who inspired them. But when the law of God came to be explained by weak and fallible men, who seldom agreed in their opinions, several *sects* and *religious parties* unavoidably sprung up.

We

(w) Jos. Ant. xviii. 1.

(y) Luke ii. 28.

(x) Matth. xix. 3.

(z) Acts v. 34, &c. xxii. 3.

We may trace the origin of these *doctors* back to the time of Ezra (*a*), who is himself called a *scribe*, which is a word of the same import as that of *doctor*. The term *scribe*, is indeed of a more extensive signification in *holy scripture*, because there were several sorts of *scribes*. We find for instance in Deuteronomy, according to the version of the *seventy*, some officers named *scribes* (*b*). But by this word are most commonly meant the Jewish doctors, and this is the sense which it generally bears in the New Testament. Hence JESUS CHRIST said of the *scribes* as well as of the *Pharisees*, that they sat in Moses's *chair* (*c*). It appears from the first book of Maccabees (*d*), that there was, in the time of its author, *a company of scribes*; and from the second, that there were several degrees of dignity and subordination among them (*e*). Such a regulation as this was necessary, after the gift of prophecy had ceased among them, because the *high-priests*, having the greatest share of the administration in their hands, could have no leisure or opportunity of applying themselves to explain the *law*, and instruct the people.

Of the scribes and doctors.

The names that were given these doctors, were at first very plain; for they were termed only *scribes* or *interpreters of the law*. But a little before our Saviour's time, they affected higher titles, as those of *Rabban*, and *Rabbi*, which, in their original signification, imply *greatness and multiplicity of learning*; and that of *Ab*, or *Abba*, i. e. *father*, which they were extremely fond of. The word *scribe* was the title of an office, and not of a sect (*f*). We learn indeed from the *gospel history*, that the greatest part of them sided with the *Pharisees*, and adhered to their opinions and tenets. But it is also probable, on the other hand, from several passages of the New Testament, that some of them were of the *sect* of the *Sadducees*.

The profession of the *scribes*, as they were *doctors*, was to write copies of the *law*, to keep it correct (*), and to read and explain it to the people. In doing this, they did not all follow the same method. For besides the *allegorists* or *searchers* before mentioned, some stuck to the *literal sense* of the *law*. These are supposed to have been the same as are termed in the gospel, *doctors of the law*, or *lawyers*, and seemed to be distinguished from the *Pharisees* and the rest of the *scribes*. But in this there is no certainty, and it is manifest on the contrary, from several passages of *scripture* (*g*), that the *doctors of the law* were the *scribes*, and even such of them as received the *traditions*, as the *Pharisees* and most *doctors* at that time were wont to do. Lastly, some made it their business to explain the *traditions*, which they called the *oral law* (*†*), that is, the law

(a) Ezra vii. 6.

(b) Deut. xx. 5, 9. γραμματεῖς.

(c) Matth. xxiii. 1. Mark xii. 38.

(d) 1 Macc. vii. 12.

(e) 2 Macc. vi. 18.

(f) Luke xi. 45. Acts xxiii. 9.

(*) This afterwards gave rise to the *Massorites*, that is, those that criticized upon the letter of scripture, upon the number of verses, words, letters, and points; concerning which, see Dr. Prideaux Connect.

(g) Luke v. 17. vii. 30. xiv. 3.

(†) This is what the Jews call the *Cabala*, i. e. the doctrine received by tradition.

law delivered by word of mouth; which, as they pretended, had been conveyed from Moses down to them from generation to generation by the tradition of the *elders*. They had a great regard for these *traditions*, looked upon them as the *key* of the *law*, and giving them the preference even to the law itself. Hence this blasphemous *maxim*: *The words of the scribes are more lovely than the words of the law of God*. But it is evident from the frequent reproaches which JESUS CHRIST made to the *scribes* and *Pharisees* upon this point, that under pretence of explaining the *law* by their *traditions*, they had actually made it of none effect (*b*). Which will be found undeniably true, by any one that will be at the pains of consulting the *Thalmud* (ii).

Of the Jewish Sects.

THE last article we have insisted upon, leads us naturally to give an account of the Jewish *sects*. The whole body of the Jewish nation may be divided into two general *sects*, the *Caraïtes* (*), and the *Rabbanists*. The *Caraïtes* are those that adhere to the *plain* and *literal* sense of *holy scripture*, rejecting all manner of traditions. They may properly be called *textuary*. The *Rabbanists*, otherwise called the *Cabalists*, or *Thalmudists*, are those that, on the contrary, own and receive the *oral* or *traditionary law*. As there is no express mention of the former in scripture, all that we know of them is from some of their writings, or from the *Thalmudists* their adversaries, or else from the relations of travellers. But if the name be not ancient, yet we may safely venture to affirm, that the thing itself is of a very long standing. There are authors that pretend to discover some footsteps of them in the gospel; but, as we have already observed, this is too groundless

dition. It consists of two parts, one of which contains the opinions, rites and ceremonies of the Jews; the other the mystical expositions of the law. This *Cabala* is of a very ancient date, and was the occasion of most of the heresies among Christians.

(*b*) Matth. xv. 2, 3, 6. Mark vii. 7, 8, 9.

(1) The *Thalmud* is a collection of the Jewish doctrines and traditions. There are two of them; that of Jerusalem, which was composed by Rabbi Judah, the son of Simeon, about the year of Christ 300, and that of Babylon published about the year 500. Each of them consists of two parts, one of which, called the *Mishnah*, is the text of the *Thalmud*, or traditions: and the other, named *Gemara*, is the supplement or comment upon them. See Dr. Prideaux Con. P. I. B. 5. under the year 446.

(*) The Hebrew word *Cara* signifies to read, and *Rabban* a doctor that receives the *traditionary law*. It is supposed that the founder of this sect was a Jew, called *Anan*, who lived about the middle of the eighth century. See Dupin. Hist. of the canon, &c. B. I. chap. x. sect. 4.

groundless and uncertain to be relied on. To reconcile the different opinions of the *learned* upon this head, the *scribes* or Jewish *doctors* may very fitly be divided into two *classes*, namely, such as owned and received the traditions, and sided with the *Pharisees*; and those that adhered to the *sacred* text, and were afterwards called *Caraites*. As these were not distinct from the body of the Jewish nation, or the assembly of the doctors, it is no great wonder that they should not be mentioned in the New Testament under the name of any particular *sect*. Besides, as they did not corrupt and alter the law of God by their traditions, as the *scribes* and *Pharisees* did; JESUS CHRIST had therefore no occasion of mentioning them. When their adversaries, the followers of *oral traditions*, in order to represent them as odious as possible, confound them with the *Sadducees*, do they not in effect own that their antiquity is very great? In Origen (*i*), and Eusebius (*k*), we find the Jewish *doctors* divided in two classes, one of which adhered to the *text* and *letter* of the *law*, and the other received the *traditions* of the *elders*. It is then very probable that the *Caraites* and *traditionary scribes* are both of the same antiquity, and that their disputes begun, when *traditions* came in vogue, that is, about a hundred years before the birth of Christ. The *Caraites* disagreed with the rest of the Jews in some particulars, as in the keeping the *sabbath*, of the *new moons*, and other *festivals*; but the main difference between them consisted in these particulars: 1. In that, as hath been already observed, they entirely rejected all *traditions* in general, and stuck to the text of *scripture*, that is, to the *canonical* books of the Old Testament, explained in a *literal* sense. 2. In that they thought *scripture* ought to be explained by itself, and by comparing one passage with another, without having recourse to the *Cabala*, or *traditions*. 3. They received the interpretations of the *doctors*, provided they were agreeable to the *sacred writings*; but withal, left every one at liberty to examine those explanations, and either to embrace or reject them, as he thought fit. The charge of *saducism*, which hath been brought by the Jews against the *Caraites*, is entirely groundless, since it is evident from their writings, that they believed the *immortality of the soul*, and the *resurrection*. There are still at this day great numbers of *Caraites* dispersed in several parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

The most ancient *sect* among the Jews, was that of the *Sadducees*. Of the *Sadducees*. the *Sadducees*; so named from Sadoc, the founder of it, who lived above two hundred years before JESUS CHRIST (*l*). What the main points and most essential branches of their doctrine were, is evident from *scripture*, wherein we are told, that they did not believe *there is any resurrection, neither angel nor spirit* (*m*). The Jews imagine that Sadoc fell into these errors, by misapplying the instructions of Antigonus his master, who taught, that men ought to practise virtue disinterestedly, and

(i) Origen in Matth. p. 218. Ed. Hol.

(k) Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 8. c. 10.

(l) Dr. Prideaux places the rise of this sect, *An.* 263. before Christ. See Con. P. II. *Anno* 263.

(m) Acts xxiii. 8. Matth. xxii. 23. Mark xii. 18. Luke xx. 27.

and without any view to a reward. Josephus asserts (*n*), that they denied the *immortality of the soul*; but he ascribes to them several other opinions, which there is no mention of in the *sacred writings*: as, “that they did not allow of any *fatality* at all in what case soever; but maintained, that every man has it in his own power to make his condition “better or worse, according as he takes right or wrong measures.” Which hath given some persons occasion to believe, that they denied a *providence*, but this hath been advanced without any solid proof; for as they professed to follow the law, they could not well entertain such an impious notion, even though they had received only the *five books of Moses*, as some authors have asserted, without any good grounds. Josephus relates indeed that they rejected all *traditions*, and were persuaded that only the written law was authoritative and binding; but he doth not say that they rejected the *prophets*, and the other *canonical books of Scripture*. What hath given rise to this opinion, is, that JESUS CHRIST cites a passage out of Exodus to prove the *resurrection* to the *Sadducees* (*o*), instead of chusing some others which occur in other parts of scripture, and seem to contain more express and positive arguments for that truth. But this cannot be reckoned any manner of proof, because JESUS CHRIST may have had particular reasons for pitching upon that place, rather than any other. All that can be inferred from it, is, that though the *Sadducees* rejected the *traditions* of the *Pharisees*, they notwithstanding allowed of the *mystical* interpretations of *scripture*, since otherwise they could not have apprehended the force of JESUS CHRIST’s argument, which cannot well admit of any other sense than a *mystical* one. Perhaps not being used to this way of arguing, they were put to silence by it (*p*). However it be, we may from hence learn how great was the hatred of the *Pharisees* against the *Sadducees*, since they immediately took council against JESUS CHRIST, how they might put him to death, because he had silenced and convinced the latter, as if they had envied them for the knowledge of an *article*, which they themselves acknowledged and received. Another reason may be assigned for this consultation, which is, that the *Sadducees* being highly in favour with the great and powerful, as Josephus assures us (*q*), the *Pharisees* were afraid these should join with the people, who admired the doctrine of JESUS CHRIST.

If we may believe the same *historian*, the *Sadducees* were extremely harsh and ill natured (*r*). But as he was a *Pharisee*, we cannot safely rely on the account he gives of the *Sadducees*; and perhaps what may be inferred from this roughness of theirs, which he charges them with, is, that they were stricter in point of *morality* than the *Pharisees*, whose religion consisted in mere outside. And indeed we do not find that JESUS CHRIST ever upbraided them upon this account, for he only tells them they erred, not knowing the *scriptures*, whereas he treats the *Pharisees* with the utmost severity. Several reasons may be assigned for

(*n*) Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 9. 18. xviii. 2.

(*o*) Matt. xxii. 32.

(*p*) Ibid. ver. 34.

(*q*) Jos. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18.

(*r*) Id. de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 18.

for this different deportment of our Saviour towards those two *sects*.
 1. There is this difference between error and vice, that error is only in the understanding, and often involuntary; whereas vice is in the will, and proceeds from a corrupt heart. 2. Of all vices, there are none of a more pernicious consequence, or more difficult to root up, than those which the *Pharisees* were infected with. *Pride* is the bane of all religion and piety; and *hypocrisy* is one of the most dangerous kinds of *Atheism*. 3. The *Sadducees* were exact observers of the law, whereas the *Pharisees* adulterated it by their traditions. So that the doctrine of the *Pharisees*, was only a set of impious notions, concealed under a shew and specious pretence of religion. The acknowledging of a resurrection, and the immortality of the soul, was indeed a great step towards the conversion of the *Pharisees* to *Christianity*: But then, on the other hand, their traditions and vices were much greater obstacles to their embracing that blessed religion, than the errors of the *Sadducees* could be. And these errors were not reckoned very dangerous among the Jews, since the *Sadducees* were admitted to all places of trust and profit, and performed the *divine service* in the temple, as well as the rest. The high-priest Caiaphas was of that *sect* (*s*), as well as Ananus, who, according to Josephus, caused St. James to be put to death (*t*). It is certain, that in the time of JESUS CHRIST the *Sadducees* were very numerous, and made a considerable figure (*u*). But after the establishment of the gospel, and especially since the resurrection of JESUS CHRIST, the error of the *Sadducees* was reckoned of a very pernicious consequence; for which reason St. Paul reproves so sharply Hymeneus and Philetus for denying the resurrection (*x*), and insists largely on the proof of it, as of a fundamental article of the *Christian religion* (*y*).

It is supposed, with a great deal of probability, that the *Herodians*, of whom we find mention in the *gospel* (*z*), differed but little from the *Sadducees*. Accordingly, St. Mark (*a*) seems to call that *the leaven of Herod*, which JESUS CHRIST stiles *the leaven of the Sadducees* (*b*), because the greatest part of them were of Herod's side. There are some who imagine, that it was a sect which professed to believe that Herod was the Messiah. But this is very uncertain and improbable. What may most safely be depended upon, is, that the *Herodians* in general were a set of people that were great sticklers for Herod, who like the generality of the *grandees*, was a *Sadducee*, and which consequently were in a different interest from that of the *Pharisees*. These last notwithstanding joined with the *Herodians*, when they wanted to ensnare JESUS CHRIST. Josephus speaks of Jews, that were friends and favourers of Herod (*c*).

The *Pharisees* were so called from a Hebrew Word (*d*) that signifies *separated*, or *set apart*, because they pretended to a greater degree of holiness and piety than the rest of the

Of the *Herodians*.

Of the *Pharisees*.

Jews,

(*s*) Acts v. 17.

(*t*) Jos. Antiq. l. xx. c. 8.

(*u*) Matth. xxii. 15. Mark iii. 6.

(*x*) 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.

(*y*) 1 Cor. xv.

(*z*) Mark xii. 13.

(*a*) Mark viii. 15.

(*b*) Matth. xvi. 6.

(*c*) Jos. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 28.

(*d*) *Pharais*, to separate.

Jews, but accompanied with a great deal of affectation, and abundance of vain observances. St. Paul, who had been of this sect, seems to allude to their affected holiness, when he said he was *separated unto the gospel of Christ* (e), because *separated* signifies the same thing as *sanctified*, or *set apart*. It is no easy matter to trace out the first beginning and origin of this sect. As the *Pharisees* were great lovers of *traditions*, it is very probable that they began to appear when *traditions* came to have the preference above the law of God, that is, about a hundred years before the birth of CHRIST. Though Josephus often speaks of them in his *history*, yet he no where mentions them before that time (f). The *holy scripture* testifies, that they believed the *resurrection*, as also the existence of *angels and spirits* (g). From the account Josephus gives of them (h), it seems probable that they had fetched their opinions concerning those matters not so much out of the *sacred writings*, as out of the *philosophy* of Pythagoras or Plato, since they believed a *transmigration* of the souls of good men in other bodies, which is a kind of *resurrection* (i). They ascribed most events to *fate*, whereby they meant the will and pleasure of God; but they supposed withal, that every man was at liberty to do good or evil. As they thought *works* to be meritorious, they had invented a great number of *supererogatory* ones, to which they affixed a greater merit, than to the observance of the law itself. St. Paul had undoubtedly an eye to them in some parts of his Epistle to the Romans, as we have observed in our *preface*. Josephus gives only a general account of their traditions and tenets. But according to the representation given of them by JESUS CHRIST (k), they may be reduced to these several heads. 1. Their frequent washings and scrupulous ablutions. It is certainly very common and decent to wash ones hands before meals: But the *Pharisees* made a religious duty of this, and looked upon the omission of it as a capital crime. 2. They made long prayers in public places (l), thereby to attract the esteem and veneration of the people. 3. They thought themselves defiled, if they touched or conversed with those whom they called *sinners* (m), that is, the *publicans*, and persons of loose and irregular lives. Every pious man ought indeed to detest and abhor vice and wickedness, and every *christian* in particular should avoid as much as possible all communication with sinners. But what JESUS CHRIST reproved the *Pharisees* for, was their haughty and arrogant behaviour towards the common sort of people (n), whom they looked upon with a kind of horror; and the too high opinion they entertained of their own wisdom and holiness. The prophet Isaiah had beforehand given the true character of these men (o). 4. They were wont to fast often. It cannot be denied but that *fasting* is very helpful and subservient to the ends of religion, and acceptable to God, when it proceeds from a truly penitent heart. But the *Pharisees* lost the whole

(e) Rom. i. 1.

(f) Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9.

(g) Acts xxiii. 8.

(h) Jos. de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 7.

(i) Id. ibid. & Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9.

(k) Matt. xv. 2. Mark vii. 3, 4, 5. Luke xi. 38.

(l) Matt. vi. 5, &c.

(m) Luke vii. 39. & xv. 1, &c.

(n) John vii. 49. See our note on this place.

(o) Is. lxv. 5.

whole benefit of it by their vanity and ostentation, and altered the very nature of fasting, by taking for religion what is only a help towards the performance of it. Just as if a child should value himself upon his being forced to be carried about; or, an old man, that he cannot walk without a staff. 5. They were scrupulously exact in paying tithe of the least things, and beyond what the law required. JESUS CHRIST does not blame them (*p*) for paying tithes in general, for the law required it; but for imagining that they could thereby atone for the omission and transgression of the most essential duties. 6. They were so strict observers of the *Sabbath*, as to think it unlawful for any one to rub ears of corn (*q*), or to heal a sick person. 7. They wore broader *phylacteries*, and larger fringes to their garments, than the rest of the Jews (*r*). These *phylacteries* (*) were long and narrow pieces of parchment, whereon were written thirty passages out of Exodus and Deuteronomy, which they tied to their *foreheads* and *left-arms* in memory of the law. Some authors infer from Exod. xiii. 9. and Deut. vi. 8. that they were of divine institution. But these passages may be taken in a *figurative* sense, as they are by the Caraites, who wear no *phylacteries* at all. However, in JESUS CHRIST's time, they were worn by the generality of the Jews, as well by the *Sadducees*, who received only the law, as by the *Pharisees*; with this difference, that the latter had them larger than the rest, thereby to give the people a greater idea of their holiness and piety. Such a specious shew of religion had gained them, to that degree, the esteem and veneration of the people, that they could do with them whatever they pleased, though they held them in the utmost contempt, as hath been already observed.

This vast respect which the common people entertained for the *Pharisees*, made the nobility keep fair with them (*s*). Thus beloved by the people, and dreaded by the grandees, they had a great power and authority; but it was generally attended with pernicious consequences, because their heart was very corrupted and vicious. We may judge of their character by the frequent *anathemas* which JESUS CHRIST denounced against them, and the descriptions he hath given of their morals. He represents them as monsters of *pride*; as *hypocrites*, who under a fair outside of religion, had minds tainted with the blackest vices; as *impious* wretches, who rendered the word of God of none effect by

(*p*) Matt. xxiii.

(*q*) Matt. xii. 2. Luke vi. 7.

(*r*) Matth. xxiii. 5.

(*) *Phylactery* is a Greek word, that signifies a *memorial* or *preservative*. It was a kind of *Amulet*, or charm. The Hebrew name for *phylacteries* is *tephillim*, which signifies *Prayers*, because the Jews wear them chiefly when they are at prayers. The *phylacteries* are parchment cases, formed with great nicety into their proper shapes; they are covered with leather, and stand erect upon square bottoms. That for the head has four cavities, into each of which is put one of the four following sections of the law, *viz.* Exod. xiii. 1—10. Exod. xiii. 11—16. Deut. vi. 4—9. Deut. xi. 12. 13. The other hath but one cavity, and into that four sections are also put. See Lamy's Introduction to the Script. p. 238.

(*s*) Jos. Antiq. l. xiii. 23.

by their traditions. It is however probable, that such heavy censures reached only the greatest part of them, and that *all* the *Pharisees* were not of so odious a character. Bating the timorousness of Nicodemus (*t*), we observe in his whole behaviour and conduct a great deal of goodness and honesty. We may pass the same judgment upon Gamaliel. If Saul persecuted the *church of Christ*, he did it out of a blind zeal; but without insisting upon the testimony he bears of himself, it is manifest from the extraordinary favour of God towards him, that he was not tainted with the other vices common to that *sect*. What he says of it, that it was the *strictest of all*, cannot admit of any other than a favourable construction.

The third *sect* among the Jews, was that of the *Essenes*. Of the *Essenes*. These are nowhere mentioned in *scripture*, because they lived in deserts, and seldom resided in cities (*). It is notwithstanding worth while to give some account of them, because of the great conformity of some of their maxims with those of the Christian religion. They have been confounded with the *Rechabites*; but very wrongly, since *these* were of a much longer standing. Besides, they were not originally Jews: but the posterity of Rechab, one of the descendants of Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, and a Midianite. It was the name of a *family*, and not of a *sect*. It is true that the *Rechabites* led a very uncommon kind of life, prescribed them by Jonadab their father, the son of Rechab, as we read in the prophet Jeremiah (*u*). They drunk no wine, they built no houses, but lived in tents; they neither sowed seed, nor planted vineyards; but still they were no *Sectarists*. They may properly enough be compared with the *Nazarites*, (of whom we intend to give an account hereafter) but with this difference, that the vow of the *Nazarites* was of *divine* institution, whereas that of the *Rechabites* was a *human* appointment, but approved of by God. As for the *Essenes*, they all along made a *sect* among the Jews, as we are assured by two credible authors, *viz.* Philo (*x*) and Josephus (*y*), who have given an exact and pretty uniform description of them. It is supposed, with a good deal of probability, that this *sect* began during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, when great numbers of Jews were driven into the wilderness, where they inured themselves to a hard and laborious way of living. There were two sorts of them; some lived in society, and married, though with a great deal of wariness and circumspection. They dwelt in cities, and applied themselves to husbandry, and other innocent trades and occupations. These were called *practical*. The others, which were a kind of *Hermits* or *Monks*, according to the primary and original signification of that word (*z*), gave themselves up wholly to meditation. These were the *contemplative Essenes*, otherwise called *Therapeutæ*,

(*t*) John iii.

(*) Philo nevertheless says that there were about four thousand in Judea. Phil. p. 678.

(*u*) Jer. xxxv. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. See also 1 Chron. ii. 55.

(*x*) Philo ubi supra.

(*y*) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 7.

(*z*) *Monk*, or μοναχός, originally signifies a person that lives a solitary and retired life.

Therapæuta, that is *physicians*, not so much upon the account of their studying *physic*, as of applying themselves chiefly to the cure and health of the soul. It was to preserve it from the contagion of vice, that they avoided living in great towns, because the noise and hurry that reigns in such places, were inconsistent with that sedateness which they were so fond of, and that besides they were hereby less exposed to temptations. It doth not appear that they had any *traditions*, like the *Pharisees*, but as they were *Allegorists*, they had several *mystical books*, which served them for a rule in explaining the sacred writings, all which they acknowledged and received. Both these sorts of *Essenes* followed the same maxims. They drank no wine; and were eminent for their frugality and continence. All kinds of pleasure they were perfect strangers to. They used a plain simplicity in their discourse, and left to *philosophers* the glory of disputing and talking eloquently. Commerce they did not meddle with, imagining that it is apt to make people covetous. There was no such thing as *property* among them, but they had all things in common; and whenever any one was admitted into their society, he was forced to give up his goods, for the use of the community. As they were charitable one towards another, and hospitable to strangers, want and indigence were things they knew nothing of. All such arts as were destructive of mankind, or hurtful to the public, were banished from among them. They reckoned war unlawful, accordingly they had no workmen that made any sorts of arms. However, when they travelled, they carried about them a sword to secure themselves against the thieves and robbers, that were then very numerous in Judea. They never took any thing with them, because they were sure of finding all necessaries wherever they came. There was among them neither masters nor slaves. All were free, and served one another. There was notwithstanding a great deal of order and subordination between them. The *elders* especially were very much respected, and the *disciples* had a great veneration for their *masters*. They never swore, at least without mature deliberation, because they had an extreme aversion for a lye; and their *word* was more sacred than the oath of any other. However, when they admitted any person into their number, they made him “bind himself by solemn execrations and
“professions, to love and worship God (*a*), to do justice toward men,
“to wrong no one, though commanded to do it; to declare himself an
“enemy to all wicked men, to join with all the lovers of right and
“equity; to keep faith with all men, but with princes especially, as
“they are of God’s appointment, and his ministers. He is likewise to
“declare, that if ever he comes to be advanced above his companions,
“he will never abuse that power to the injury of his inferiors, nor distinguish himself from those below him, by an ornament of dress or
“apparel: But that he will love and embrace the truth, and severely
“reprove all lyars.” “He binds himself likewise to keep his hands
“clear from theft and fraudulent dealing, and his soul untainted with
“the desire of unjust gain: That he will not conceal from his fellow-
“professors

(a) Jos. de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 7.

“ professors any of the mysteries of religion ; nor communicate any of
 “ them to the prophane, though it should be to save his life. And
 “ then for the matter of his doctrine, that he shall deliver nothing but
 “ what he hath received : ‘ That he will endeavour to preserve the doc-
 “ trine itself that he professes ; the books that are written of it ; and the
 “ names of those from whom he had it. These protestations are used
 “ as a test for new comers, and a security to keep them fast to their
 “ duty. Upon the taking of any man in a notorious wickedness, he
 “ is excluded the congregation : And whoever incurs this sentence,
 “ comes probably to a miserable end. For he that is tied up by these
 “ rites, is not allowed so much as to receive a bit of bread from the
 “ hand of a stranger, though his life itself were in hazard : So that men
 “ are driven to graze like beasts, until they are consumed with hunger.
 “ In this distress, the society hath sometimes had the charity and com-
 “ passion to receive some of them again.” I have set down this
 passage all at length. 1. Because the oath which the *Essenes* exacted of
 those whom they admitted into their order, was nearly the same as that,
 which, according to Pliny (*), the *primitive Christians* were used to bind
 themselves with. 2. It appears from thence, that the *Essenes* were
 not so eager to gain *profelytes* as the *Pharisees*. This Philo testifies.
 Their *moralty* was both pure and sound ; and they reduced it to these
 three particulars : 1. To love God ; 2. *Virtue* ; and 3. *Mankind*. Reli-
 gion they made to consist, not in offering up sacrifices, but according
 to St. Paul’s advice (b), in presenting their bodies as a holy sacrifice to
 God, by a due performance of all religious duties. It is notwithstanding
 somewhat surprising, that Jews who professed to follow the law of
 Moses, which punished with death all those that presumed to speak ill of
 the *legislator*, and who besides were stricter observers of the *sabbath* than
 the rest, should omit so essential a part of worship, as *sacrificing* was.
 And therefore Josephus says, “ that they sent their gifts to the temple,
 “ without going thither themselves ; for they offered their sacrifices
 “ apart, in a *peculiar* way of worship, and with more *religious ceremo-*
 “ *nies* (c).” Those two authors (d) have very much cried up the ex-
 treme firmness of mind, which the *Essenes* have shewed upon several oc-
 casions, as under distresses and persecutions, suffering death, and the
 most grievous torments, even with joy and cheerfulness, rather than say
 or do any thing contrary to the law of God. Such being the disposi-
 tions of the *Essenes*, they could not but be inclined to embrace Christia-
 nity ; but they must not be confounded with the Christians, as they *have*
 been by Eusebius (e), since it may easily be made appear, that when Philo
 gave an account of them, there were hardly any Christians in the world.
 This sect was not unknown to the heathens. Pliny (f), and Solinus (g),
 speak of it, but in so very fabulous and obscure a manner, as plainly
 shews

(*) Plin. Epist. l. x. Ep. 97.—Seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent.

(b) Rom. xii. 1.

(c) Joseph. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 2.

(d) Viz. Philo and Josephus.

(e) Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 17.

(f) Plin. l. v. c. 17.

(g) Solinus, p. 65.

shews that they had no true notion of them. Thus much is certain, that there was a great conformity between the Essenes and Pythagoreans; as there was between the Sadducees and Epicureans; and the Pharisees and Stoicks (*).

There is frequent mention of Profelytes in the New Testament, and therefore it will be proper to add here a word or two about them. They were heathens that embraced the Jewish Religion, either in whole, or in part, for there were two sorts of them. Some were called the *profelytes of habitation*, or *of the gate*, because they were allowed an habitation among the children of Israel, and were permitted to live within their gates. These were not obliged to receive or observe the ceremonial law, but only to forsake idolatry, and to observe the *seven precepts*, which, as the Thalmudists pretend, God gave to Adam, and afterwards to Noah, who transmitted them to posterity. The 1st of those *precepts* forbids *idolatry*, and the worshipping of the *stars* in particular. The 2d recommends the *fear of God*. The 3d forbids *murder*. The 4th *adultery*. The 5th *theft*. The 6th enjoins respect and veneration for *magistrates*; and the 7th condemns eating of *flesh with the blood*. This last, the Rabbins tell us, was added after God had permitted Noah to eat the flesh of animals. Of this kind of profelytes are supposed to have been Naaman the Syrian, the eunuch belonging to Candace queen of Ethiopia, Cornelius, Nicholas of Antioch, and several others mentioned in the Acts. These profelytes were not looked upon as Jews, and therefore it doth not appear that there was any ceremony performed at their admission. Maimonides expressly says, that they were not baptized.

The other profelytes were called *profelytes of the covenant*, because they were received into the covenant of God by circumcision, which was named the *blood of the covenant*, because, according to St. Paul (b), men by it were bound to observe the ceremonial law. They were otherwise called *profelytes of righteousness*, on account of their acknowledging and observing the whole ceremonial law, to which the Jews and the Pharisees in particular, attributed the cause of our being accounted righteous before God, as we have observed in our preface and notes on St. Paul's epistle to the Romans. The profelytes were also stiled *the drawn*, to which JESUS CHRIST undoubtedly alluded when he said (i), *No man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him*; meaning thereby that his disciples were drawn by quite other bands or motives than were those of the Pharisees. There were three ceremonies performed at their admission: the first was circumcision; the second was baptism, which was done by dipping the whole body of the profelyte in water (k).

The origin of the ceremony of baptism is intirely unknown, because it is not spoken of in scripture, when mention is made of those strangers, which embraced the Jewish religion (l); nor in Josephus (m), when he relates

* For a full and particular account of each of these sects, See Dr. *Pri-
deaux*, Con. Part II. B. v. under the year 107.

(b) Gal. v. 3.

(i) John vi. 44.

(k) Maim. de profelyt.

(l) Exod. xii. 48.

(m) Jos. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

relates how Hyrcanus obliged the Idumeans to turn Jews. The Rabbins will have it to be of a very ancient date. Some of them carry it up as high as the time of Moses. And St. Paul seems to have been of the same opinion, when he saith that the "Israelites were baptized unto Moses (*n*).” But after all, as the children of Israel were not proselytes, though they had been guilty of idolatry in Egypt, the words of St. Paul cannot admit of any other than a figurative sense. The baptism of proselytes may then very properly be said to have owed its rise to the Pharisees, who had very much augmented the number of purifications and washings. It is manifest from the gospel, that it was usual among the Jews, to admit men to the profession of a doctrine by baptism. For the Pharisees do not find fault with John's baptism, but only blame him for baptizing when he was neither the Messiah, nor Elias, nor that prophet. When therefore this fore-runner of the Messiah baptized such persons as he disposed and prepared to receive him, he did no more than practise a thing that was common among the Jews, but his baptism was consecrated and authorized by a voice from heaven (*o*).

The proselytes were baptized in the presence of three persons of distinction, who stood as witnesses. To this *Jesus Christ* seems to allude, when he ordered his disciples to "baptize in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" and St. John, when he speaks of the three witnesses of the Christian religion (*p*). The proselyte was asked, whether he did not embrace that religion upon some worldly view; whether he was fully resolved to keep and observe the commandments of God; and whether he repented of his past life and actions? John the Baptist did exactly the same to the Pharisees and Sadducees that came to his baptism (*q*). Maimonides relates, that the miseries and persecutions which the Jewish nation was then exposed to, were also represented to the proselyte, that he might not rashly embrace their religion. *Jesus Christ* dealt almost in the same manner with the scribe, who was willing to become his disciple (*r*). When the proselyte had answered all the questions that were put to him, he was instructed in the principal articles and duties of religion, and the rewards and punishments annexed to the breach or observance of them in the world to come, that is, eternal life and death. It is evident from the question which the young man in the gospel put to *Jesus Christ* (*s*), "Lord, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?" that this truth was already acknowledged and received among the Jews. It is upon the account of these instructions that were given to proselytes before their being baptized, that the word baptism is sometimes taken in scripture for the instructions themselves, and that to baptize in some places signifies to teach, or make disciples. For this very reason undoubtedly it was, that baptism is by some ancient writers stiled *enlightning*.

The third ceremony performed at the admission of a proselyte, was a sacrifice, which generally consisted of two turtle-doves, and two young pigeons.

(*n*) 1 Cor. x. 1.

(*o*) John i. 33.

(*p*) 1 John v. 8.

(*q*) Matth. iii. 7—10.

(*r*) Matth. viii. 20.

(*s*) Luke xviii. 18.

pigeons. When the proselyte had gone through all these ceremonies, he was looked upon as a new-born infant; he received a new name, and no longer owned any relations in the world. To this there are frequent allusions in the New Testament (*t*). Such a proselyte was thenceforward reckoned a Jew, from whence it appears, that when we find in the Acts the Jews distinguished from the proselytes (*u*), it is to be understood of the proselytes of the gate, and not of those of righteousness. But though they were looked upon as Jews, yet it is manifest from the thalmudical writings, that they were admitted to no office, and were treated with great contempt. Which was a most inexcusable piece of injustice, especially from the Pharisees, who being extremely zealous in making proselytes (*x*), ought in all reason to have dealt gently and kindly with them, for fear of creating in them an aversion to their religion.

Of the Holy Things.

THE oblations and sacrifices of the Jews, deserve to be set at the head of their holy things. It is evident from the offerings of Cain and Abel, that sacrificing is as ancient as the world. It is not well known whether they offered those sacrifices by the positive command of God, or of their own accord; reason and religion teaching them that nothing could be more just, than for them to profess some gratitude to their munificent benefactor for the manifold advantages they received from his bountiful hand.

This last opinion is the most probable for the following reasons: 1. Had God given any such command, the sacred historian would undoubtedly have mentioned it. 2. Though God had appointed sacrifices under the law, yet it appears from several passages of the Old Testament, that he had instituted them, not because this kind of worship was in itself acceptable to him, but for some other wise reasons; either because it was a shadow of things to come, or else adapted to the circumstances of the people of Israel. He even saith expressly by his prophet Jeremiah (*a*), that in the day when he brought the children of Israel out of Egypt, he gave them no commandment concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices. Now it is not at all probable that God would have spoken in that manner concerning sacrifices, if he had enjoined them to the first inhabitants of the world immediately after the creation. 3. If sacrificing had been ordained from the beginning, as a worship acceptable to God in itself, it would not have been annulled by the gospel. This annulling of it manifestly shews, that the end and design of the sacrifices under

(*t*) John iii. 3. Luke xiv. 26. 2 Cor. v. 16, 17. 1 Pet. ii. 2.

(*u*) Acts ii. 10, xiii. 43.

(*x*) Matth. xxiii. 15.

(*a*) Jer. vii. 22.

under the law ceasing upon the coming of *Jesus Christ*, whose death and sacrifice was typified by those sacrifices, as St. Paul teaches us, the gospel brought men back to a spiritual service, and to the religion of the mind. The author of the epistle to the Hebrews says indeed (b), that "by faith Abel offered to God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain;" but this very passage may serve to prove, that God did not enjoin sacrifices to the first men. For if by faith we were to understand obedience to the revealed will of God, the sacred writer might have said it of Cain as well as of Abel, since they had both of them the same revelation. It is then plain, that by faith here we are to understand that good disposition of a grateful mind, which being fully persuaded that God rewards piety, freely offers to him the first fruits of the benefits which it hath received from him, as we have observed in our note on that place. This was a natural and a reasonable service, especially in the infancy of the world, when mankind had not perhaps a true notion of the nature of the supreme being. This hath been the opinion of the greatest part of the Jewish doctors, and of the ancient fathers of the church. But how true it is, we shall not go about to determine.

However it be, it is certain that the sacrifices of the law were of divine institution. Besides their being figures of things to come, as we are assured in the gospel they were; God's design in appointing them was moreover to tie up the people of Israel to his service, by a particular kind of worship, but which should not be very different from what they had been used to; and also to turn them from idolatry, and to keep them employed, that they might have no leisure of inventing a new kind of worship. And indeed if we reflect upon the great quantity, and prodigious variety of the sacrifices of the law, as well as upon the vast number of ceremonies that were enjoined, we shall have no reason of wondering at what St. Peter says, Acts xv. 10.

The Jewish doctors have distinguished the sacrifices into so many different sorts, that the following their method could not but be tedious and ungrateful to the reader. We shall therefore just touch upon their general divisions. They have divided them into sacrifices properly, and sacrifices improperly so called; the last were so named, because though they were consecrated to God, yet they were not offered upon the altar, nor even in the temple. Such were, 1. The sparrows, or two clean birds that were offered by the priest in the houses of the lepers for their cleansing, by sacrificing one, and letting the other go (c). 2. We may rank among these the heifer, whose head was struck off to expiate a murder, the author of which was unknown (d). 3. As also the red heifer that was burned by the priest without the camp; whose ashes were saved to put in the water, wherewith those that had been defiled, by touching a dead body, were wont to purify themselves (e). 4. And lastly,

(b) Hebr. xi. 4.

(c) Levit. xiv. 49, 50, &c. Concerning these ceremonies, see Spencer of the Jewish ceremonies, Dis. l. ii. 15. and iii. 10.

(d) Deut. xxi.

(e) Num. xix. 2.

lastly, the Azazel, or (*) scape-goat, which was sent into the wilderness loaded with the sins of the people (f).

As for the sacrifices properly so called, and known by the general name of *corban*, that is, a *holy gift*, they may be divided into two general parts; into *bloody* or *animate*, and into *unbloody* or *inanimate* sacrifices. The first were of three sorts, viz. *whole burnt-offerings*, *sin-offerings*, and *peace-offerings*. Some were publick, and others private; there were some appointed for the sabbaths, the solemn feasts, and for extraordinary cases or emergencies. Before we give a particular account of each of them, it will be proper to set down what was common to them all. 1. Sacrifices in general were holy offerings, but the publick ones were holiest. 2. It was unlawful to sacrifice any where but in the temple. 3. All sacrifices were to be offered in the day-time, never in the night. 4. There were only five sorts of animals which could be offered up, namely, oxen, sheep, goats; and among birds, pigeons and turtle-doves. All these animals were to be perfect, that is, without spot or blemish. 5. Certain ceremonies were observed in every sacrifice, some of which were performed by those that offered it, as the laying their hands on the head of the victim, killing, flaying, and cutting it in pieces, and washing the entrails of it; others were to be done by the priests, as receiving the blood in a vessel appointed for that use, sprinkling it upon the altar, which was the most essential part of the sacrifice, lighting the fire, setting the wood in order upon the altar, and laying the parts of the victim upon it. 6. All sacrifices were salted.

(*) A *holocaust*, or whole burnt-offering, was the most excellent of all the sacrifices, since it was all consecrated to God, the victim being wholly consumed upon the altar; whereas some parts of the others belonged to the priests then upon duty, and those that had offered the victim. Accordingly it is one of the most ancient, since we find it offered by Noah, and Abraham, but with what ceremonies is unknown, and also by Job, and Jethro the father-in-law of Moses (g). It is commonly supposed that Cain and Abel also offered this kind of sacrifice, which was chiefly intended as an acknowledgment to almighty God, considered as the creator, governor, and preserver of all things; and this undoubtedly was the reason why no part of it was reserved. This sacrifice was notwithstanding offered upon other publick and private occasions, as to return God thanks for his benefits, to beg a favour from him, or atone for some offence or pollution. Whole burnt-offerings, like the other sacrifices, were either publick or private. The same animals were offered in these, as in the rest

(*) The learned are not agreed about the meaning of the word *azazel*. According to some, it was the name of a mountain. According to others, it signifies *going*, or *sent away*. Others will have it to mean a devil. Concerning this *goat*, see Dr. *Prideaux* Conn. P. II. B. I. near the beginning.

(f) Lev. xvi. 8.

(*) The Greek word *holocaust* (ὁλοκαυστον) signifies what is *entirely consumed by fire*. Phil. de Viâ. p. 648.

(g) Gen. viii. 20. xxii. 13. Job. i. 5.

rest of the sacrifices, and the same ceremonies almost were observed. Only with this difference, that a holocaust could be offered by a stranger, that is, a proselyte of the gate. When St. Paul exhorts the Romans (*b*) to present their bodies unto God as a sacrifice, he undoubtedly alludes to the whole burnt-offerings, because the Christian religion requires a perfect sacrifice; we must deny ourselves, and not set our affections upon this world.

Of sin and trespass offerings. Propitiatory sacrifices were of two sorts, some being for sin, and others for trespasses. What the difference between these two was, is not agreed among the Jewish writers. All that can be made out from what they have said upon this point, is, that the sacrifice for sin is that which was offered for sins or offences committed through inadvertency, and undesignedly against a negative precept (*), or a prohibition of the law (*i*). And indeed it appears from scripture (*k*), that there was no sacrifice or expiation for sins committed wilfully, presumptuously, and out of defiance to the divine Majesty, and that such an offender was punished with death. As for trespass-offerings, it is not well known neither what they were. It is however generally supposed that they were offered for sins of ignorance. So that the Hebrew word, which has been rendered sin, signifies such an offence as we are conscious of, but have committed undesignedly; and that which has been translated by trespass, denotes an action, concerning which we have reason to doubt whether it be sinful or not. But this, after all, is very uncertain, since both those words are promiscuously used. We shall therefore conclude this article, by observing, that it is the opinion of the most learned among the Jews, those sacrifices could not really atone or make satisfaction for the sins of men. They were only designed for a confession or remembrance of men's iniquities, and as a kind of intercession to God for the remission of them, who actually forgave them upon condition of repentance, without which there could be no remission. This is Philo's notion of the matter (*l*). But St. Paul is very express upon this point, when to shew that the sacrifice of *Jesus Christ* was the substance and original of what was only prefigured by the sacrifices of the law, he says, the expiation and atonement of these last was only typical and figurative. Upon this head you may consult our preface on the epistle to the Hebrews.

Peace-offerings. Peace-offerings, or sacrifices of gratitude, are so named because they were offered to God in hopes of obtaining some favour from him, or as a thanksgiving for having received some signal mercy from his bountiful hand. In the first sense, they were termed *salutary*, that is, for safety; and in the second, they were called *eucharistical*, i. e. of thanksgiving, or sacrifices of praise. Besides those that were appointed for festivals, and which were publick, there were also

(*b*) Rom. xii. 1.

(*) The Jews reckoned 365 negative precepts, and 248 affirmative ones.

(*i*) Levit. iv. 2. Numb. xv. 27.

(*k*) Ibid. ver. 30—32. Heb. x. 26, &c.

(*l*) Philo de Vit. Mos. l. 3. p. 51.

also some private ones. These were consecrated to God by a vow to crave some blessing from him, or else they were voluntary, to return him thanks for favours received. The first were of an indispensable obligation, upon account of the vow; in the others, men were left more at liberty. In scripture there are numberless instances of these two sorts of sacrifices (*m*). In them the blood and entrails were burned upon the altar, the breast, or left shoulder belonged to the priest, and the rest of the flesh with the skin was for the person that made the offering. For this reason this kind of sacrifice is by some Jewish authors called a sacrifice of retribution, because every one had his share of it.

We may rank among the peace-offerings that of the paschal lamb, of which we design to give an account hereafter; that of the first-born, whether man or beast (*n*), and also the tenths of cattle. All these belonged to God, according to the law. The first-born of the children of Israel were offered to God as a memorial of his having spared the first-born of their forefathers in the land of Egypt; but they were redeemed, and the price of their redemption given to the high-priest (*o*). As for clean beasts, they were offered to God in sacrifice, and the flesh belonged to the priests (*p*). If the animal was unclean, a lamb was offered in his place, or else they struck off his head, but never sacrificed him (*q*). The tithes of herds and of flocks were also by the Jews consecrated to God, as a thanksgiving for his having blessed their cattle (*r*).

It remains now that we should say a word or two concerning unbloody sacrifices; which were, 1. The offerings and libations; 2. first-fruits; 3. tenths, and 4. perfumes. Some offerings were accompanied with libations, as the whole burnt-offerings of four-footed beasts, and peace-offerings, but it was not so with propitiatory sacrifices. This oblation consisted of a cake of fine flour of wheat, and in some cases of barley, kneaded with oil without leaven, with a certain quantity of wine and salt, and sometimes of frankincense. Besides these oblations that were joined with the bloody sacrifices, some were offered singly and apart; either for all the people on feast-days, or for particular persons on different occasions. They were nearly the same with those that accompanied the sacrifices of living creatures. Some oblations were made without any libation at all, as the omer or handful of corn that was offered at the feast of the passover, the two loaves at the feast of Pentecost, and the shew-bread, of which an account hath been given before. We have but two or three things more to observe concerning the offerings. The first of which is, that the children of Israel were expressly forbidden to mix honey with them (*s*); the learned have accounted for this injunction several ways, but the most probable is that which makes it to have been given with a design

(*m*) Judg. xi. 30, 31. 2 Sam. xv. 7, 8. 2 Chron. xxix. 30, 31. Psal. lxxi. 13, 15. Jonah ii. 9.

(*n*) Exod. xiii. 15. Numb. iii. 13.

(*p*) Exod. xiii. 13.

(*r*) Levit. xxvii. 32.

(*o*) Numb. xviii. 15.

(*q*) Ibid.

(*s*) Levit. ii. 11.

design to distinguish the oblations of the Hebrews from those of the Egyptians, who were used to put honey with them (*t*). The second is, that in every oblation it was absolutely necessary there should be salt (*u*). To which law there are some allusions in the gospel (*x*). Thirdly, offerings were to be of unleavened bread (*y*), except the two loaves at the feast of Pentecost, which were leavened (*z*); but it is to be observed that these were not offered upon the altar.

Of first-fruits. Besides the first-born of living creatures, which by the law were consecrated to God, the first-fruits of all kinds of corn and fruit, were also appropriated to him (*), as of grapes, figs, pomgranates, and dates (*a*). The first-fruits of sheep's wool were also offered for the use of the Levites (*b*). The law doth not fix the quantity of these first-fruits. But the Thalmudists tells us, that liberal persons were wont to give the fortieth, and even the thirtieth; and such as were niggardly, the sixtieth part. The first of these they called an oblation with a good eye, and the second an oblation with an evil eye. Which may serve to illustrate *Jesus Christ's* expression (*c*). These first-fruits were offered from the feast of Pentecost till that of Dedication, because after that time the fruits were neither so good, nor so beautiful as before (*d*). The Jews were forbidden to begin their harvest, till they had offered up to God the omer, that is, the new sheaf, which was done after the day of unleavened bread, or the (*e*) Passover. Neither were they allowed to bake any bread made of new corn, till they had presented the new loaves upon the altar on the day of Pentecost, without which all the corn was looked upon as profane and unclean (*f*). To this St. Paul alludes when he says, "If the first-fruit be holy, the lump is also holy (*)." The first-fruits belonged to the priests and their families, which brought them a large income, as hath been observed by Philo (*g*). We have in Deuteronomy and Josephus an account of the ceremonies that were observed at the offering of the first-fruits.

Tenths. After the first-fruits had been offered to God, every one paid the tenths of what he possessed to the Levites for the support of themselves and their families (*h*). The antiquity of this custom of paying tithes to those that are appointed to wait at the altar, is manifest from the instance of Abraham, who gave Melchisedek tithes of all the spoil he had taken from the kings of Canaan (*i*), and from that of Jacob, who promised to give God the tenth of all he should procure by his blessing (*k*). As it is supposed that in those early times the priesthood be-
longed

(*t*) To which may be added, that the bee was ranked among the unclean animals.

(*u*) Levit. ii. 13.

(*x*) Mark ix. 49, 50. Colos. iv. 6.

(*y*) Levit. ii. 11.

(*z*) Lev. xxiii. 17.

(*) But were not burnt upon the altar. See Levit. ii. 12.

(*a*) Numb. xv. 7. xviii. 12, 13. Deut. xxvi. 2. Nehem. x. 35.

(*b*) Deut. xviii. 4.

(*c*) Matth. xx. 15.

(*d*) The feast of dedication was in December.

(*e*) Levit. xxiii. 10, 14.

(*f*) Jos. Antiq. iii. 10.

(*) Rom. xi. 16.

(*g*) Philo de præmiis sacerdotum.

(*h*) Numb. xviii. 21.

(*i*) Gen. xiv. 20.

(*k*) Gen. xxviii. 22.

longed to the first-born of every family (*l*), some have asserted, with a great deal of probability, that Melchisedek was the first-born of the children of Noah; that as such, he blessed Abraham; and with a regard to this it was, that Abraham gave him tithes of all: for what is said by the author of the epistle to the Hebrews (*m*), that "Melchisedek was without father, without mother, without descent," &c. must be understood in a mystical sense, as we have observed in our comment on that place. By it is not meant that Melchisedek had no father nor mother, but only that there is no account in scripture of the parents and genealogy of any person under the name of Melchisedek. The Levites gave to the priests the tenths of their own tithes (*n*).

When these tithes were paid, the owner of the fruits gave besides another tenth part of them, which was carried up to Jerusalem, and eaten in the temple, as a sign of rejoicing and gratitude towards God (*o*). These were a kind of *agapæ*, or love feasts; and these are what we find named the second tithes (*p*). Lastly, there were tithes allotted to the poor, which the Levites, like the rest, were obliged to pay, because they were in possession of some cities. Besides which there was appointed for the sustenance of the poor, a corner in every field, which it was not lawful to reap with the rest (*q*), and they were also allowed such ears of corn, or grapes, as dropt or were scattered about, and the sheaves that might happen to be forgotten in the field. Tithes were paid of all the products of the earth in general (*r*), but chiefly of corn, wine, and oil. We learn from the gospel, that the Pharisees affected to be scrupulously exact in paying tithe of every the least herb (*s*).

The perfumes which were offered to God in the temple being a kind of oblations, it will be proper to give an account of them here. These perfumes are stiled in the Revelation, "the prayers of the saints (*t*)," because they were an emblem and representation of them, for all the people were praying while the priest burned the perfumes. These consisted of several sweet-smelling spices, which are specified in the law. They offered them once a year in the Holy of Holies, on the great day of expiation (*u*); and twice every day, viz. morning and evening, in the sanctuary.

Vows partake of the nature both of sacrifices and oblations, because people could devote to God both living creatures and inanimate things. They may be divided into two general parts; that is, 1. Into vows whereby men bound themselves to abstain from things otherwise lawful, as of such and such a kind of food, clothes, or actions; and 2. Into those vows whereby either persons or things were devoted to God. Of the first sort was the vow of the Rechabites, of which we have taken an occasion to speak before. That of the Nazarites (*x*) did

(*l*) Origen in Job. Hieronym. ad Evagr. (*m*) Hebr. vii. 3.

(*n*) Numb. xviii. 28. Nehem. x. 38. Deut. xiv. 23, 27.

(*o*) Jos. Antiq. iv. 7.

(*p*) Deut. xii. 17.

(*q*) Lev. xix. 9. Deut. xxiv. 19.

(*r*) Nehem. xiii. 5, 10.

(*s*) Matth. xxiii. 23.

(*t*) Rev. v. 8. Luke i. 10.

(*u*) Exod. xxx. 7, 8. Lev. xvi. 12, 13.

(*x*) The word Nazarite signifies in Hebrew a person *set apart*, or *consecrated*.

did partake of both; for they were persons consecrated to God, and their vow consisted of several kinds of abstinence. There were two sorts of them (*y*), some being consecrated to God, for their whole life, as Samson, Samuel, John the Baptist, &c. and others only for a time, i. e. for thirty days at least. Some authors infer from two passages in the Acts (*z*), that St. Paul was a Nazarite of the second kind. In one of these places it is said, that St. Paul had his head shorn at Cenchrea, because he had made a vow; but that could not well be the vow of a Nazarite; since, after it, he would not have had his head shorn at Cenchrea, which was a sea-port near Corinth, but at Jerusalem, according to the law, and even in the temple, or at least in the holy land. It is then more likely that this was some other vow, which the apostle had bound himself by. In the other passage it is not said that St. Paul had made any vow, but only he is therein advised to bear the expence of the sacrifices, which four of his companions, who had engaged themselves by a vow, were to offer. This is the sense we have followed in our note on that place, in which we have rather chosen to leave the matter undecided, than advance any thing uncertain. By what the scripture says of the vow of the Nazarites, one would think that it is more antient than the ceremonial law; for the legislator does not injoin or command it, but only prescribes what ceremonies are to be used by those that shall make it. The Nazarites were chiefly bound to observe these four particulars, which have by the Rabbins been subdivided into several others. 1. To abstain from wine, strong drink, and vinegar, and from all intoxicating liquor in general, or any thing of the like nature; 2. To wear long hair, and let no razor come on their heads (*a*); 3. To take care not to pollute themselves by touching, or going near a dead body, even though it were their own father or mother (*b*), and to purify themselves, when they happened to do it unawares; 4. To offer some certain sacrifices, to shave their heads, and fling their hair into the fire, when the time appointed by their vow was expired. There was in the temple a room set apart for that use.

Of all the vows recorded in holy scripture, there is none more remarkable, or that hath more puzzled commentators, than that whereby Jephthah bound himself to offer unto the Lord for a burnt-offering, whatsoever should come forth of the doors of his house to meet him, when he returned in peace from fighting against the children of Ammon (*c*). Jephthah's design was undoubtedly to present unto God an acceptable, and consequently a lawful offering. Otherwise it would have been not only an impious, but a rash action; since his aim was hereby to induce God to prosper his expedition against the Ammonites. Besides Jephthah is no where represented as a profane or irreligious person. The scripture testifies, on the contrary, that the spirit of God

was

(*y*) Numb. vi. 2.

(*z*) Acts xviii. 18. xxi. 23, 24, 26.

(*a*) The Egyptian priests were wont to keep their heads constantly shaved.

(*b*) From whence it follows, that the Nazarites were holier than the common priests. Lev. xxi. 2. •

(*c*) Judg. xi. 31.

was upon him (*d*); and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (*e*) ranks him among those sacred heroes, whose faith he celebrates. It is then somewhat strange that his daughter having been the first thing he met at his return, he should think himself obliged to offer so barbarous and so inhuman a sacrifice, merely for the sake of a vow expressed in a general, and consequently a rash manner. He could not but know that such a sacrifice must have been an abomination to the Lord, who hath not made men to destroy them. God himself, by the mouth of his prophet Isaiah (*f*), sets human sacrifices upon the same foot with that of a dog, the offering of swine's blood, and idolatry. And that he takes no pleasure in them, is evident from his bringing a ram to be sacrificed in the stead of Isaac, whom he commanded to be offered up, with no other intent but only to try Abraham's faith and obedience. If, according to the law (*g*), there were persons, and virgins in particular, consecrated to God, upon several occasions; it was not that they should be offered up to him in sacrifice, but only employed about holy things; and then they might be redeemed, as hath been observed before, which Jephthah, as being a Hebrew, could not be ignorant of. These reasons have determined some of the most learned writers (*h*) to assert, that Jephthah did not vow to sacrifice his daughter, but only to consecrate her to God as a virgin for her whole life, which they suppose he did. The words of the vow may indeed be translated thus, "whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me—shall surely be the Lord's," or "I will offer it for a burnt-offering;" the Hebrew particle, which is commonly rendered by *and*, often signifying *or*, according to the observation of a late learned author (*i*). According to this supposition, Jephthah's vow was conditional. As he might happen at his return to meet either a human creature, or a beast, the first he designed to consecrate unto God, and offer the latter for a burnt-offering, provided it was clean, or else exchange it, if it was unclean. What confirms this opinion is, that in the account of the fulfilling of this vow, there is not the least mention of a burnt-offering (*k*). Which is such an omission as cannot well be accounted for, had the daughter of Jephthah been offered up in sacrifice. On the contrary, there is nothing but her virginity mentioned. She went upon the mountains, and bewailed it, because she was condemned to a perpetual one; and the daughters of Israel were wont yearly to celebrate this remarkable event four days in a year (*l*). The only objection that may be advanced against this, is taken from the consternation Jephthah was in, upon meeting his daughter. He rent his clothes, and made great lamentation. But if we reflect upon the temper of that people, and the notions that prevailed in those times, we shall find, that Jephthah having but this one child, it was a great affliction for him to see himself by this vow deprived of all hopes of a posterity;

(*d*) Ibid. ver. 29.(*e*) Hebr. xi. 32.(*f*) Isai. lxvi. 3.(*g*) Numb. xxxi. 28. 30. 35. Levit. xxvii. 2. 6.(*h*) Mr. Le Clerc, &c. See the margin of our English translation.(*i*) Reland. For instances of this, see Exod. xxi. 15. 17. and i. 10. xii. 5. Isai. vii. 6, &c.(*k*) Judg. xi. 34—40.(*l*) Ibid. ver. 40.

riety; and the not redeeming of her, as he might have done, was a very remarkable instance of his piety and gratitude. We shall not however determine which of the two opinions is the truest, but leave it to the learned to decide the matter. To return then from this digression.

Concerning cir- In giving an account of the holy things of the Jews, cumcision. we must not pass over circumcision, since it was a sacrament of Jewish religion, and a seal of the covenant which God made with Abraham and his posterity (*m*). It is notwithstanding certain, that it was practised among other nations, as the Egyptians and Ethiopians (*n*), but for quite other reasons, and with different circumstances. This however hath occasioned some disputes concerning the origin of this ceremony. But we shall not examine the arguments that are brought on either side of the question. Let the Egyptians have borrowed it from the Patriarchs, or the Patriarchs from the Egyptians, seeing God adopted, and even enjoined it upon pain of death (*o*), this is sufficient to make it be looked upon as of divine institution. It is certain that *Jesus Christ* doth not carry the origin of it higher than the time of the Patriarchs (*p*). However it be, circumcision was a sign and mark whereby God was willing to distinguish a people, with whom he had made a covenant, and out of which the Messiah was to be born, from all the other nations of the world. It was also a kind of a memorial for the posterity of Abraham, which should continually set before their eyes the covenant God had made with that Patriarch, as well as his faith and obedience. It was, in short, the seal of Abraham's justification! For it is to be observed, that, according to St. Paul (*q*), this father of the faithful having been justified, whilst he was yet uncircumcised, he was not so by virtue of his circumcision, which was only a sign of his justification. This is what the Jews did not duly attend to. Instead of imitating the faith and piety of their father Abraham, they fancied that they could be justified through circumcision (*r*), and even boasted of this pretended privilege (*s*), instead of being thereby excited to follow his example, as *Jesus Christ* tells them they ought to have done (*t*).

When God delivered his law to the children of Israel, he renewed the ordinance of circumcision, and it became a sacrament of the Jewish religion. For which reason St. Stephen calls it "the covenant of circumcision (*u*);" and upon this account *Jesus Christ* says, that Moses instituted circumcision, though it came from the Patriarchs (*x*). Besides the design which God proposed to himself in establishing this ceremony, he appointed it for some other ends, suited to the circumstances of the people of Israel. 1. It included in it so solemn and indispensable an obligation to observe the whole law, that circumcision did not profit those who transgressed it (*y*). Hence the Jewish religion is often stiled in scripture

(*m*) Gen. xvii. 10, 11, 12.

(*n*) Herodot. l. ii. c. 104. Philo de Circumc. p. 624.

(*o*) Gen. xvii. 14.

(*p*) John vii. 22.

(*q*) Rom. iv. 11.

(*r*) Acts xv. 1.

(*s*) Rom. ii. 25.

(*t*) John viii. 39.

(*u*) Acts vii. 8.

(*x*) John vii. 22.

(*y*) Rom. ii. 25.

scripture the circumcision (*z*), and the Jews those of the circumcision (*a*). For which reason St. Paul says, that whoever is circumcised, is bound to keep the whole law (*b*); and upon his account, to be circumcised, and to keep the law, are parallel expressions (*c*). 2. This was a ceremony whereby not only the Jews, but also all strangers, were to be initiated into the Jewish religion, and without which none could be admitted into the body of the nation (*d*). No uncircumcised person was allowed to celebrate any of the festivals, and the passover in particular. We read in the book of Esther (*e*), that great numbers of Gentiles became Jews. This the seventy have rendered thus, "they were circumcised and judaized," or turned Jews (*f*), which shews that it was by circumcision men were admitted into the Jewish religion (*). Such of the children of Israel as were born in the wilderness having remained uncircumcised, Joshua ordered that this ceremony should be performed upon them before they were brought into the land of promise; whereupon God told them he had removed, or rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off them (*g*); that is, they should henceforward be looked upon as the people of God, and no longer as the slaves of Egypt. To this St. Paul undoubtedly alluded, when he said to those Ephesian gentiles that had embraced Christianity, that while they were in uncircumcision, they were excluded out of the commonwealth of Israel. 3. Circumcision was an open profession of the worship of the true God, and also at the same time a kind of abjuring of idolatry. For which reason, during the persecution of Antiochus, the heathens put those women to death that caused their children to be circumcised (*h*); and such Jews as turned pagans took away, as much as possible, all marks of circumcision. As circumcision was an open profession of the Jewish religion, some of those Jews that embraced Christianity, thought that this superstition ought to be retained, especially among those that were of Jewish extraction. But St. Paul expressly forbids it (*i*). Lastly, circumcision was appointed for mystical and moral reasons. It was, as well as baptism (*k*), a token of purity and holiness of life. Hence these expressions, "to circumcise the fore-skin of the heart, the circumcision of the heart, the circumcision made without hands (*l*)."
It is plain from an excellent passage of Philo, that the Jews were not ignorant of this mystery (*m*). The chief particulars to be observed with relation to circumcision, are as follows; 1. The law had ordered that every

(*z*) Rom. iii. 1. 30. Gal. ii. 7.

(*a*) And thus we find Jesus Christ called the minister of circumcision, Acts x. 45.

(*b*) Gal. v. 3.

(*c*) Acts xv. 5

(*d*) Gen. xvii. 10—14.

(*e*) Esther iii. 17.

(*f*) Περιτέμνοντο καὶ ἰουδαίζον.

(*) For which reason the newly circumcised child was called the bridegroom, because he then was, as it were, married to God and his church.

(*g*) Josh. v. 4, 5, 6, 9.

(*h*) 1 Mac. i. 63. Jos. Antiq. xii. 7.

(*i*) 1 Cor. vii. 18.

(*k*) 1 Pet. iii. 21.

(*l*) Deut. x. 16. xxx. 6. Jer. iv. 4. Rom. ii. 29. Coloss. ii. 11. Acts vii. 51.

(*m*) Philo de circumc.

every male-child should be circumcised the eighth (+) day (*n*). The reason why it was fixed to that time, undoubtedly was, because it could not legally be done sooner (*o*), for the mother of every man child being unclean for the seven first days after her delivery, the child was consequently so too. They were not, on the other hand, to do it later, because the newborn infant could not be too soon consecrated to God. The Jews took such particular care to do it exactly on that day, that they never neglected it, even though it happened on a sabbath-day, as *Jesus Christ* observed to them when they found fault with him for having healed a man on that day (*p*). This they termed "driving away the sabbath." When they were any way compelled to perform circumcision either sooner or later, they looked upon it as a misfortune, and did not reckon such a circumcision so good as that which was done the eighth day. And when this ceremony was put off, it never was used to drive away the sabbath. This is the reason why we find St. Paul accounting it no small privilege to have been circumcised the eighth day (*q*), as we have observed on that place. Accordingly *Jesus Christ* and John the Baptist were circumcised exactly upon it. 2. It is evident from the gospel that it was usual to name the child the day he was circumcised, since John the Baptist and *Jesus Christ* were named upon the performance of this ceremony. We learn from the same history that it was commonly the father, or some near relation, that gave the name. 3. Circumcision was reckoned so absolutely necessary, that it could be done in any place, in private houses, as well as in the synagogues; and by all sorts of persons, provided they were Jews, and qualified for it. There was notwithstanding a man appointed for this employment, who did it in the presence of several witnesses, that the initiation might be more solemn and authentick. 4. It is not well known, whether it was the custom, in the time of *Jesus Christ*, that the child should have a God-mother that brought him to the door of the synagogue, and no farther, because she was not allowed to go in, and a God-father that held him during the ceremony. Which was accompanied with prayers and vows, and before and after it there were great rejoicings.

As necessary as circumcision was while the ceremonial law remained in force, it became as indifferent and unnecessary upon the abrogating of that law by the destruction of the temple. Till that time the apostles allowed the Jews converted to Christianity the use of it, but they expressly ordered that this yoke should not be put upon the necks of the Gentile converts. And therefore St. Paul, who hath fully proved how unprofitable and unnecessary it is (*r*), and who makes it consist only in regeneration, of which it was a figure (*s*), thought it however proper to have Timothy circumcised (*t*), because his mother was of Jewish extraction;

(+) Including the day in which he was born, and that in which he was circumcised.

(*n*) Gen. xvii. 12.

(*o*) Levit. xii. 3.

(*p*) John vii. 22, 23.

(*q*) Philip. iii. 5.

(*r*) 1 Cor. vii. 19.

(*s*) Gal. v. 6. vi. 15.

(*t*) Acts xvi. 3.

extradition; and would not, on the other hand, suffer this ceremony to be performed on Titus, because he was a Greek (*u*). Wherein this apostle hath given the church in all ages a most excellent pattern, either of condescension, or resolution, in insisting upon, or omitting, things indifferent, according to the variety of times and circumstances.

It is generally supposed that baptism succeeded circumcision, though there is nothing said about it in the gospel. There is indeed a great conformity between these two ceremonies. 1. Baptism is the first and initiating sacrament of the Christian religion, as circumcision was of the Jewish. 2. It is by baptism men are consecrated to *Jesus Christ*, admitted into the Christian religion, and publicly received as members of his church. 3. Baptism is a token of our regeneration, of our dying to sin, and rising again unto righteousness in *Jesus Christ* (*x*). But these ceremonies disagree also in some particulars. 1. Baptism is administered to both sexes (*). 2. There is no particular day or season appointed for baptism; grown persons were at first instructed in the principles of religion before they were baptized, and to some this sacrament was not administered till they were at the point of death. But this custom is of a later date than the apostolical age. 3. Water was never used in circumcision. It is true that the child was carefully washed, and the persons that made the offerings purified themselves, but then it was in order to fit and prepare themselves for the ceremony, and not upon account of the ceremony itself, wherein wine and not water was used. We may then safely affirm, that baptism hath some conformity both with circumcision and the baptism of the proselytes, which hath been spoken of before.

Of the Holy Seasons.

BEFORE we give an account of the Jewish festivals, it will be proper to say something of their years, months, weeks, days, and hours. The Hebrews were wont at first to reckon time from some remarkable epochas. As 1. The lives of the Patriarchs or other illustrious persons (*a*). 2. The coming out of Egypt (*b*). 3. The building of the temple (*c*). 4. The years

(*u*) Gal. ii. 3. (*x*) Rom. vi. 3. Gal. iii. 27. 1 Pet. iii. 21.

(*) We learn from history, that among some nations the women were circumcised. But in instituting this ceremony the law had chiefly the men in view, whose condition was of course the same as that of the wives. The gospel acknowledges no such distinctions as these, they being merely political.

(*a*) Gen. vii. 11. (*b*) Exod. xix. 1. Numb. xxxiii. 38. 1 Kings vi. 1.

(*c*) 2 Chron. viii. 1.

years of their kings. 5. The beginning of the Babylonish captivity (*d*). 6. The rebuilding of the temple after their return from captivity. In process of time they had other epochas, as the times of Alexander the Great, and of the monarchies that sprung up out of the ruins of his empire. Ever since the compiling of the thalmud, the Jews have reckoned their years from the creation of the world.

The year was by them divided into a holy or ecclesiastical, and a civil year. The first began in the month of Nisan (*e*) or Abib, which answers to part of our March or April, because this was the time of the year when the children of Israel came out of Egypt. From this also they reckoned their feasts. The second began in the month Tifri, about the middle of our September, because there was an ancient tradition among them that the world was created about that time. All contracts were dated and the Jubilees counted according to this year. It would be little to our purpose to give an account of the (*) solar and lunar years of the Jews, or of their way of intercalating (+). This is a very obscure and intricate point, about which neither the Jews themselves, nor the most learned Christian writers are agreed.

Of their months. The Jewish year consisted of twelve months, unless it happened to be intercalary, for then it had thirteen. The ancient Hebrews were wont to regulate their months by the course of the sun, and each of them had 30 days. But after their deliverance out of Egypt, they made use of lunar months, which were sometimes of thirty, and at other times of twenty-nine days. The time of the new-moon was formerly discovered by its phasis or first appearance, as it is still at this day by the Caraites; but the Rabbinitis or traditionary Jews have recourse to an astronomical calculation to find it out. The names and order of the Jewish months, according to the ecclesiastical computation, are as follows.

The 1st. called (Nisan or Abib.)	Answers to part of	March and April.
The 2d. (Iyar or Ziph.)		April and May.
The 3d. (Sivan.)		May and June.
The 4th. (Tamus.)		June and July.
The 5th. (Ab or Av.)		July and August.
The 6th. (Alul.)		August and September.
The 7th. (Tifri.)		September and October.
The 8th. (Marchesvan or Bul.)		October and November.
The 9th. (Cisleu.)		November and December.
The 10th. (Tebbeth.)		December and January.
The 11th. (Schebbat.)		January and February.
The 12th. (Adar.)		February and March.

The

(*d*) Ezek. xxxiii. 21. xl. 1.

(*e*) Exod. xii. 1, 2.

(*) The solar year consisted of 365 days, 5 hours, and some minutes. The lunar year was of 354 days, 8 hours, and some odd minutes, according to the Jewish computation.

(+) To intercalate was the adding of a month to the year, between February and March; which was done, when the corn could not be ripe at the pass-over, nor the fruits at the pentecost.

The origin of *weeks* is of the same standing as the world itself (*f*). The Jews had two sorts of them, some consisting of seven days, and others of seven years. These are called in *scripture weeks of years*. At first the Hebrews had no particular name for the days of the week. They were wont to say, the *first*, the *second* day of the week, &c. as is evident from several places of the New Testament (*g*). We learn from the Revelations of St. John (*h*), that the first day of the week was as early as that time called the Lord's-day, because it was on that day, our blessed Lord rose again from the dead.

There are two sorts of *days*; the *natural*, which is the space of *four and twenty hours*, from one sun-set to another; the other called *artificial* or *civil*, consists of *twelve hours* (*i*), from the rising to the setting of the sun. The *civil day*, that is the sun's stay above the Horizon, was by the Jews divided into *four parts* (*k*), each of which consisted of *three hours*, that were longer or shorter according to the different seasons of the year. The *first* was from *six o'clock* in the morning till *nine*. And therefore they called the *third hour* (*l*), what we call *nine o'clock*, because *three hours* were past from sun-rising to that time. The *second* part of the day lasted from *nine* of the clock till *noon*. The *third* from *noon* till *three*. This they called the *ninth hour* of the day (*m*), because it actually was the *ninth* from the morning. The *fourth* was from *three o'clock* till *six* in the evening. They gave the name of *hour* to each of these four parts, as well as to the hours properly so called. Some authors are of opinion, that the four parts of the day were otherwise divided by the Jews. Whether they were, or not, it is of little moment. But it will be very proper here to reconcile St. Mark, who affirms (*n*), that it was the *third hour*, when they crucified JESUS CHRIST, with St. John (*o*), who says that it was about the *sixth hour*. This may be done several ways. Besides the method which we have followed in our notes on those two *evangelists*, it may be said that by *crucifying*, St. Mark did not mean the nailing of CHRIST to the cross, for according to St. Luke (*p*), it was not till the *sixth hour*, that is, noon, but only all the preparations towards it, after sentence had passed upon him. We must here observe, that in several Greek *manuscripts* of the gospel according to St. John, the *third* is read instead of the *sixth hour*, as we have observed in our note on that place.

The Jews divided also their nights into four parts, which they called *watches* (*). The 1st was named the *evening*; the 2d the *middle-watch*, or midnight; the 3d the *cock-crowing*, from midnight till three in the morning; the 4th the *morning*, or, break of day. As the *evangelists*, in the account which they have given of St. Peter denying our Saviour,

(*f*) Gen. ii. 2, 3. viii. 10. xxix. 27, 28. Levit. xxiii. 8.

(*g*) Mat. xxvii. 1. Mark xvi. 2. Acts xx. 7. 1 Cor. xvi. 2.

(*h*) Rev. i. 10.

(*i*) John xi. 9.

(*k*) Nehem. ix. 3.

(*l*) Matth. xx. 3.

(*m*) Ibid. ver. 5.

(*n*) Mark xv. 25.

(*o*) John xix. 14.

(*p*) Luke xxiii. 44.

(*) Matth. xiv. 25. Mark xiii. 35. Luke xii. 38.

viour (*q*), often mentioned the *cock-crowing*, and with some seeming contradiction, it will be proper to give a full explanation of this point, which could not conveniently be done within the compass of a few short notes. The difficulty lies in this, that JESUS CHRIST is said in St. Mark (*r*), to have told Peter that before the cock crowed *twice*, he would deny him *thrice*. And indeed the same *evangelist* relates, that the cock crowed after Peter's first denial; and again after he had denied his master the third time. Whereas, according to the rest of the *evangelists* (*s*), the cock did not crow till Peter had denied CHRIST three times. To solve this difficulty, we have observed in our note on that place, that as the cock crows at several times, the meaning of St. Matthew, St. Luke and St. John is, that before the cock had *done* crowing St. Peter denied his divine master three times. But to be a little more particular upon this point; it is to be observed further, 1. That the cock commonly crows *twice* every night, *viz.* at *midnight*, and between *that* and break of day. This *second* crowing is properly called the *cock-crowing*. It may therefore be supposed that St. Peter having denied JESUS CHRIST the first time, about midnight, the cock crowed; and that after he had denied him the third time, the cock crowed again. This explains St. Mark's meaning. As for what is said by the other *evangelists*, that the cock *crowed* after Peter had denied him three times, it must be understood of the *second* crowing, which is properly the *cock-crowing*. Or else, 2. that word of St. Mark which hath been translated *twice*, may be rendered the *second time* (*t*), by which means the whole difficulty will vanish; and after all, it is of no great consequence. We have but one observation more to make concerning the *years*, and *months*, &c. of the Hebrews. And that is, that in their language *any part* of a year, a month, a week, a day, or an hour, is often taken for a *whole* year, month, week, day, and hour. Which serves to explain what was said by JESUS CHRIST, that he would rise again *the third day*, as we have observed on Matth. xii. 40.

Of festivals. Festivals are solemn days set apart for the honour and service of God, either in remembrance of some special mercies which have been received from his bountiful hand, or in memory of some punishments which he hath inflicted on mankind, or else to turn away those which hang over their heads. Those of the first kind were attended with rejoicings, feasting, hymns, concerts of musick, eucharistical sacrifices, and a joyful and innocent exemption from labour (*). Upon which account they were termed *sabbaths*. Those of the second and third sort, were days of fasting and atonement. We learn from profane history, that the institution of festivals is of a very ancient

(*q*) Matth. xxvi. 69—75. Mark xiv. 68. 71, 72. Luke xxii. 56—60. John xviii. 27.

(*r*) Mark xiv. 30. 68, 69. 70, 71.

(*s*) Matth. xxvi. 74. Luke xxii. 60. John xiii. 38.

(*t*) Mark xiv. 30. &c.

(*) This distinguishes the feasts that were instituted by God, from those of the *heathens*, which were accompanied with very criminal occupations.

ancient date (*u*). But the sacred writers make no mention of the *festivals* of the Hebrews, before their coming out of Egypt. It was undoubtedly there the Israelites learned to have a liking and inclination for festivals, as is evident from their rejoicings when they worshipped the *golden calf* (*w*). And it was with a design to turn them from the idolatrous practices that reigned in the heathen festivals, that God, out of a condescension suitable to his wisdom and goodness, appointed some in his own honour, with such ceremonies and circumstances, as distinguished them from the festivals of idolatrous nations (*x*).

The Jews had several sorts of *Feasts*, whereof some were more solemn than others. They were either of divine or human institution. To begin with the first: the most solemn of those that had been established by God, were the *passover*, the *pentecost*, and the *feast of tabernacles*. These three *festivals* were to be celebrated every year at Jerusalem, and all the Israelites were obliged to go thither, unless they had very good reasons for absenting themselves. Some lasted but one day, others continued a whole week. The latter had some days less solemn than the rest; as those, for instance, that were between the first and the last, when the feast lasted seven days. And therefore it is said in St. John (*y*) that about the middle of the *feast of tabernacles* JESUS went up into the temple and taught, because he could not do it sooner for the crowd. The holiest days were called the *great*, or the *good days*. Accordingly St. John calls the last day of the *feast of tabernacles*, the *great day* (*z*), that is, the most solemn as we have rendered it. during these *festivals*, that part of the sacrifices which was to be eat, and the shew-bread, was divided among the four and twenty courses of priests. Criminals were also kept till these solemn occasions, that their punishment might be a terror to others. The Jews however were not willing to put JESUS CHRIST to death during the feast, because they were afraid this would cause some disturbance among the people, who took him for the Messiah, or at least for a great prophet. Which course soever they took, they must needs have acted against their consciences; for if he was not an impostor, as undoubtedly they did not look upon him as one, they ought not to have put him to death, either before, or after the feast. And if he was an impostor, they should have put him to death during the feast, according to the law. Providence ordered it so, that he should suffer death at the time he did, because, since as he was the true *pascchal lamb*, or *our passover*, to use St. Paul's expression (*a*), it was necessary that he should die at that very juncture of time. As there came up to Jerusalem vast numbers of people at these festivals, the Roman governors were wont to give the Jews a garrison of Roman soldiers, to prevent any seditions, or disturbances among the people (*b*).

It

(*u*) Herodot. l. iii. c. 58. Euseb. præpar. Evang. l. i. c. 9, 70.

(*w*) Exod. xxxii. 5, 6.

(*x*) Chrysostom. T. vi. de Chr. Past. p. 267. Theod. in Deut. Erot. 1. & Qu. in Exod. 54.

(*y*) John vii. 14.

(*z*) Ibid. ver. 37.

(*a*) 1 Cor. v. 7.

(*b*) Matth. xxvii. 65.

Of the passover. It is well known that the *passover* was so named from the angel's *passing over* the houses of the Israelites, and sparing their first-born, when those of the Egyptians were put to death (*). The name of *passover* was also given to the lamb, that was killed on the first day of this feast (c). Hence these expressions, *to eat the passover* (d), *to sacrifice the passover* (e): and hence also it is that St. Paul calls JESUS CHRIST *our PASSOVER* (f), that is, our *paschal lamb*. The *passover* was otherwise named the *feast of unleavened bread* (g), because it was unlawful to eat any other sort of bread, during the seven days the feast lasted (h). This name however more particularly belongs to the second day of the feast, i. e. the fifteenth of the month (i). We have an account of all the *ceremonies* belonging to the *passover* in several places of the *pe tatcuch*. They may be reduced to these *three* heads. 1. The killing and eating of the *paschal lamb*: 2. The eating the unleavened bread: And, 3. Offering up to God the *Omer*, or handful of barley.

The chief things to be observed with relation to the *paschal lamb* or *kid*, are as follow. 1. It is to be noted, that on all the feasts (k), and particularly at the passover, there were great numbers of victims slain from among the cattle, as *bulls*, and the like (*). The paschal feast begun by serving up of the flesh of these sacrifices, after which the *lamb* was eaten. The first was what the guests were to sup upon, for the *lamb* was symbolical, and it was sufficient for any one to eat of it about the bigness of an olive, if they were satisfied before, or in case the lamb was not enough for every one. 2. This lamb was a representation of that which the Israelites had eaten in Egypt, and was called *the body of the passover*, to distinguish *that* part of the paschal lamb which was eaten from what was offered upon the altar: that is, the *blood* which was sprinkled, and the *entrails* that were burnt. JESUS CHRIST manifestly alluded to this expression, when he said of the *bread*, *this is my body*; as if he had said, this is not the body of the *paschal lamb*, which we have just now eaten, but the body of the true lamb, whereof the other was only a figure. 3. The lamb was killed the *fourteenth* day of the month *Nisan* (m), in the *evening*, or, as the *scripture* expresses it, *between the two evenings* (†). Such as could not celebrate the passover on the day appointed, upon the account of some legal uncleanness, or any other indisposition, were obliged to do it the fourteenth day of the next month.

We

(*) Exod. xii. 12, 13. The Hebrew verb, from whence the word *passover* is derived, doth not only signify to pass from one place to another, but also to *pass over*, to *spare*, to *pass without doing any harm*; and therefore the *seventy* have rendered it by a word that signifies to protect.

(c) Ezra vi. 20. Matth. xxvi. 17.

(d) Mark xiv. 12. 14.

(e) 1 Cor. v. 7.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Luke xxii. 1. Mark xiv. 12.

(h) Exod. xii. 18. Numb. xxviii. 17. Deut. xvi. 8.

(i) Lev. xxiii. 6. Mark xiv. 1. Jos. Antiq. l. iii. cap. 10.

(k) Deut. xvii. 2 Chron. xxxv.

(*) These the Jews termed *chagiga*, i. e. rejoicing.

(m) Exod. xii. 6. Numb. ix. 5. Deut. xvi. 6. Josh. v. 10.

(†) That is, from 12 or 1 o'clock, till sun-setting.

We will leave it to the learned to determine exactly the hour when it was done. Josephus, who may justly be looked upon as a competent judge in such matters, says, that the paschal lamb was killed between the *ninth hour*, that is, *three* in the afternoon, and the *eleventh*, i. e. about the setting of the sun. And within this space of time also it was, that JESUS CHRIST our true paschal lamb was crucified (*n*). 4. The lamb was to be a male of the *first* year, and *without blemish* (*o*). The *apostles* often make allusion to this last quality, when speaking of JESUS CHRIST, of the Christians, and of the *church of Christ* (*†*). It was with a design to know whether the lambs or kids had all the conditions required by the law, that they were enjoined carefully to choose them, and set them aside some days before the feast. 5. The sacrifice was to be offered up in the *tabernacle*, as long as it stood, and afterwards in the *courts of the temple* (*p*). 6. Every particular person slew his own victim (*q*), and one of the priests received the blood into a vessel, which was handed by the *priests* or Levites to the *high-priest*, by whom it was poured at the bottom of the altar. When any person happened to be unqualified for offering this sacrifice, by reason of some uncleanness he had contracted, it was then performed by the Levites (*r*).

After the *lamb* was slain, the *blood* sprinkled, and the *fat* consumed upon the altar, the lamb was returned to the person by whom it had been offered, who carried it to the place where it was to be eat. It was necessary that it should be thoroughly *roasted*, and not boiled, or half-done (*s*). The occasion of this last institution is not well known; the reasons that are alledged for it, would undoubtedly seem too far-fetched to the generality of our readers, we therefore judge it more proper to own our ignorance in this particular, than to advance any thing uncertain about it. St. John assures us, that the prohibition of not breaking a bone of the paschal lamb, was typical of what happened to our saviour (*t*).

8. After the lamb was thus dressed, it was eaten in every family (*), by all sorts of persons, free-men and slaves, men as well as women. It was necessary there should be as many persons as could eat the whole lamb (*†*) (*u*). And therefore when the family was not large enough, the

(*n*) Matth. xxvii. 46.

(*o*) Exod. xii. 5.

(*†*) Heb. xi. 14. 1 Pet. i. 19. Ephes. i. 4. v. 27. Coloss. i. 22. Revel. xiv. 5. in most of the Greek copies of the seventy, there are two epithets, *without blemish, and perfect*. There is an allusion to this last word, Rom. xii. 1. *the perfect will of God*, i. e. the sacrifice God requires of us, ought to be *perfect*.

(*p*) The area of the three courts of the temple (besides the rooms and other places in it, where the paschal lamb might be offered up) contained above 435,600 square cubits, so that there was room enough for above 500,000 men to be in the temple at the same time. Lamy de Tabernaculo. l. vii. c. 9. Sect. 4, 5.

(*q*) Deut. xvi. 2. 5.

(*r*) Philo de Vit. Mos. l. iii.

(*s*) Exod. xii. 9. 2 Chron. xxxv. 13.

(*t*) John xix. 36.

(*) The strangers that came up to Jerusalem from all parts of the land to celebrate the passover, were furnished with lodgings *gratis*.

(*†*) The Thalmudists tell us; that they were not to be under *ten*, and might be *twenty*.

(*u*) See Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 17.

the master of the house invited his friends. The assemblies that were invited to this feast, were named *brotherhoods*, and the guests, *companions* or *friends*. The reproof which JESUS CHRIST gave Judas, by calling him *friend* or *companion* (x), was both just and cutting, because he betrayed him after having eat the passover with him.

9. It was a very ancient custom among the *eastern* nations to wash their feet before meals, especially when they returned from a journey (y). There were good reasons for this custom, because they commonly travelled on foot, without stockings, and their shoes were open at the top. Some imagine with a good deal of probability, that they were also wont to wash their feet before the *paschal* feast, nothing being a fitter representation of the state and condition of a traveller. Slaves and mean persons were commonly put to that employment, but JESUS CHRIST was pleased to perform it to his disciples, to give them an example of humility and charity (z). It is however to be observed, that this was not done during the *paschal* feast, but the night before.

10. The guests leaned on their left arms upon beds round a table, on which was set the lamb; with bitter herbs, unleavened bread, and a dish full of a kind of sauce or thick mixture, wherein they dipped the bread and herbs (||). This perhaps was the dish in which Judas dipped with JESUS CHRIST, of which we read in the gospel (a). It was very common among the *eastern nations* to lie on beds when they took their meals, as is evident from *sacred* as well as *profane history*; but, as the Thalmudists pretend (b), this posture was then absolutely necessary at the eating of the *paschal lamb*, as being a fit emblem of *that* rest and freedom, which God had granted the *children of Israel*, by bringing them out of Egypt, because a slave doth not commonly take his meals with so much ease and comfort, and that besides they were obliged, to eat it standing in Egypt. This custom of leaning at table over one another's bosom, was a sign of equality and strict union between the guests. Which serves to explain several passages of *scripture*, as what is said of *Abraham's bosom* (c), and of the *son's* being *in the bosom of the father* (d). When the guests were thus placed round the table, the master of the family, or some other person of note, took a *cup* full of wine mixed with water, and after he had given God thanks, drank it up, after which he gave *one* round to every one there present; who were all obliged to drink thereof. Hence the words of JESUS CHRIST, *drink ye all of it* (e). Afterwards they eat of the bitter herbs and unleavened

(x) Matth. xxvi. 50.

(y) Gen. xviii. 4. xix. 2. xxiv. 32. Judg. xix. 21.

(z) John xiii. 4, 5.

(||) This the Jews called *charaffet*, in remembrance of the mortar which they had used when making bricks in the land of Egypt. They made it at first with dates and dried figs; but the modern Jews make it with chestnuts, apples, &c. See Basnage Hist. des Juifs, Tom. 3. p. 622.

(a) Matth. xxvi. 23. (b) Maimon de Azymis, l. vii. (c) Luke xvi. 22.

(d) John i. 18. compared with Philip. ii. 6. See John xiii. 23.

(e) Matth. xxvi. 27.

leavened bread, which they dipped in the mixture before-mentioned. Then the master of the family drank another cup, that was accompanied with several thanksgivings, after which they began eating again as before. Lastly, they eat the paschal lamb, and drank the third cup, which was called the *cup of blessing*, or *thanksgiving* (*f*). The whole ceremony ended with the fourth cup, and the singing of some *psalms* (*). This is what by St. Mark is termed an *hymn* (*g*). It cannot exactly be determined whether JESUS CHRIST observed all these particulars. It is very probable that he did, and we meet with some tracks of it in the *Gospel* (*h*). St. Luke speaks only of *two cups* in the account he gives of the institution of the *Lord's supper* (*i*).

God enjoined the Israelites, under pain of death, not to touch any leavened bread, as long as the passover lasted. Several reasons may be assigned for this institution, but there is only one set down in scripture, viz. that it was to put them in mind of their forefathers coming out of Egypt, in such haste, that they had not time so much as to get their dough leavened (*k*). But one may suppose, by the *metaphorical* sense that is commonly put upon the word *leaven*, and which is used by JESUS CHRIST and St. Paul (*l*), that this prohibition had a moral view, and that the divine legislator's design in giving it, was to cleanse their minds from malice, envy, animosity, and hypocrisy; in a word, from the leaven of Egypt (*ll*). However it be, the Hebrews took a very particular care to search for all the leaven that might be in their houses, and to sing it either into the fire or water. Their descendants have carried this point to a superstitious nicety. Though the passover was to be celebrated at Jerusalem, yet they that were not able to go thither, might eat the unleavened bread in their own houses. As there was no other sort of bread in that city when JESUS CHRIST instituted his *last supper*, it cannot be questioned but that he made use of it. And yet the Greek church, which hath retained leavened bread in the *eucharist*, imagined that JESUS CHRIST used it; and the better to support their opinion, they have asserted, that he celebrated the *passover* one day before the Jews. We shall hereafter examine this matter. The Latins have, on the other hand, supposed, that the better to conform themselves with JESUS CHRIST's institution, they ought to celebrate the *Lord's supper* with unleavened bread. This was one of the occasions of the *schism* between the *eastern* and *western* churches; which, after all, was a very slight one, and consequently very scandalous, since after the abrogating of the ceremonial law, it ought to be reckoned an indifferent matter, whether

(*f*) 1 Cor. x. 16.

(*) During the ceremony, they sung at several times the following psalms. 1. Psal. cxiii, cxiv. 2. Psal. cxvi, cxvii, cxviii, or cxxxvi. This last singing was termed the *ballel*, or praise. The master of the family, or the reader, explained and gave an account of every ceremony.

(*g*) Mark xiv. 26.

(*h*) See Matth. xxvi, &c.

(*i*) Luke xxii. 17. 20.

(*k*) Exod. xxii. 34. 39. Deut. xvi. 3.

(*l*) Matth. xvi. 6. 1 Cor. v. 7.

(ll) Leavened bread was likewise forbidden the Romans, upon some particular occasions. Aulus Gel. l. x. 15.

whether we communicate with leavened or unleavened bread, and since JESUS CHRIST, by giving no directions about it, hath left the church entirely at liberty in this respect.

The next day after the feast of unleavened bread, that is, the sixteenth day of March, they offered up to God, on the altar, the *first-fruits* of the corn that was ripe at that time, that is, oats and barley (*m*). These first-fruits were a sheaf of corn, called in Hebrew *Homer*, or *Gomer*, which is the name that was afterwards given to the measure that held the corn, which was threshed out of the sheaf. This oblation was performed with a great deal of ceremony (*). Towards the close of the fifteenth day, the Sanhedrim appointed some grave and sober persons, who, with a great number of people, went with scythes and baskets into the fields that lay nearest Jerusalem, and cut down the sheaf of barley. When they were come thither, the reapers, having got first the owner's leave, put the sickle into the harvest; and after they had cut down the sheaf, they carried it in a basket to the high-priest, who was to offer it up. The high-priest having beat out the grain, caused it to be dried upon the fire, and had it ground; then putting some oil and frankincense to it, he presented it to God. After that a lamb was offered up for a whole burnt sacrifice, with several other oblations, that were accompanied with libations. It was unlawful to begin the harvest, till this offering had been first made. There seems to be an allusion to this in the Revelations (*n*), where the angel orders the sickle to be put into the harvest.

Thus have we explained the several particulars observed in the celebration of the *passover*. It remains now that we should examine a question, which hath exercised the wits of several *criticks*; i. e. Whether our Saviour celebrated the passover the year he was put to death, on the same day as the Jews kept theirs? We have observed before, that the Greek church maintains JESUS CHRIST celebrated it one day sooner than ordinary; and have shewed at the same time, what reasons they alledge to support their opinion. Some authors have inferred from a few passages out of St. John's gospel, that for several reasons which they bring, the Jews did not keep the passover that year on the *fourteenth* day of the month, as usual, but the day after. The first of these passages is in the thirteenth chapter (*o*), wherein it is said, that *before the feast of the passover, when supper was ended*, whereby they understand the holy communion, JESUS CHRIST washed his disciples' feet. The second occurs in the eighteenth chapter (*p*); JESUS was apprehended by the Jews, had celebrated the passover, and instituted the eucharist the night before; and yet the Evangelist says, that the Jews would not go into the *pratorium*, or judgment-hall, for fear they should defile themselves, and thereby become unfit to eat the passover. The third is in the

(*m*) Lev. xxiii. 9—14. Jos. Antiq. 1, iii. c. 10.

(*) It appears from Exodus xvi. 16. that the *Homer* held as much as a man that had a good stomach can eat in a day. According to the Jewish way of reckoning, this measure contained about 43 hen-eggs (i. e. 3 of our pints). It was the *tenth* part of an *Epha*, which held 432.

(*n*) Revel. xiv. 15.

(*o*) Ver. 1, 2, 4.

(*p*) Ver. 28.

the nineteenth chapter (*q*), where the day on which Christ was crucified is stiled *the preparation of the passover*.

Notwithstanding which, other writers have asserted and maintained, that JESUS CHRIST celebrated the *passover* on the same day as the Jews. And indeed there are very good reasons to believe that he did. 1. Supposing the Jews had put it off for any time that year, JESUS CHRIST would, in all probability, have complied with it, else the Jews would never have failed to lay this to his charge, since after publick notice was given of the *new moon*, people were obliged to keep to it, even though there was a visible mistake in the matter (*r*). 2. Those that have thoroughly examined the reasons alledged for this delay, find no manner of weight in them, since they are grounded upon customs that are of a much later date than the time of JESUS CHRIST. There were not *then*, for instance, two different ways of finding out the new-moon. As it was known only by its appearance, and not its conjunction with the sun, there could be no room for celebrating the passover on two different days. Besides, the Caraité Thalmudists made but one body with the rest of the Jewish nation, and therefore did celebrate the feast on the same day with them. Moreover, the custom of transferring the passover, when it fell on the day before the sabbath, is not of so ancient a date. 3. It is unquestionably certain, that the lamb was to be sacrificed *publickly* in *the temple*, and that it was necessary that the priests should pour the blood of it at the bottom of the altar (*s*). As all these particulars are plainly enjoined by the law, JESUS CHRIST would not have omitted any one of them. Besides, is it probable that the priests would have ministered to him in so manifest an innovation as this must have been? 4. The three other Evangelists expressly say (*t*), that JESUS CHRIST celebrated the *passover* on the same day the Jews were used to do it, which seems entirely to decide the question. It is therefore more proper to put another sense upon St. John's expressions, than to embrace an opinion which manifestly contradicts the rest of the Evangelists. For it may reasonably be supposed, that in the *first* of the forementioned passages, St. John doth not speak of the *Lord's supper*, or of the *paschal feast*, but only of a private supper at Bethany, the day before the passover (*u*). In the *second*, there is no necessity of understanding by the *passover* the paschal lamb, since the other sacrifices that were offered up during the feast, had also that name given them (*x*). By *the preparation of the passover*, in the last place, may be meant the preparation before the sabbath of the passover, which is elsewhere called *the preparation of the Jews* (*y*).

It was after having celebrated the passover that JESUS CHRIST instituted the *eucharist* to be a lasting monument of our redemption by

(*q*) Ver. 14.

(*r*) Maimon. Chad. Hacc. cap. v. sect. 2.

(*s*) Deut. xvi. 5, 6, 7. 2 Chron. xxx. 16. xxxv. 11.

(*t*) Matth. xxvi. 17. Mark xiv. 12. Luke xxii. 7.

(*u*) Compare Luke xxii. 1, 3. with John xiii. 1, 2.

(*x*) Deut. xvi. 2, 3. 2 Chron. xxxv. 8.

(*y*) Compare Matt. xxvii. 57. Mark xv. 42. Luke xxxiii. 54. John xix. 14, 31, 42.

by his death, as the passover was of the deliverance of the Hebrews out of Egypt.

Of the Pentecost. The second solemn festival of the Jews was the *Pentecost*. It was so called by the Greeks (*z*), because it was kept on the *fiftieth* day after the *feast of unleavened bread*, i. e. after the fifteenth of March (*a*). It was otherwise named the *feast of weeks* (*b*), because they celebrated it *seven weeks* after the passover; and also the *feast of harvest*, because on it the first-fruits of the harvest were offered up to God. The law having been given from mount Sinai upon that day, as the Jews pretend, this festival was appointed for a memorial of this great favour. They *then* offered two cakes made of new wheat, which were not carried up to the altar, because they were leavened (*c*). One of them belonged to the priests then upon duty, and the other to those priests and Levites that kept the watch. They were obliged to eat them that very day in the temple, and to leave nothing of them remaining. This oblation was accompanied with great numbers of sacrifices, and several other offerings and libations. The feast of Pentecost lasted but one day, and was kept with abundance of mirth and rejoicing. We have nothing further to observe about it with relation to the New Testament, except this, That the new law, or the gospel, was fully confirmed on this day of Pentecost by the Holy Ghost descending upon the Apostles.

Of the day of expiation. As the day of expiation happened between the Pentecost and the *feast of tabernacles*, it will be proper to speak of it in this place, though it was of a quite different nature from other festivals, and cannot be properly stiled one. It was celebrated the tenth day of the month Tisri (*d*); and was named the *great fast*, or the *fast* only, because they fasted all the day long, and began even the day before, but especially because this was the only fast enjoined by the law. This probably is the *fast* mentioned in the Acts (*e*), where it is said, that they were afraid of a storm, *because the fast was already past*; that is, it was about the beginning of October, when sailing becomes dangerous. It may however be understood of a fast of the *heathens*, which was celebrated about this time, as we have observed on that place.

The institution of this day, and the ceremonies performed upon it, may be seen in the sixteenth chapter of Leviticus. Of those ceremonies some were to be observed both by the priest and people, as the abstain ing from all kind of food, and all manner of work; others related only to the high-priest (*f*). Seven days before the feast he left his house, and went into the temple, to purify and get himself ready against the approaching solemnity. On the third, and seventh, some of the ashes of the *red heifer* were put upon his head, which was a kind of expiation. The night before the feast, he washed several times his hands, his

(*z*) Πεντηκόστη.

(*a*) Levit. xxiii. 10, 15, 16.

(*b*) Jos. Antiq. l. iii. c. 10.

(*c*) Exod. xxxiv. 25.

(*d*) Which was the first month of the *civil year*.

(*e*) Acts xxvii. 9.

(*f*) Lev. xvi. 29. & xxiii. 27, 28.

his feet, and his whole body, and changed his garments every time. When the day was come, after the usual sacrifice, he offered several others both for the priests in general, and for himself and his family in particular (*). For his family he offered a young bullock, on which he laid his hands, and confessed his own sins, and those of his house. He afterwards cast lots upon two goats, that were offered for the people, one whereof was to be sacrificed, and the other sent into the desert (g). From thence he came back and slew the calf and the ram that were appointed for the expiation of his own sins, and those of his brethren the priests.

When all these preparations were over, he went into the *Holy of Holies*, in the dress of a common priest (†), and burned before the mercy-seat the perfumes which he had brought from the altar. This perfume raised a kind of a cloud, that hindered people from looking into the ark (h), which was reckoned a heinous offence. Then he came out to receive from one of the priests the blood of the young bullock, and carried it into the *Holy of Holies*, where standing between the staves of the ark, he sprinkled some of it with his finger upon the mercy-seat (i). And by this ceremony he made himself fit to atone for the sins of the people. Afterwards he came out of the *Holy of Holies*, to take the blood of the goat he had slain (k), which he sprinkled upon the mercy-seat, as he had done that of the bullock before. He came once more out of the *Holy of Holies*, and took some of the blood of the goat and bullock, which he poured into the horns of the *inner altar* (ll), near the vail that divided the *holy place* from the *most holy*, and also on the basis of the outer altar. Each of these sprinklings was done *seven* times. Lastly, the high-priest laid both his hands upon the head of the other goat, and had him conveyed into the wilderness by a fit person, after he had confessed over him the sins of the people, and laid them upon his head (l).

This was a very expressive ceremony. The sins of the people were done away by the sacrifice of the first goat, and to shew that they would no more be had in remembrance, the second was laden with them (*), and carried them with him into the wilderness, which was thought to be the abode of devils (†), the authors of all vice and iniquity.

(*) They offered on that day 15 sacrifices, viz. 12 whole burnt-offerings and other expiatory sacrifices both for the people and priests.

(g) Lev. xvi. 8.

(†) Because this was a day of affliction.

(h) Lev. xvi. 12, 13. 1 Sam. vi. 19.

(i) Levit. xvi. 14.

(k) Ibid. v. 18.

(ll) Which were hollow for that purpose. See before page 144, &c.

(l) Lev. xvi. 21, 22, 23.

(*) This goat was called *azazel*, that is, according to some a *devil*, because it was sent away with the sins of the people, as hath been said elsewhere. The LXX. have rendered it by a word that signifies to *remove* or *turn away evil*. The word *azazel* may also signify an *emissary* or *scape-goat*, from the word [*Az*] which signifies a *goat*, and *azal* to *separate*. See Prid. Conn. P. II. B. I. under the year 291.

(†) It was a common opinion among the ancient Hebrews, that deserts and uninhabited places were the abode of *devils*. Matt. xii. 43. Rev. xviii. 2.

quity. And therefore the people were wont to insult over and curse him, to spit upon him, to pluck off his hair, and in short to use him as an *accursed thing*. There appear no foot-steps of this usage in the *law*, but it is certain that it was very ancient, since St. Barnabas (*m*), who was cotemporary with the Apostles, makes express mention of it. The ill treatment Jesus Christ met with from the Jews, had some conformity with this custom, and it is evident that his enemies dealt with him in the same manner as they were used to do with the goat *azazel*, as Tertullian hath observed (*n*). It is very probable that the ancient Jews took occasion from some passages out of the *prophets* (*o*), to bring in the custom of insulting thus the goat *azazel*, and crowning him with a red ribbon (*†*).

If it be asked, For what reason God was pleased to chuse the vilest and most dispicable of those animals that were clean, to be offered on the days of *expiation*, we shall answer with some learned *authors* (*p*): that the Egyptians entertaining a very great veneration for goats, and the Israelites themselves having worshipped them in Egypt (*q*), God's design was to turn them from this kind of idolatry, by appointing the one to be offered for a sacrifice, and the other to be laden with the iniquities of the people.

When the high-priest had performed all these functions, he went into the court of women, and read some part of the law. Lastly, he came the fourth time into the *Holy of Holies* to fetch back the censer, and the pan wherein the fire was. When therefore it is said in *scripture* (*r*), that the high-priest entered only once a year into the Holy of Holies, it must be understood of *one* day in the year, and not of *once* on that day. Every thing was done in order, and when one function was over, he was obliged to come out and perform other ceremonies; which, according to the law, could not be done in the most *holy place*, as washing himself, changing his clothes, slaying the sacrifices, &c.

We have dwelt the longer upon this feast, because it hath a greater conformity with the Christian religion than any other, since through all its parts it was typical of the most important mysteries of Christianity. The feast in general was a most lively representation of the atonement which was made for the sins of mankind by the blood of JESUS CHRIST. It is observable that Philo-Judæus had some notion of this truth, for he says (*s*), that the *word of God*, whereby he means the *Son*, is

(*m*) Ep. p. m. 22. This epistle must have been written not long after the destruction of Jerusalem.

(*n*) Tertull. ad v. Jud. l. iii. 3.

(*o*) Isa. i. 6. l. 6. liii. 3. Zechar. xii. 10.

(*†*) Or, a piece of red stuff which was in the shape of a tongue, saith Lamy, p. 134. It was also the custom among the *heathens* to load with curses and imprecations those human sacrifices that were offered for the publick welfare, and to crown them with red ribbons. See *Ving. Ann.* l. 2. v. 133.

(*p*) Eochart. de Animal. Sac. Ser. l. i. c. 53.

(*q*) Lev. xvii. 7. (*r*) Exod. xxx. 10. Lev. xvi. 34. Heb. ix. 7.

(*s*) Phil. de Somn. p. m. 447.

is the head and glory of the propitiation, i. e. of what renders men acceptable to God. These passages of *scripture*, that JESUS CHRIST gave himself a ransom for many (1), that he was made the propitiation for our sins (2), that he was the propitiation not only for our sins, but also for those of the whole world (3), and such like expressions that occur almost in every page of the *gospel*, can mean nothing more, but that JESUS CHRIST hath, by the sacrifice of himself, performed that which was only prefigured by those of the law, and particularly by the general and solemn expiation we are now speaking of. The same Jewish author quoted just before, had also some notion of this matter. It will be proper to set down his very words, not as if we thought they were any confirmation of the Christian revelation, but only to shew that these were truths which the wisest part of the nation acknowledged, and had found out by close and serious meditation. He saith then, that *whereas the priests of other nations offered sacrifices for their own country-men only, the high-priest of the Jews offered for all mankind, and for the whole creation (y)*.

And not only these *sacrifices* that were offered on the day of expiation were a more exact representation of the sacrifice of JESUS CHRIST than any other, but also the *person*, by whom the atonement was made, was in every respect qualified to represent the *high-priest* of the Christian church. And that,

1. Upon the account of his *dignity*, which, according to the Jews, was at its utmost height, when he entered into the Holy of Holies. For which reason he was called *Great among his brethren (z)*: this dignity was so very considerable, that Philo does not scruple to say, according to his lofty and rhetorical way of speaking, that the high-priest was to be something more than human, that he more nearly resembled God than all the rest, that he partook both of the divine and human nature (*). It seems to have been with a design of expressing both the holiness and dignity of the high-priest, that the law had enjoined none should remain in the tabernacle, whilst the high-priest went into the Holy of Holies (a).

2. He further represented our high-priest by his holiness. We have shewed before what extraordinary care the law had taken to distinguish him from his brethren in this respect. It was to denote this holiness, that in the anointing of the high-priest a greater quantity of oil was used, than in that of his brethren, from whence he was called *the priest anointed (b)*. Nothing can better represent the great holiness of JESUS CHRIST than this great plenty of oil used in the consecration of Aaron, and it was undoubtedly with allusion to this anointing, that JESUS CHRIST is stiled in scripture the *holy one*, by way of eminence (c).

3. He represented JESUS CHRIST by his being on that day a *mediator* between

(1) Matth. xx. 28.

(2) 1 John iv. 10.

(3) 1 John ii. 2.

(y) Philo de monar. p. 637.

(z) Lev. xxi. 10.

(*) Philo de monar. p. 63. de Somn. 872.

(a) Lev. xvi. 17.

(b) Levit. iv. 3. 5.

(c) Acts iii. 14. Rev. iii. 7.

between God and the people. For though Moses be called a *mediator* in the New Testament, yet it is certain that the high-priest was invested with this office on the day of expiation. Moses must indeed be acknowledged as a *mediator*, God having by his means made a covenant with the children of Israel. But as they were very apt to transgress the law, it was necessary there should be a mediator, who by his intercession and sacrifices, might reconcile them to God. Now this was the high-priest's function. So that Moses and Aaron were exact types of the two-fold mediation of JESUS CHRIST. By him was the *new covenant* made, and by his own blood hath he for ever reconciled God to mankind.

4. The entrance of JESUS CHRIST into heaven once for all, there to present his own blood to God, as an atonement for our sins, was very clearly typified by the *high-priest's* going once a year into the Holy of Holies with the blood of the victims (*d*).

As for the two *goats*, we learn from the epistle of St. Barnabas, as quoted above, that they were even then looked upon as *typical*. They both represented the same thing, but under different ideas. The offering of the one was a manifest token of the people's iniquities being remitted and forgiven; and the sending of the other into the wilderness shewed, that they were carried away, or blotted out of God's remembrance. To which there seems to be an allusion in the prophet Isaiah (*e*), when it is said, that God *casts sins behind his back*, and *in the bottom of the sea*. The sacrifice of JESUS CHRIST may be considered under these two different views, he hath done away our sins, hath taken them upon himself, and nailed them to his cross (*f*).

Of fasts. It hath been already observed that the only fast appointed by the law, was the day of expiation. The institution of the other Jewish fasts is however of a very ancient date. We find mention in the prophet Zechariah of a fast of the fourth, fifth, seventh, and tenth month (*g*). From whence the Jews undoubtedly took an occasion of celebrating *four* solemn fasts in remembrance of some particular calamities or misfortunes. That which was kept on the 17th of June, for instance, was, to put them in mind of Moses's breaking the two tables of the law, and of other mischances that happened on the same day (*h*). The fast that fell on the 9th of July, was appointed upon account of the temple's having first been burnt on that day by Nebuchadnezzar, and afterwards by Titus. This fast was the most solemn of the four, and which every person was obliged to observe. The next sabbath after it, the fortieth chapter of Isaiah was read, which begins with these words, *Comfort ye my people*, &c. From whence the *consolation of Israel* (*i*) came to be used to denote the coming of the Messiah. On the fast which was kept the third day of *September*, they mourned for the death of Gedaliah, who had been appointed ruler over the Jews that remained in the land of Israel, when the rest were carried away captive to Babylon,

(*d*) Heb. ix. 12. 24.

(*e*) Isa. xxxviii. 17.

(*f*) 1 Pet. ii. 24.

(*g*) Zech. viii. 19.

(*h*) Exod. xxxii. 19.

(*i*) Luke ii. 25.

bylon, and who was murdered by Ishmael at Mizpah (*k*). That on the tenth of December was in commemoration of the siege of Jerusalem, which was by Nebuchadnezzar begun upon that day (*l*).

Besides these *fasts* that were fixed to particular days, there were others, and those either *publick*, enjoined in the time of any general calamity, or *private*, appointed for particular occasions, such as were those of David, Daniel, Nehemiah, &c (*m*). Notice was given of the first by the sound of the trumpet, that all the people might gather themselves together. And then the chest or ark, wherein the law was kept, was brought out of the synagogue, in the presence of the whole assembly, and strewed with ashes, in token of sorrow and affliction. All persons were obliged to appear in *sack-cloth*. And one of the presidents of the synagogue made a speech suitable to the day and occasion, which was accompanied with several ejaculations and prayers.

When particular persons fasted, they were wont likewise to cover themselves with sack-cloth and ashes, and to shew all other signs of grief, as to forbear washing, and anointing their bodies with oil, &c. The Pharisees having made an ill use of these outward expressions of sorrow, JESUS CHRIST ordered his disciples to take a quite different method when they should fast, that their fasting might be concealed from men (*n*). Particular persons fasted not only in the times of affliction; but the more devout sort were used to do it twice a week, on Mondays and Thursdays, as we find the Pharisee boasting in the *gospel* (*o*).

Fasting was unlawful at some certain times, as on *festivals* and *sabbath-days*, unless the day of expiation fell upon either of them. This custom seems to be of a very ancient date, since we find it related in the book of Judith, that she *fasted all the days of her widow-hood, except the sabbaths, and new-moons*, with their *eves*, and the *feasts and solemn days of the house of Israel* (*p*). It is a maxim among the Rabbins, that fasting was to cease upon the coming of the Messiah. If it be of any great antiquity, as most of the Jewish sayings are, the disciples of John the Baptist, as well as the Pharisees, ought from thence to have learned that JESUS was the Messiah, instead of finding fault with him because his disciples did not fast (*q*). The answer he made to this objection of theirs, seems to allude to the notion above-mentioned. But here it is to be observed by the way, that the reproach cast on JESUS CHRIST about his disciples not fasting, ought undoubtedly to be understood of frequent and affected fastings, it not being at all probable that the disciples of CHRIST, who, after the example of their divine master, were strict observers of the law, would have neglected to keep the same fasts as the rest of their nation did.

JESUS CHRIST himself fasted forty days, but that was a very extraordinary

(*k*) Jer. xl. xli.

(*l*) 2 Kings xxv.

(*m*) 2 Sam. xii. 16. Psalm. xxxv. 13. Dan. x. 2. Neh. i. 4.

(*n*) Matth. vi. 16.

(*o*) Luke xviii. 12.

(*p*) Judith viii. 6.

(*q*) Matth. ix. 14, 15. Luke v. 33.

ordinary kind of fasting (*r*). He allowed his disciples to observe this ceremony (*s*). The Apostles sometimes practised it, and exhorted their followers to do the same. But it is certain that JESUS CHRIST hath left no positive command about fasting, and that this custom hath crept only accidentally into the Christian institution. Did Christians but faithfully observe the precepts of the Gospel, their state would be a continual feast, and they would have no manner of occasion to afflict their souls (*) by these marks of humiliation and repentance. Or, had God ordered it so, that the Christian church should be delivered from those calamitous times, in which, if I may so speak, the bridegroom is taken from her, by the violence of her enemies, there would have been no need for her to humble herself under his hand with fasting. For, in a word, nothing can recommend us to God's favour, but true holiness, and fasting is no farther acceptable to him, than as it leads us thereto.

Of the feast of as The feast of tabernacles (†) lasted seven days, or eight, as same authors infer from two or three passages of scripture, (*t*), and began on the fifteenth of the month Tisri (‖). It was instituted by God, for a memorial of the Israelites having dwelt in tents or tabernacles while they were in the desert (*u*), or else, according to others, in remembrance of the building of the tabernacle. The design of this feast was moreover to return God thanks for the fruits of the vine, as well as of other trees, that were gathered about this time; and to beg his blessing on those of the ensuing year. No feast was attended with greater rejoicings than this (§), which was owing to the expectation they were in of the Messiah's coming, and for which they then prayed with a greater earnestness (‡). The principal ceremonies observed in the celebration of this feast, were as follows.

1. They were obliged to dwell, during the whole solemnity, in tents, which they at first used to pitch on the tops of their houses (*x*). 2. They offered every day abundance of sacrifices, besides the usual ones, of which there is a particular account in the book of Numbers (*y*). 3. During the whole feast, they carried in their hands branches or posies of palm-trees, olives, citrons, myrtles, and willows (*z*), singing *Hosanna*, that

(*r*) Matth. iv. 2.

(*s*) Matth. vi. 16.

(*) This is the phrase used in scripture to denote a *fast*.

(†) Or of *booths*. For the tents used in this feast were made of branches of trees.

(*t*) Lex. xxiii. 36. Nehem. viii. 18.

(‖) Which answered to part of our September and October.

(*u*) Lev. xxiii. 43.

(§) For which reason it was named *chag*, i. e. a *day of rejoicing*. It was besides called the *feast of in-gathering*. Exod. xxiii. 16. Deut. xvi. 13.

(‡) The days of the Messiah were stiled by the Jews, *the feast of tabernacles*.

(*x*) Nehem. viii. 16. Which in that country were flat, and like terrasses.

(*y*) Numb. xxix.

(*z*) Lev. xxiii. 40. Nehem. viii. 15. 2 Macc. x. 7. These they tied with gold and silver lines, or with ribbons; and did not leave them all the day, but carried them with them even into the synagogues, and kept them by them all the time they were at prayer. Lamy's Introd. p. 135.

that is, *Save, I beseech thee*. By which words, taken out of the hundred and eighteenth *psalm*, they prayed for the coming of the Messiah. These branches bore also the name of *Hosanna*, as well as all the days of the feast. In the same manner was JESUS CHRIST conducted into Jerusalem by the believing Jews, who looking upon him as the promised Messiah, expressed an uncommon joy upon finding in him the accomplishment of those petitions which they had so often put up to heaven, at the *feast of tabernacles* (a). They walked every day, as long as the feast lasted, round the altar with the forementioned branches in their hands (*), singing *Hosanna*. To this last ceremony there seems to be an allusion in the Revelations (b), wherein St. John describes the saints, as walking round the throne of the Lamb, with palms in their hands, and singing the following hymn, "Salvation cometh from God and the Lamb."

4. One of the most remarkable ceremonies performed on this feast, was the libations, or pouring out of the water, which was done every day. A priest went and drew some water (†) at the pool of Siloam, and carried it into the temple, where he poured it on the altar (‖), at the time of the morning sacrifice, the people singing in the mean time these words out of the prophet Isaiah (c), "With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation." As, according to the Jews themselves, this water was an emblem of the Holy Ghost, JESUS CHRIST manifestly alluded to it, when on the last day of the feast of tabernacles, he cried out to the people, "If any man thirst," &c (d).

We must not forget to observe, that during the whole solemnity, the Jews used all imaginable expressions of an universal joy, (still keeping within the bounds of innocence) such as feasting, dancing, continual music, and such vast illuminations, that the whole city of Jerusalem was enlightened with them (§). The greatness of these rejoicings, and their happening in the time of vintage, hath made some authors believe, that the Jews were wont to sacrifice to Bacchus (e).

(a) Matt. xxi. 8, 9.

(*) During which ceremony the trumpets sounded on all sides. On the seventh day of the feast, they went seven times round the altar, and this was called The great Hosanna. Lamy. p. 136.

(b) Revel. vii. 9.

(†) In a golden vessel. *ibid*.

(‖) Whilst the members of the sacrifice were upon it. But first he mixed some wine with the water. *Id. ibid*.

(c) Is. xii. 3. and lv. 1. The antient Latin translator hath properly enough rendered the last words of the first passage here quoted, by, "The wells of the Saviour."

(d) John vii. 37.

(§) It is supposed that these rejoicings were performed in the court of the women, that they might partake of the public mirth.

(e) Plutarch. Symp. l. iv. 5. Tacit. Hist. l. v.

Of the Sabbath.

Of the sabbath. **T**H E R E were three sorts of sabbaths, or times of rest (*f*), among the Jews; the sabbath properly so called, that is, the seventh day in each week; the sabbatical year, or every seventh year; and the jubilee, which was celebrated at the end of seven times seven years. We shall give an account in the first place of the sabbath properly so called.

The sabbath is a festival instituted by God, in commemoration of the creation of the world, which was finished on the sixth day, as appears from the book of Genesis (*g*), and also from the law (*h*), wherein it is said, that “in six days God made the heaven and the earth, and rested on the seventh day.” This institution was appointed chiefly for the two following reasons; first, To keep in men’s minds the remembrance of the creation of the world, and thereby to prevent idolatry, and the worshipping of creatures, by setting that day apart for the service of the Creator of all things: And secondly, to give man and beast one day of respite and rest every week. Besides these two general views, the sabbath was established for a more particular end, with regard to the children of Israel, namely, to celebrate the memory of their deliverance out of Egypt, as we find it expressly recorded in the book of Deuteronomy (*i*). Hence the sabbath is called in scripture, “a sign between God and the Israelites (*k*).”

This hath given rise to a question, that hath very much exercised the learned world, whether the sabbath was appointed from the beginning of the world, and only renewed after the coming of the Hebrews out of Egypt; or whether it be a ceremony instituted with respect to the children of Israel, to turn them from idolatry, by putting them in mind of their Creator and Deliverer; in a word, whether the sabbath is a mere ceremonial institution, or an universal law, which binds all mankind? We shall not determine this question either way, but only set down the chief arguments that render the first opinion the most probable, and give an answer to the objections that have been advanced against it. 1. The scripture does not make the least mention of the sabbath’s being observed before the coming of the children of Israel out of Egypt, though there are frequent accounts of the worship which the patriarchs rendered to God. Now, is it probable that the sacred historian would have omitted so holy and solemn a law as that of the sabbath, (a law, the violation whereof was punished with death; a law, which having been delivered from the beginning of the world, ought to have been universally received) and not have spoken of it, till two thousand years after its institution? Moses, indeed, when giving an account of the times that went before him, speaks of the number seven, as if it had been

(*f*) The Hebrew word sabbath signifies rest.

(*g*) Gen. ii. 1, 2, 3.

(*i*) Deut. v. 15.

(*h*) Exod. xx. 10, 11.

(*k*) Exod. xxxi. 13, 16, 17.

been accounted holy, but says not the least word about keeping the sabbath. Would the same sacred historian, that hath so carefully and exactly transmitted to posterity the travels of the patriarchs, not have sometimes taken notice of their stopping to celebrate the sabbath? or, can it be supposed, that the patriarchs would have neglected to observe so strict a command? 2. The sacred writings never represent the sabbath otherwise than as a sign between God and the children of Israel, as a privilege peculiar to that nation, as a rest which God had granted them, and a festival whereby they were distinguished from the rest of the inhabitants of the world. "Consider," saith Moses to the Israelites (*l*) "that God hath given you the sabbath," or rest; and in another place (*n*), "My sabbath shall you keep, for it is a sign between me and you, throughout your generations, that you may know that I am the Lord, who hath sanctified you," that is, separated you from the rest of mankind. Nehemiah speaks of the sabbath, as of a particular favour which God had granted the Israelites, and places the ordinance relating to it among those other laws, which he had given unto them by the hand of Moses (*n*). In the prophet Ezekiel (*o*) the sabbath is ranked among the special mercies which God had vouchsafed his people, and the marks of distinction he had been pleased to honour them with. Accordingly the most ancient writers that have spoken of it, have considered it under no other view. Philo doth expressly rank the sabbath among the laws of Moses (*p*), and when in another place (*q*) he calls it the feast, not of one people or country alone, but of the whole universe, it is plain that he there speaks figuratively. Josephus also mentions it always as a ceremony peculiar to the Jews, and styles it the law of their country (*r*). The ancient fathers of the church had the same notion of this matter; Justin Martyr, in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew, tells him (*s*), that the sabbath was given to the Jews upon the account of their transgressions, and for the hardness of their hearts; and Theodoret (*) also says, that the observation of the sabbath was enjoined them, with a design to distinguish them from all the other nations of the world. The Jewish doctors are of the same opinion, telling us, that their countrymen were so strict observers of the sabbath, that they would not even allow the proselytes of the gate to celebrate it with the same ceremonies as themselves, because they were not circumcised (*t*). 3. The keeping of the sabbath was attended with such circumstances, as plainly shew, that it was a ceremonial institution peculiar to one people, and not an universal law given from the beginning of the world; as appears from their superstitious exactness in not doing any manner of work, for the space of four and twenty hours, and that under pain of death. Reason itself will teach us, that one day

(*l*) Exod. xvi. 29.

(*n*) Exod. xxxi. 13, 16, 17.

(*n*) Nehem. ix. 14.

(*o*) Ezek. xx. 11, 12.

(*p*) Phil. de Decal. p. 185. de Vita Mosi, p. 529.

(*q*) De Opif. Mundi, p. 15.

(*r*) Jos. Ant. l.

(*s*) Just. Mart. Dialog. contra Tryph.

(*) Theodor. in Ezek. xx. To which may be added Cyril of Alexandria, Hom. 6. de Fest. Pasch. and several other, both Greek and Latin, fathers.

(*t*) Seld. de Jur. Nat. et Gent. l. iii. c. 5. 10.

is not more holy in the sight of God than another, and that idleness in itself cannot be acceptable to him. This law therefore must have had for its object, a people considered under some particular ideas. The Israelites were just come out of Egypt, where not only the stars, but also men, animals, plants, and all creatures in general were looked upon as deities, and where they had also paid divine worship to them. Now it was necessary there should a day be set apart, to keep them in perpetual remembrance of the creation; and none could be fitter for that purpose than the seventh, for the reason before alledged. Besides, they were come out of a country where they had been kept to continual toil and drudgery; and therefore it was but just and reasonable, that their rest on that day should be an everlasting memorial of the rest God had procured them, and that it should be wholly consecrated to his service. It is no crime to gather wood on the sabbath-day. The law did not inflict so severe a punishment upon other faults, that were much more grievous than this, because they might happen to be committed through inadvertence and infirmity. But it would have been an inexcusable ingratitude, a prophanation, and even a very criminal impiety in the children of Israel, to break so easy a command, and to rob God of one single moment of a day, which he had entirely reserved to himself.

4. Were all men, and all the nations in the world, bound to observe the sabbath, then it would never have been abrogated, as it actually was; and the Christians ought to have kept it throughout all ages, as they at first did, out of condescension to the Jews. Besides, JESUS CHRIST would never have said of a like injunction as the sabbath, that he was at liberty to observe it, or not; that the sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath (*u*). From his answer to the Pharisees, when they found fault with his disciples for plucking some ears of corn on the sabbath-day, these three particulars are to be observed. First, That he sets the sabbath upon the same foot with the command, whereby all sorts of persons, besides the priests, were forbidden to eat the shew-bread. Secondly, That the service of JESUS CHRIST, who is the true temple of God, dispenses men from the observation of the sabbath, and drives it away, to use the Jewish expression. Thirdly, That by JESUS CHRIST's saying the sabbath is made for man, and not man for the sabbath, it is plain he looked upon it only as a ceremony appointed for the use of man; whereas mankind was made for the noble duties of justice and holiness, because they do not depend upon institution, but are enjoined by reason as well as scripture. These reflections of JESUS CHRIST set the sabbath in the same rank with the Jewish ceremonies. St. Paul also places the sabbath-days among those ceremonies, wherewith he would not have Christians think themselves bound, because they were "a shadow of things to come (*x*)."

It may perhaps be imagined, that sunday having succeeded to the sabbath, the law concerning the sabbath is consequently still in force. It must indeed be owned that there is some conformity between the Jewish

(*u*) Matt. xii. 8. Mark ii. 27.

(*x*) Coloss. ii. 16, 17.

Jewish sabbath and our sabbath; and that the design of the primitive church was to make the latter insensibly succeed the former, as to what was of moral obligation in the sabbath; but we ought to take care upon several accounts, not to confound the one with the other. For, 1. The keeping of sabbath is not a ceremony, but a duty which we are bound to perform for these two reasons; that we may set apart one day in the week for the service of God; and secondly, that we may enjoy ourselves, and give our dependants some rest from their labours. 2. Sunday is not of divine, but of human institution. It is true that there is mention of this day in the New Testament under the name of the first day of the week (y), and the Lord's day (z), and it is moreover manifest from those places, that it was a day reckoned more considerable than the rest, and set apart for the exercises of religious duties; but still there is no express command to keep it holy. 3. We do not find, either in holy scripture, or ecclesiastical history, that there is an obligation of abstaining from all work on sabbaths, which was one of the chief articles relating to the sabbath. If people do no work on sabbaths, it is because they may not be taken off from religious duties, but may have leisure to meditate on holy things, which is the end for which this day was appointed. 4. Sunday is the first day of the week, and not the seventh, which was essential to the sabbath. 5. Sunday is instituted upon a quite different view than the sabbath was. This latter was appointed in remembrance of the creation of the world, and the deliverance of the Jews out of Egypt; on the sabbath, we celebrate the resurrection of Jesus Christ, and meditate at the same time on our christian hopes, and the truth of our holy religion, which was fully proved and confirmed by Jesus's rising again.

There are notwithstanding some reasons which would incline one to believe that the institution of the sabbath is of a longer standing than the law of Moses, that it is an appointment calculated not only for the Israelites, but for all men in general, and that it is almost of the same nature as the moral law. It seems indeed, that the design of the sabbath being to keep in men's minds, and celebrate the memory of the creation of the world, it ought to be universally received, and for ever observed. But on the other hand, the scripture making no mention of the keeping of the sabbath, for the space of two thousand years, serves very much to clear this difficulty, as hath been already observed. Besides, a legislator is seldom known to enact any laws, except in case of necessity. Now this provision against idolatry (*) was the less needful in those early times, when the remembrance of the creation was still fresh in men's minds, and upon the account of the long lives of the patriarchs, might be preserved for several ages, since they had been in a manner witnesses thereof. The case was altered, when the remembrance of the creation came to be worn out of men's minds, and they began to worship creatures. And if God thought it proper to leave other nations in the hand of their counsel, nothing could be more worthy of

(y) Acts xx. 7. 1 Cor. xvi. 2.

(z) Revel. i. 10.

(*) Viz. the institution of the sabbath.

of his wisdom and goodness, than to guard his own people against the worshipping of creatures, by instituting the sabbath, and also thereby to call to their remembrance how on that day they were saved out of the hands of the Egyptians.

The words in Genesis, wherein it is said that "God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it," because on that day he rested from his work; and those in Exodus, where God's resting is alledged as the reason of his instituting the sabbath, seem also to prove, that all men in general are equally bound by this institution as well as the Jews. There may be some probability in this, but it is also attended with difficulties. It is indeed said in Genesis that God blessed, that is, pronounced happy the sabbath-day, and that he sanctified, or separated it from other days; but there is no command about celebrating, or keeping it holy. It would be somewhat strange if the sacred historian had recorded an injunction given to Adam in particular, and not have mentioned a command wherein all mankind was concerned. When God sent the deluge into the world as a punishment for men's iniquities, among the crimes laid to their charge, we do not find that they are ever accused of having broken the sabbath, which would nevertheless have been a crime committed against the majesty of heaven. It is then very probable that in Genesis the sacred historian hath spoken of sanctifying the sabbath-day by way of anticipation, as all the other historians are often used to do (*). The account of the creation was not given, till after the coming of the children of Israel out of Egypt, with a design to turn them from idolatry, and the worshipping of creatures. Moses takes from thence an occasion of giving them to understand, that this is the reason why God hath sanctified the seventh day, and appointed this festival, to be by them celebrated every week. Upon this supposition, the sanctifying of the sabbath does not relate to the creation of the world, where we find it mentioned, but to after-ages.

Another argument, whereby it hath been attempted to prove that the sabbath is not a mere ceremony, is, That the law whereby it is enjoined being part of the decalogue, which contains the laws of morality, that are of an eternal obligation, this consequently seems to be of the same nature. We have already shewed that the law concerning the sabbath hath all the marks of a ceremony, and not of a moral duty. The most ancient fathers of the church have been of the same opinion, as we have also observed (†). The heathens (*) have expressed some regard for all the other articles of the Jewish law, and ridiculed only the sabbath, which they looked upon as a vain and trifling ceremony, not knowing for what wise reasons it had been appointed. It was notwithstanding necessary that the law concerning the sabbath, though merely ceremonial, should be ranked among the ten commandments, and that for these two reasons.

I. The

(*) There are several anticipations of the like nature in the pentateuch.

(†) Justin Mart. Dial. cont. Tryph. Tertull. Theodoret in Ezech. xx. Chrysost. Augustin Lib. ad Marcel. de sp. & lit. c. 14.

(*) Senec. ap. Aug. de Civit. c. vi. 11. Juvenal. Sat. 14. Rutil. Itin. l. 1.

1. The observation of the sabbath being then a part of the divine worship, and a fence against idolatry, as God was therein acknowledged the creator of the world, it was very expedient that this law should be placed in the first table, which contained the duty of the Israelites towards God. It is moreover to be observed, that this commandment is the last in that table, because by observing it the *children of Israel* could therein discover the grounds of the three first. The 2d reason why the law concerning the sabbath is placed in the *decalogue*, is plainly this, because it is an abridgment not only of the *moral*, but also of the *ceremonial* law. According to Philo (a), the sabbath was a summary of the latter. *The fourth commandment*, saith he, *is only an abridgment of whatever is prescribed concerning the festivals, vows, sacrifices, and all religious worship*. Thus have we set down the chief reasons relating to the nature and origin of the sabbath. We shall leave the reader to determine either way, or else to suspend his judgment.

We come now therefore to consider the sabbath as a Jewish ceremony. This word most commonly denotes the seventh day of the week, but it hath sometimes a more extensive signification in *scripture*. It is sometimes taken for all the festivals, because they were so many days of rest. The feast of *expiation* in particular is frequently stiled the *sabbath*, as well as the *first* and *eighth* days of the feast of *tabernacles*, and the *sabbatical year* (b). Sometimes it signifies the *whole week* (c), because the sabbath was the most remarkable day in it. As for the sabbath properly so called, it is often termed in the *sacred* writings, and in Josephus, the *sabbaths* in the plural (d). Which it was proper to observe by the way, to prevent any one from being embarrassed at it.

The sabbath began the friday in the evening, which was the *preparation* (*), about *sun-set*, and ended the next day at the same time. What chiefly deserves our notice in this day, is, that both man and beast were obliged to rest and abstain from all servile occupations (e). This rest was the most essential part of the solemnity and worship of that day, for the reasons before mentioned. It appears from several places of the New Testament, that religious exercises, as reading the law, praying and blessing, were reckoned necessary on the sabbath, but they are not prescribed by the law; whereas *rest* was enjoined with the utmost strictness imaginable. Hence in the scripture-language (†) *to profane the sabbath* is the same as to work upon it, as to *sanctify* it signifies to rest. Even the most

(a) Philo de Decal. (b) Levit. xvi. 23, 24. xxv. 4. Ezek. xx. 21.

(c) Luke xviii. 12. Matth. xxviii. 1.

(d) Matth. xii. 1. Mark i. 23. Joseph. Antiq. l. 2.

(*) Mark xv. 42. The law of the sabbath obliged the Jews to so strict a rest, that they were not suffered to dress their victuals, nor even to light their fires; which obliged them to *prepare* things the day before, i. e. the *Friday*. And for this reason it is named *the preparations of the sabbath*. Lamy, p. 106.

(e) Exod. xvi. 29, 30. xxiii. 12. Jerem. xvii. 22, 27.

(†) Exod. xxxi. 14. xxxv. 2. xx. 8.

most necessary works were forbidden on pain of death (*f*), as gathering manna, or wood, baking bread, lighting a fire (*g*); not only sowing and reaping were then reckoned unlawful, but also plucking any ears of corn, carrying any thing from one place to another, or going above two thousand paces or cubits; which in *scripture* is called a *sabbath-day's journey* (*b*). The Jews had carried their scruples in this point to such a height, that they imagined they were not so much as allowed to fight in defence of their lives on the sabbath-day. They paid sometimes very dear for these superstitious notions, especially during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, when they suffered themselves rather to be burnt and smothered in the flames, than defend or stop the mouths of their caves; this prince having pitched upon the *sabbath-day* to attack them (*i*). Mattathias soon convinced them indeed of their error, by teaching them that self-murder was a greater crime, than breaking the sabbath. Notwithstanding they fell again a sacrifice to this superstition under Pompey, who taking an advantage of it, fixed his machines against Jerusalem, without any manner of opposition. There were however several things, which it was lawful to do on the sabbath-day; but they could not well be looked upon as servile employments. Of which kind were circumcision, and works of mercy, that were to be performed to beasts, and therefore much more to men, as JESUS CHRIST told the Pharisees, when they found fault with him for having healed a man on the sabbath (*k*). All occupation in general relating to the divine service was allowed of on that day (*l*), as getting ready whatever was necessary for the sacrifices, slaying the victims, &c.

It is evident from the New Testament, that the celebration of the sabbath chiefly consisted in the religious exercises, which were then performed. But there is no injunction relating to them in the Old Testament, except a burnt-offering of two lambs, which was on that day added to the *morning* and *evening* sacrifices. But reason alone taught them that God having reserved this one day to his service, it ought to be spent in devout meditations, and a sacred rest, as Philo hath expressly observed (*m*).
We

(*f*) Numb. xv. 32, &c. Exod. xxxi. 14.

(*g*) Exod. xxxv. 3. xvi. 23. Philo de Vit. Mos. p. 508. And therefore as soon as the sun was gone down, the *Friday* in the evening, so far that it shone only on the tops of the mountains, they lighted their lamps.

(*b*) Josh. iii. 4. John v. 10. Acts i. 12. Matt. xii. 1, 2. If they took a journey, they took care to be at the end of it before sun-set. Some of their reasonings on this point were as follow, *viz.* It is forbidden to *reap*, and it is forbidden to *gather the ears of corn*, because that is a sort of reaping. It is not lawful to *sow*, and therefore neither is it to walk in ground *newly sown*, because the seed may stick to the feet, and so be carried from place to place, which is in some sort sowing. *Lamy's* Introd. p. 105, & 188.

(*i*) Joseph. Antiq. xii. 18. & xiv. 8. Plutarch. de Superst. p. 168.

(*k*) Matt. xii. 5. John vii. 22. Luke xiii. 15. xiv. 5.

(*l*) It was a maxim among the Jews, that there was no sabbath in the sanctuary.

(*m*) Philo de Decal. p. 185.

We have before had an occasion of mentioning the religious exercises performed on the sabbath.

Feastings and *rejoicings* were also thought essential to the sabbath, according to Philo, Josephus, and the Thalmudists (*n*). These however do not seem to have been of divine institution. It is only said in the law, that the *sabbath* was appointed as a day of respite, as a *breathing-time* according to the *septuagint*, or as a day of *refreshment* according to the ancient *Latin version*. This custom is certainly of a very long standing, since it is taken notice of by a heathen author (*o*), by way of reflection upon the Jews. There could be no manner of harm in it, if, satisfied with some few innocent diversions, and moderate mirth, they had not exceeded the bounds of temperance and sobriety, as they are charged by that Author, as well as by St. Augustin (*p*), of having done. JESUS CHRIST made no scruple of being at a feast on the sabbath-day (*q*). But such was the sensuality of that people, that they could not but soon make an ill use of this custom. Accordingly we find some foot-steps of it in the prophet Isaiah (*r*), where rewards are proposed to such as would not take an occasion from the sabbath to indulge themselves in all manner of rioting and excess. It is certain that the sabbath was a day of rejoicing, and that, as a token of it, they sounded the trumpet at several different hours (*), made great illuminations, and every one put on his best garments, and dressed over night a greater quantity of victuals than usual.

Before we conclude this article concerning the *sabbath* properly so called, it will be proper to explain what (*s*) St. Luke means by the *second-first sabbath*, the which is the more necessary to do here, because the note on that passage happens to be omitted in our *version* of the New Testament. As this expression is to be found no where but in this place, the learned are very much divided about the signification of it, and Gregory Nazianzen excused himself in a very pleasant manner from delivering his opinion about it, when desired by St. Jerom (*t*). The Jewish year having two beginnings, as hath been shewn before, some authors pretend, that there were consequently two *first* sabbaths, namely, the first sabbath of the month Tisri or September, which was the beginning of the *civil* year. This, according to them, was *the first sabbath of all*. The other was the first sabbath in the month Nisan or March, and this was named the *second-first*. Clemens of Alexandria speaks indeed of a sabbath (*u*), that was stiled the *first*. And this conjecture would appear plausible enough, was it not liable to this difficulty, *viz.* That if the

second

(*n*) Philo de Vita Mosis. Jos. cont. App. l. 1.

(*o*) Plutarch Sympoliac. l. iv. (*p*) Aug. Tract. 3. in Joan.

(*q*) Luke xiv. 1.

(*r*) Isa. lviii. 13, 14.

(*) The first time was at the *ninth* hour, or our *three* in the afternoon, and then they left off working in the country; the second was some time after, and this moment all the workmen in the city left off working, and shut up their shops; and the last was, when the sun was ready to set, and then they lighted up the lamps. Lamy. p. 129.

(*s*) Luke vi. 1.

(*t*) Hier. Epist. xxiv. ad Nepotian.

(*u*) Clem. Alexand. Str. vi. p. 656.

second-first sabbath mentioned by St. Luke had been the *first* sabbath of the month Nisan, it would thence follow that the disciples had transgressed the law by eating ears of corn (x), since the *omer* of barley, which was not presented to God till the next day after the feast of unleavened bread, that is, the sixteenth, had not been at that time offered up. Yet we do not find that the Pharisees upbraided the disciples for having transgressed the law in this respect, but only for having plucked ears of corn on the sabbath. Others have imagined that the Jews called *first sabbaths*, those *three*, that immediately followed their three solemn festivals; inasmuch that the *first of all* was that which came after the passover, the *second-first* after the *pentecost*, and the *third-first* after the *feast of tabernacles*; but this conjecture is built upon too weak grounds to be depended on. The most probable opinion therefore is that which is commonly received among the learned, namely, That by the *second-first* sabbath is to be understood the first sabbath after the second day of the feast of unleavened bread, when the handful of barley was offered (y), and from which the seven weeks between the *passover* and *pentecost* were reckoned. Every circumstance tends to confirm this supposition. The disciples might then lawfully eat ears of corn. Josephus says (z), that on the second day of the feast of unleavened bread, which is the sixteenth of the month, they are allowed to reap, but not before. Besides, the Greek word used by St. Luke (a), properly signifies *the first after the second*. This moreover agrees with the Jewish way of computing the fifty days between the *passover* and *pentecost* (b). The next day after the offering of the *omer*, they were used to say, this is the first day of the *omer*, and so on, till the fiftieth. The Hellenist-Jews, instead of saying the *first after the omer* (c), said *the first after the second*, that is, after the second day of the *feast of unleavened bread*.

The *sabbatical year* happened every seventh year, and therefore it was also named the *sabbath* (d), according to the Jewish calculation. The first sabbatical year celebrated by the children of Israel was the fourteenth after their coming into the land of Canaan, because they were to be seven years in making themselves masters thereof, and seven more in dividing it among themselves. This year was reckoned, not from Abib or March, but from Tisri or September. It was called the year of release, for several reasons. 1. Because the ground remained untilled. They were not permitted to sow, to plant, or prune trees, in a word, to cultivate the ground in any manner whatsoever (e). So that during the six foregoing years, and especially on the sixth, which was stiled *the eve of the sabbatical year*, they were obliged to lay in provisions against the ensuing time of need. This hath made some believe that when JESUS CHRIST told the Jews,

“ Pray

(x) Lev. xxiii. 14.

(y) Lev. xxiii. 15.

(z) Joseph. Antiq. l. iii. 10.

(a) Δευτεροπέωλος, i. e. πρῶτος ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας.

(b) Leo of Modena Cer. of the Jews.

(c) Bartolocci. Biblioth. Rabb. apud. Bern. Lami, Appar. Chron. p. 202.

(d) Lev. xxv. 4.

(e) Exod. xxiii. 10, &c. Levit. xxv. 2, 3, 4, 5.

"Pray ye that your flight be not on the sabbath (*f*)," he meant the sabbatical year, when there was but little sustenance to be found upon the ground. But another sense may be put on that passage (*). 2. Such debts as had been contracted during the six preceding years were remitted (*g*). But it may be questioned whether a creditor was not allowed to demand his debt at the end of the sabbatical year; the Thalmudists are not agreed about it, but thus much is certain, that the sabbatical year was a time of acquittance for debtors. 3. Hebrew slaves were then set at liberty. It is however probable, that masters were obliged to make their slaves free at the end of every seventh year, whether it happened to be the sabbatical year or not (*h*); unless the slaves were willing to remain in the same state for life, in which case, their masters brought them before the judges, and bored their ears through with an awl against the door-posts. To which David alluded when he said, that God "did not desire sacrifice or oblation from him, but had bored his ears (*i*)," that he might be his servant for ever, and become always obedient to his voice. These words to bore the ear, are rendered in the Septuagint by others that signify to fit, or prepare a body, meaning, that the body or person of the slave was no longer his own, but his master's. The author of the epistle to the Hebrews brings in *Jesus Christ* making use of the same expression, and applies it to his subject (*k*). Lastly, When mention is so often made in the New Testament of the remission of sins, it is undoubtedly spoken with allusion to the sabbatical year, which was a year of remission in all these respects.

The jubilee (†) was celebrated at the end of seven times seven, or forty nine years, that is, every fiftieth year (*l*). Of the jubilee. It began on the tenth day of the month Tisri, and was proclaimed throughout the country by the sound of a ram's horn, or a trumpet. There is no mention of the jubilees, but whilst the twelve tribes were in possession of the land of Canaan. The Thalmudists pretend that they ceased when the tribes of Gad, Reuben, and the half of Manasseh were carried away into captivity, and they are not at all mentioned under the second temple, though the sabbatical years continued still to be observed. The jubilee had the same privileges as the sabbatical year; the ground was not then cultivated, and slaves were set at liberty (*m*). And besides, such lands as had been sold or mortgaged, returned to the first owners, if they could not redeem them sooner (*n*); excepting houses in walled towns (*o*). These were to be redeemed within a year,

(*f*) Matt. xxiv. 20.

(*) Whatever grew of itself, was left on the ground for the use of the poor and the stranger. Exod. xxiii. 11.

(*g*) Deut. xv. 2.

(*h*) Exod. xxi. 5, 6. Jerem. xxxiv. 14.

(*i*) Psalm xl. 6.

(*k*) Heb. x. 5.

(†) The word *jubilee* is formed from a Hebrew noun that signifies a *ram's horn*, because it was used in proclaiming the *jubilee*, or else from another signifying to *remit* or *bring back again*, because alienated estates returned then to the former owners.

(*l*) Lev. xxv. 8.

(*m*) Ibid. ver. 40.

(*n*) Ibid. ver. 28.

(*o*) Ibid. ver. 30.

a year, otherwise they belonged to the purchaser, notwithstanding the jubilee.

Some learned men (*p*) have attempted to prove by a calculation, that appears pretty exact, that if the Jews had still observed the jubilees, the fifteenth year of Tiberius, when John the Baptist first began to preach, would have been a jubilee, and consequently the last, since fifty years after the Jewish commonwealth was no longer in being. This particular is of some consequence in our disputes with the Jews, who pretend (*q*), that the son of David will come during the last jubilee. And this also exactly agrees with the design of the gospel, and the end of John the Baptist's coming, which was to proclaim the grand jubilee, the spiritual freedom of the children of God, foretold by Zechariah (*r*), and prefigured by the jubilees of the Jews.

This article concerning the sabbath, the sabbatical year, and the jubilee, gives us an occasion of reflecting on the number *Seven*, so famous in the Old and New Testament. It is certain that an extraordinary degree of perfection and holiness hath ever been ascribed to it, even among the heathens, as is evident from Philo (*s*), as well as the seven altars, which Balaam caused to be erected, to sacrifice thereon seven bullocks, and seven rams (*t*). We learn from Genesis that this number was much respected also by the patriarchs. God ordered Noah to chuse seven pairs of clean animals, and bring them into the ark (*u*). Noah sent every seven days a pigeon out of the ark to see if the waters were abated (*x*). Abraham set apart seven lambs for Abimelech (*y*). Jacob served Laban twice seven years (*z*). Cain was to be revenged seven-fold, and Lamech seventy and seven, or eleven times seven (*a*). God commands Job's friends to offer seven bullocks and seven rams for a burnt-offering (*b*). Pharaoh saw in a dream seven cows, and seven ears of corn, which Joseph interpreted by seven years (*c*). This number was no less famous under the law, and it became entirely holy by the institution of the seventh day. Most of the extraordinary sacrifices were generally seven, and if there were more, they were reckoned by multiplying this number. The aspersions were done seven times. Several festivals lasted seven days. There were seven weeks between the passover and pentecost. More festivals were kept during the seventh month than any other; there being no less than six. The number seven seems also to have been observed in performing several miraculous operations. When the Shunamite's son was brought again to life by Elisha, he sneezed seven times (*d*); and the same prophet ordered Naaman to go and wash himself seven times in the river Jordan, in order to be cured of his leprosy. Is Jericho to be taken, we presently see seven priests founding the trumpet for seven days, and on the seventh compassing the city seven times. All these instances, and many others that might easily be produced, plainly shew that

(*p*) Father Lamy. Appar. Chron. p. 142.

(*q*) Gemar. Tract. Sanhed, c. 11, 12. n. 20.

(*r*) Zech. ix. 14.

(*s*) Phil. de Mundi Opif. 17, 18.

(*t*) Numb. xxiii. 1.

(*u*) Gen. vii. 2, 3.

(*x*) Gen. viii. 10, 11, 12.

(*y*) Gen. xxi. 28.

(*z*) Gen. xxix. 18.

(*a*) Gen. iv. 24.

(*b*) Job. xlii. 8.

(*c*) Gen. xli.

(*d*) 2 Kings iv. 35. & v. 10.

that the number seven was reckoned full of mysteries. There are likewise in the New Testament manifest tokens of the mysteries which this number was supposed to contain; particularly in the Revelations, where every thing that can be numbered, is reckoned by sevens. The Jews have ransacked all arts and sciences, to account for the pretended perfection of the number seven. They have fetched arguments for it from physics, the human body, and all the parts of nature; from arithmetic, astronomy, and geography. There was no need of so much learning. The number seven hath no perfection in itself. But it is plain that God was pleased to make it as it were a sacrament of the truth of the creation, that men seeing that number so often distinguished from the rest, and forming the most remarkable epochas and computations, might always remember, that it was on the seventh day God had rested from his works after the creation of the world. Philo having advanced several odd and extravagant things concerning the number seven (*e*), concludes all his speculations upon that point with these excellent words: "For these reasons," saith he, "and several others, is the number seven honoured; but chiefly, because by it is manifested the Father and Author of the universe, and the mind may in it behold, as in a looking-glass, God creating the world, and all things that are therein contained." But it must be observed that this number is mystical, and wherever it occurs in scripture, is not always to be taken in a literal sense, for frequently it is a certain and definite number put for an uncertain and indefinite one, and sometimes it signifies no more than some certain large number.

We have but little to say concerning the rest of the Jewish festivals that were of divine institution, that is, the new moons. The feast of the new year, which happened on the first new moon, was celebrated with a great deal of solemnity on the first and second days of the month Tisri, which was the beginning of the civil year of the Hebrews (*f*). This festival was called in scripture the feast of trumpets, because during all that time the temple resounded with these instruments. It was spent in rest, feasting, and rejoicings (*g*). Several extraordinary sacrifices were then offered; especially a goat that was offered up to the Lord, as is expressly said in scripture (*). There could be nothing more natural, than to consecrate to God a day which had by the heathens been dedicated to their false deities, thereby to turn them from idolatry; but among the other reasons which rendered this day holy, the most remarkable is, that it was the first day in the seventh month of the ecclesiastical year. Besides, it is an old tradition among the Jews, and received by several Christians, that the world was created at that season of the year. To which may be added, that sabbatical years and jubilees were regulated by the month Tisri, for which reason perhaps it was called the memorial of the jubilee.

Mention is often made in the sacred writings of the solemnity of the new-

(*e*) Philo de Decal.

(*f*) Lev. xxiii. 24.

(*g*) Psalm. lxxxi. 3.

(*) The most famous Jewish doctors observe, that by these words of scripture is meant, that this goat was not offered to the moon, as the Gentiles were used to do, but to the true God.

new-moons, which are by the Hebrews stiled the beginning of months (*b*). We meet with some footsteps of these festivals in the remotest periods of heathen antiquity (*i*), but they were consecrated to the moon, as hath been already said. We have also observed before, that the ancient Jews were not used to have recourse to an astronomical calculation, to find out the new-moon, but discovered it by its phasis, or appearance, when it begins to emerge out of the rays of the sun, which was by them observed with a superstitious exactness. These festivals were celebrated with the same ceremonies as were observed on the first day of the year, bating some few differences, which may be easily discerned by comparing the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth chapters of the book of Numbers together. We do not find that the feast of new-moons had any typical meaning. It seems moreover not to have been so much a law, as a custom already received, which the supreme Lawgiver did not think fit to oppose, but only to prescribe what ceremonies were to be then observed (*). When therefore St. Paul ranks the new moons among those observances, which were only figures of things to come (*k*), he means the whole body of the ceremonial law, whereof the new-moons were a part.

We are now come to those Jewish festivals, which were of human institution only. The first is that of lots, called *purim* or lots. in Hebrew *purim* (*†*). The occasion of which name was taken from Haman's enquiring by lot, when it would be the fittest time for destroying the Jews. It was instituted by Mordecai, in remembrance of the signal deliverance which Esther had obtained for that nation, when it was just going to fall a victim to the pride and cruelty of Haman. They celebrated it on the fourteenth and fifteenth of the month Adar (*l*), because on those days the consternation of the Jews was changed into joy, by the unexpected victory, which God granted them over their enemies (*||*). The whole book of Esther was read in the synagogue upon this occasion (*), and some passages concerning Amalek. The rest of the time was spent in feasting and rejoicings.

The feast of dedication. The feast of the dedication, spoken of by St. John (*m*), was appointed by Judas Maccabeus, in imitation of those of Solomon

(*b*) Exod. xi. 2. Numb. x. 10. xxviii. 11. Isai. i. 13, 14.

(*i*) Eurip. 12. Troad. Chor. 5. Hesiod. Dir. v. 6. Herodot. Vit. Hom.

c. 33.

(*) A famous Caraites doctor named Elias, imagined that the new moons were observed even in the time of Noah and Abraham.

(*k*) Coloss. ii. 16.

(*†*) This is a Persian word, but used by the Hebrews.

(*l*) Which answered to our February and March.

(*||*) This probably happened under Artaxerxes Longimanus, who is supposed to have been the same as Ahasuerus, about 500 years before Christ.

(*) And as often as the children heard the name of Haman, they struck the benches of the synagogue with as much joy, as they would have struck Haman's head, if it had been before them. Lamy. p. 137. When the year had 13 months, this feast was twice celebrated, both in the first and second Adar. Id.

(*m*) John. x. 22. 1 Mac. iv. 59.

Solomon and Ezra, for a thankful remembrance of the cleansing of the temple and altar, after they had been profaned by Antiochus (†). It began the twenty-fifth of Cisleu, or December, and lasted eight days. They called it otherwise the feast of lights, either because during it they illuminated their houses (||), or, according to Josephus (‡), because of the extreme happiness of those times. The whole feast was spent in singing hymns, offering sacrifices, and all kinds of pastimes and diversions.

These are all the Jewish festivals that deserve our notice. They had others of a more modern institution, but we shall pass them over here, as having no relation to our present design.

(†) The Jews celebrated four of these feasts. The first was that of the temple built by Solomon in the month Tisri; the second, that of the temple rebuilt by Zorobabel, in the month Adar; the third, that of the altar rebuilt by Judas Maccabeus, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Cisleu; and the fourth was that of the temple of Herod. Lamy, ib.

(||) By setting up candles at every man's door. See Prid. Connect. P. 2. B. 3. under the year 165.

(‡) Joseph. Ant. xii. 11.

AN
INTRODUCTION
TO THE
NEW TESTAMENT.

PART II.

Concerning the New Testament in general. **T**HE first part of this Introduction hath but an indirect relation to the New Testament, but this second part will more particularly refer thereto. The four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, fourteen Epistles of St. Paul (*), one of St. James, two of St. Peter, three of St. John, one of St. Jude, and the Revelations of St. John, make up that sacred collection which goes under the name of the New Covenant, or New Testament. This title was not given by the Evangelists or Apostles, since in their time the canon of the books of the New Testament was not yet composed, it being not done till the end of the first, or beginning of the second century. It is notwithstanding of a very ancient date, and occasioned undoubtedly by a passage of Jeremiah, wherein God promises to make a new covenant with his people (a). In the old Latin version the original Greek word (*) is rendered by that of Testament, in allusion to that passage of the Epistle to the Hebrews, wherein it is said, that the New Testament was ratified by

(*) We have proved in our preface to the Epistle to the Hebrews, that that epistle was written by St. Paul.

(a) Jerem. xxxi. 32.

(*) Διαθήκη. This word signifies both a law, and an agreement, a covenant, and a testament.

by the death of the Testator (*b*). It is called *New* in opposition to that collection of the sacred Hebrew writings, which are by St. Paul named the *Old Testament*, or *Ancient Covenant* (*c*), because it contains the conditions of the covenant which God had made with the *children of Israel* by the ministry of Moses; as JESUS CHRIST gave the name of *New Covenant*, to that which God made, through his mediation, with mankind (*d*). The *New Testament* therefore, or the *New Covenant*, are those books which contain the last will of our heavenly Father, revealed by his Son JESUS CHRIST; the benefits which, through him, are conferred upon us here below, those which are promised to us hereafter, our obligations to God; in a word, the conditions of the evangelical covenant or œconomy. The *Old* and *New Testament* may properly be stiled the sacred *deeds*, and the originals of the *two covenants* mentioned by St. Paul in his epistle to the Galatians (*e*).

But here we must observe, that when those laws which God hath at different times delivered to mankind are named a *Covenant* or *Testament* (*f*), these words are not to be taken in a strict and literal, but in a figurative sense (*g*): that is, as far as God's dealing with his creatures, and the laws he hath given them, may be said to have a conformity with a testament or covenant. The name of *Testament*, for instance, which is but improperly applicable to the first Covenant, does exactly belong to the *New*, because in this the death of the Testator intervened (*b*), which happened in the first only in a very figurative manner. There are other respects in which the name of *Testament* cannot be applied to either of the covenants. An heir is at liberty to accept or reject a *will*. But under the law and the gospel the *will* of God cannot be rejected without rebellion and impiety. As for the name of *Covenant*, it may be applied two ways, both to the *Old* and *New*. 1. They contain reciprocal conditions. God makes promises, and requires some certain duties. 2. They were both ratified with blood, as covenants used formerly to be. But there is this difference between the covenants that are made between man and man, and those which God hath been pleased to make with mankind; That in human covenants the contracting parties are at liberty, and have nearly the same right of proposing the conditions upon which they are willing to agree and covenant together. The case is otherwise here. God is the Creator, and men his creatures; he is the supreme Monarch, and they his subjects. He is the sovereign Lawgiver, must be obeyed absolutely, and without reserve. When therefore God says that he makes a *covenant* with mankind, his meaning is, that out of condescension and mere goodness, he is pleased to descend from his supreme Majesty, and not use his power, that he may engage them to obedience by a principle of gratitude and love.

We must pass the same judgment upon the words *œconomy* and *dispensation*, that are used to express the different states of mankind under God's direction, and the several methods he hath followed in the government

(*b*) Heb. ix. 15, 16.

(*c*) 2 Cor. iii. 11.

(*d*) Mat. xxvi. 28. 1 Cor. xi. 25.

(*e*) Gal. iv. 24.

(*f*) Gal. iv. 4.

(*g*) Heb. i. 1.

(*b*) Heb. ix. 16, 17, 18.

ment of them. The term *economy* is very ambiguous in our language; we have therefore thought fit to change it into that of *dispensation*, which is more plain. These words are taken from the language and customs of mankind, and are to be figuratively understood, according to the nature of the things in question. The meaning of them is, that God, like a prudent Father, deals differently with his children, according to the difference of times and places, according to their age, strength and capacity. A governor may alter his laws and government, and still remain very constant and unchangeable, because he hath not always the same subjects to govern, or because their condition may alter. Before men entered into society, when there was only Adam and Eve, just come out of the hands of God, and consequently incapable of transgressing any article of that law, which God gave afterwards to his people, it was necessary that their obedience should be tried by a law peculiar to them alone. After the first inhabitants of the world had departed from that law of nature, which God had implanted in them when he made them reasonable creatures, it was necessary they should be brought back by an express revelation. God having brought his people, the children of Israel, out of Egypt, where, through a long slavery, they had been used to the manners and sinful ceremonies of the Egyptians, it was expedient another course should be taken with them, than would have been with persons that were not in the same circumstances, or were not appointed for the same ends. Besides, whoever designs to go about any great undertaking, ought beforehand to get all things ready towards it. When a man intends to build, he must erect scaffolds, which must again be taken down, when his building is once finished. This is the reason which the New Testament assigns for the difference there is between the two covenants. And here I shall observe, that it is all one, whether we suppose only two covenants, or three, and even four, provided we understand by them the different methods of God's dealing with men according to their various circumstances; and that, instead of disputing about words, we exactly perform the conditions of the covenant which God hath been pleased to honour us with.

The *prefaces* which we have placed before each of the books of the New Testament, render it unnecessary for us to enter into a particular examination of them here. We have shewn who were the authors of them; given an abstract of their lives; pointed out their character; spoken of their style; and made a kind of an *analysis* of their writings.

The truth of the books of the New Testament. Having in each of these *prefaces* particularly applied ourselves to shew, that the books of the New Testament were written by those whose names they bear, this must go a great way towards proving the truth of them, and consequently that they were written by divine inspiration. When the persons that relate any matter of fact, or the authors of a new doctrine, are once well known, we may easily judge by their character, whether they are to be believed, or not. When, besides honesty, there appear in witnesses all the wisdom and knowledge requisite in order to attest certain truths and matters of fact; when we may be certain, that they nei-
ther

ther could be deceived themselves, nor would have imposed upon others; their testimony must be received, as unquestionably true. Now the most inveterate enemies of the Christian religion cannot deny, but that the Evangelists and Apostles, whose writings we now have, were all such, as we are going to shew.

1. There appear in their writings an uncommon strain of wisdom, and a most extraordinary degree of holiness. And if integrity is necessary to render a testimony valid, theirs cannot be more authentick in this respect, than it is. This same argument is a proof of their sincerity, since that quality is essential to an honest man. 2. But moreover their giving an account of their own weaknesses, is a very strong argument of their sincerity in all other respects. They might justly enough have concealed their own failings, since it was not essential to the Christian faith, nor consequently to their ministry, that they should be transmitted down to posterity. If therefore they have made mention of them, though prejudicial to their reputation, it is one of the strongest proofs in the world of their veracity in whatever else they have advanced. 3. They speak only of such things as they saw and heard, which they were themselves concerned withal, or had learned from those that were the eye-witnesses of them. It is manifest from their discourses and reasonings, that they were not persons liable to be imposed upon. Though they do not reason according to the method observed by the philosophers and orators of their own, and our age; yet there certainly reigns an excellent solidity, and a continued strain of good sense through all their writings. Besides, the things they speak of, are of such a nature, as not to admit of any delusion; they are not done in the dark, but generally in the day-time, and before all the world. To instance in one particular; Was St. Luke's account of the birth of John the Baptist, of his father Zechariah's becoming dumb in the temple, and Elizabeth his wife's bringing forth, after she had been barren for a long time; was all this, I say, a mere forgery, nothing could be easier than to display the falshood of it, and every one would have laughed at the cheat. 4. For this very reason it was impossible they could deceive others, supposing they had had any such design, because the imposture would have been too easily found out. They must have invented less absurd and palpable stories, if they had had a mind to impose upon the world. Most of the Apostles wrote but a few years after the death of JESUS CHRIST. An innumerable multitude of people, who had been witnesses of the things the Apostles related, were still alive; now would the Apostles have ventured to teach and write, that at such a time a man called JESUS of Nazareth was come from God; that he had revealed eternal life; that he had confirmed his doctrine by several remarkable miracles, which were performed in the face of the world; that after having preached throughout all Judea, in the synagogues and other publick places, he had been condemned to death by the rulers of the Jews, and crucified under Pontius Pilate; that after three days he rose again; that, according to his promise, the Holy Ghost was come down upon the Apostles, on the day of pentecost, and that they had spoken all kinds of tongues before all the people; that from thence they had dispersed themselves almost all over the world, and converted the best

part of it, confirming their doctrine with signs and miracles? Would the Apostles, I say, have dared to advance in their writings things of this nature, and not have thereby exposed themselves to the scorn and contempt of the world? It is certainly very improbable, that the Apostles could be the authors of so extravagant an imposture, and that they should be suffered by the Jews to propagate it without restraint, since it was so much their interest to put a stop thereto. 5. Let us again suppose that the Apostles had contrived such an imposture; with what view could they do it? Men are seldom known do to mischief for mischief's sake, especially when the crime they would commit is attended with a visible danger. They are always drawn in by some interest or passion (*). But no such thing is to be found here. The integrity of the Apostles gives us not the least room to suspect them of *ambition*, and had they had any advantage in view, they must have found themselves sadly mistaken, since, as they themselves declare, they were as the filth of the world, and the off-scouring of all things. Their aim besides could not be to get *riches*, like mercenary teachers. They were poor, and would take nothing of any one. Their utter aversion for all kinds of *pleasures* was moreover no likely method to gain them the protection and applauses of sensual men, who love to have their passions indulged. In short, they must have been the most imprudent of men, daily to expose themselves to certain death, only to maintain a heinous imposture. 6. The *agreement* between several witnesses dispersed here and there, who did not write in concert, and were by persecutions hindered from carrying on a cheat; this agreement is a proof of no small weight. It often happens that several historians write the same history, but you can never discover in them a perfect uniformity, unless the same *memoirs* have by them been perused.

We have only given an abstract of this proof drawn from the character of the Apostles. It may be carried on a good deal farther by the same way of reasoning. And it must certainly have a very great influence upon any man that will but make use of his reason. For if a heathen, or a libertine will not admit of it, we may just ask them, whether they have any other rule to satisfy themselves of the truth of any matter of fact, besides the character of the persons by whom it is attested. It is really strange that so much credit should be given to *prophane history*, and men should be so very nice and over-cautious in embracing the christian religion, and the historical matters relating thereto, when there is not any heathen author that has, at least in the same degree, any one of those qualifications that are to be found in the Apostles, much less all of them together. Some write of things that happened at a great distance of time from them. Such as were cotemporary, could not be witnesses of every thing; and then, how often are men biased by interest, passion, or flattery? Besides, as the greatest part of them treat only of such matters as are apt to excite people's curiosity, they might invent as many falsehoods as they pleased, in order to strike their readers

with

(*) 1 Cor. iv. 13.

with wonder and admiration. As for the Jews, if they refuse to admit, in behalf of the truth of the New Testament, this kind of proof drawn from the character of the Apostles, they must needs betray their own cause by such a refusal, there being no other proof of the truth of what is attested by Moses and the Prophets, than the integrity of these holy men.

This gives us an occasion of proceeding to another proof of the truth of the books of the New Testament, that is, their agreement with the Old, at least in respect of those that acknowledge the authority of the latter. It is true that the Old Testament seems to be contradicted in the New, especially in St. Paul's epistles, who strenuously asserts the abrogation of the *ceremonial law*. But since he shews at the same time how this law was fulfilled in the gospel, there is only a *seeming* contradiction between them, and the relation or analogy between the Old and New Testament gives such an insight into them, as must needs be discovered by every intelligent person. Had not St. Paul learned from *revelation* as well as *tradition*, that the Messiah was the *truth* and *substance* of those things whereof the law was only a shadow, it cannot be conceived how he could have invented such a system. Besides, the fulfilling of the ancient *prophecies* in the Messiah shines so conspicuously in the writings of the New Testament, and all these so exactly center in JESUS CHRIST, that it is absolutely impossible a mind free from prejudice, should not be affected with these marks of truth and sincerity. The modern Jews are not indeed willing to own that these prophecies were fulfilled in JESUS CHRIST, or can be applied to him. But in answer to them, it will be sufficient to observe, that all the prophecies which have by the writers of the New Testament been applied to JESUS CHRIST, were by their ancient doctors thought to belong to the Messiah. This might easily be proved by several authentic testimonies, did the bounds of this introduction allow it. We shall therefore only observe, that in the *Chaldee paraphrases*, which were written by Jewish authors, most of the prophecies of the Old Testament, which are applied to JESUS CHRIST in the New, are there also applied to the Messiah. Now let the Jews produce, if they can, any other subject to which these prophecies can better agree than to our blessed Saviour. If to this reflection we add what hath before been said concerning the character of the Apostles, it can never come into any man's mind, that doth in the least reflect on things, and is free from prejudice and passion, that so natural and so exact an application of the ancient prophecies concerning the Messiah, to JESUS CHRIST, can be of human invention. To sum up this argument: a book wherein every thing that seemed obscure and unaccountable in the *ceremonial law* is so excellently well cleared up and unfolded, and wherein the prophecies of the Old Testament have so exact a completion, must come from God. Now the New Testament is such; and therefore the New Testament must come from God.

But among all the arguments of the truth of the New Testament, there is no one that ought to be more universally received, or is more agreeable to the design of this *Introduction*, than that which is taken from the consideration of the nature of the things contained in these sacred writings. There are indeed in the New Testament mysteries that are

above, and some that seem even *contrary* to reason. But this could be no real difficulty, would men, instead of cavilling at them, as *libertines* are used to do, and instead of darkening mysteries by too subtle interpretations, or diving too far into them, as most of the school-divines are known to have done, put a rational meaning upon the *sacred* writings, such a meaning as is worthy of God, and adore at the same time such things as we cannot comprehend. A very pernicious method hath in this regard prevailed in the world, which is to explain an obscure point by an obscurer. After all, the design of the Christian religion is not so much to reveal to us what God is in himself, as what he is to us; and our duty is rather to attain to a right understanding of the will of God revealed to us in the New Testament, that we may duly perform it, than to attempt to penetrate into the secrets of the divine wisdom. But, to speak the truth of the matter, that obscurity which God hath been pleased to diffuse over some parts of the *holy scripture*, is very often no more than a pretence used by some men for rejecting all the rest, because they can no more be reconciled with their corrupt inclinations, than their reason can account for the mysteries therein contained. Were the sacred writings of the New Testament read with the same spirit, as hath been just now taken notice of, we may venture to affirm that there is no *Jew*, *heathen*, or any other *infidel*, nor even a *libertine*, but what would find them excellently well fitted to discover the perfections of the Supreme Being, and to supply all the wants of mankind, and that those who have written that book could not have done it out of their own invention.

Then would the Jew most readily embrace a doctrine, which, like the Old Testament, teaches the unity of God, and expressly forbids all kind of idolatry. Then would he joyfully receive a mediator which frees him from a yoke, that had by the former mediator been laid upon him. If he will but cast his eye on the ends of the ceremonial law, which are displayed in the New Testament, he could not be surpris'd to find it abrogated. And as much as their former miserable state had made them earnestly desire the coming of the Messiah, so much ought their calamities, after the taking of Jerusalem, and the temple, which was the only place appointed for the performance of divine worship, have convinced them that the Messiah is already come. The *heathens*, on the other hand, would no longer find any thing strange in the doctrine of *one God*, since the wisest among them have discovered the absurdity of a plurality of deities, and that there is reason to believe Socrates died a martyr to the unity of God. It seems also that it would be no more difficult for pagans to acknowledge JESUS CHRIST to be the mediator between God and men, than to admit *demons* to that office (*). The offence of the cross would soon be removed by reflecting on the divine justice and mercy, which are so very conspicuous therein. The Jews, by embracing the doctrine of JESUS CHRIST, would reap some advantage from the crime committed by their ancestors. And the *heathen*,

(*) By the *demons* they understood their demi-gods, or the souls of their deceased heroes.

then, who thinks himself bound to offer numberless sacrifices in order to atone for his sins, would adore the wisdom of God in suffering the commission of this crime for the expiation of the sins of mankind.

All men in general, of what rank soever they be, or whatever religion they profess, cannot but look with profound respect, and a pious admiration, on a book which has these two characters. First, That lays before them that *supreme happiness*, of which the author of our nature hath implanted an invincible desire within us; and which, secondly, in order to lead them thereto, brings them only back to a spiritual worship, to the dictates of their own consciences, and requires nothing of them, but what they would have been in duty bound to perform, even though no other law had been given them, if they would but have made a due use of their reason. Where shall we find a book, that teaches a worship more worthy both of God, and of a reasonable creature? It is plain and unaffected, free from all rites and ceremonies which are not either holy in themselves, or directly tend to make men holy in their lives and conversation, and is withal great and noble. It teaches us to love above all things the most amiable of beings, and to express this love by a perfect and sincere obedience to his commands. When had there been before, a more compleat collection of the whole duty of men, both towards God, themselves and others? Must not every honest mind be overjoyed to see natural right and equity rescued from the oppression, which, through the prevalence of men's passions, they had so long groaned under? The duties of justice, mercy, and brotherly love, those of temperance, contentment, firmness in times of adversity, patience under tribulations, all these are strenuously recommended there, and grounded upon the strongest motives. This blessed religion, not content with regulating our outward actions, reaches as far as the inmost recesses of our minds, teaching us to be pure in heart. Even the hardest prescriptions it contains, and such as are most repugnant to the corruption of human nature, as *self-denial*, &c. have some foundation in the law of nature. For what is denying one's self, but to put off a blind and inordinate self-love, which hurries us into an ignoble slavery to our passions, and proves our ruin, to let ourselves be guided by another principle of self-love, which will promote our salvation both here and hereafter? Martyrdoms and sufferings do not indeed essentially belong to a religion which was calculated for the happiness of mankind, but reason itself teaches us, that we ought much rather to lose our lives, and even suffer a thousand deaths, than disown our God, and forfeit our own salvation by criminal actions. If the *Christian religion* enjoins its professors to bless their enemies, ought we not in this particular to comply with the appointment of Providence, which has thought fit we should be exposed to them? Besides, this command of forgiving injuries, and being in charity with our enemies, prevents private acts of revenge, which would destroy society, and leaves the supreme Director of all things a right which he is extremely jealous of. In a word, if a lawgiver had a mind to frame a well regulated society, and make a nation happy, he could not have pitched upon fitter maxims, than those of the gospel, to promote the public good, as well as that of private persons, and to procure to himself, at the same

time, a firm and lasting obedience, because it would proceed from a principle of love and esteem. So that the *Christian religion* enjoys this privilege above any other, that by the same maxims, it tends to promote at once the happiness of men, both in this world, and that which is to come:

It must indeed be acknowledged to the honour of several heathen philosophers, that they have delivered excellent rules of morality. But they were always defective in some respect, and there is no one among them, but what hath authorised some vice or other. Whereas Christianity spares not one, and even condemns the least appearance of evil. Besides, the morality of the best heathen philosophers went upon false principles, it being no more than bare *honesty*, wherein their only aim was to advance their own interest, pleasure, or credit, without having any regard for the glory of the supreme Director of all things. In a word, their virtues were destitute of holiness. Or if they had any design of rendering themselves acceptable to their gods, the object being false, their virtues must consequently have been so too. They had moreover no sufficient motives to keep men steady in the practice of those duties which they recommended, and gave so lovely a representation of. Seneca says abundance of fine things concerning the contempt of the world, but he is far from persuading, because he doth not discover the true ground of this contempt. Reason indeed teaches us to be temperate in the enjoyment of the things of this world, and not blindly to follow our passions, because every excess is disgraceful, and some way or other infallibly tends to our ruin. But if there be no more valuable enjoyments than those which this world affords, to despise them must be either pride or foolishness. The morality of the Apostles is entirely consistent. They forbid us to set our affections on the things of this world, no farther than this may prove an obstacle to our heavenly happiness, or the practice of virtue, which leads us thither. In a word, it is grounded upon this principle of reason and good sense, that we ought to prefer what is sure and certain to what is not so, things eternal to transitory and perishing enjoyments, and part with a small, for the sake of an inestimable, advantage. The morality contained in the sacred writings hath this further excellency above that of the heathens, that the latter are not agreed in the representations they have given of virtue. Their disagreeing is a good proof, either of their having framed different systems of virtue according to their inclinations, or of having had different teachers. But the Apostles do so exactly agree together, without having consulted one another, that it is plain they must have had but one and the same master. Every intelligent reader may easily draw the inference that arises from the foregoing reflections; which is to this effect, That those men who have written books containing doctrines and precepts so compleat in all respects, so perfect, so well proportioned to all the necessities of mankind, must have been inspired by that Almighty Being, who having made man, exactly knows how he is to be governed. I omit several other reasons, which, together with those that have been already mentioned, are also of great weight; as the wonderful progress of the gospel; such a variety of torments as was undergone for the confirmation of it; the miraculous prefer-

preservation thereof, notwithstanding the attacks of the enemies of the Christian religion, and such numberless heresies as have arisen in the church, and might probably have caused some alteration in those sacred writings.

From the veracity and faithfulness of the sacred writers, spring up, as from a copious and pure source, several important truths. For, if the authors of the New Testament have advanced nothing but what is true, that book must have come from God, since, as they assure us, they had a divine commission for revealing to the world what they have taught. If these sacred authors have advanced nothing but truth, the Christian religion must be true; and consequently an eternal reward is annexed to faith and piety, as a dismal eternity is to be the consequence of unbelief and impenitence. If whatever the writers of the New Testament have said is true, then all other religions are either false, or abrogated. This last particular deserves to be seriously attended to, because at the same time that the writers of the New Testament confirm the truth of the Old, they withal discover the reason why the ceremonial parts of it are now no longer in force.

The Holy Ghost, by whose direction and assistance the Evangelists and Apostles wrote, did not frame a particular language for them. He only suggested the matter to their minds, and kept them from falling into mistakes, but left each of them at liberty to make use of their own style and expressions. And as we observe different styles in the writings of the prophets, according to the temper and education of those holy men, so every one that is versed in the original language of the New Testament, may discover a great diversity between the styles of St. Matthew, St. Luke, St. Paul, and St. John. Which would not have happened, had every expression been dictated to the Apostles by the Holy Ghost. For, in such a case, the style of every book in scripture would, in all probability, have been alike. Beside, there were some particulars wherein there was no need of inspiration; namely, when they wrote of matters of fact, which they themselves had seen, or which had been reported to them by credible witnesses. When St. Luke undertook to write his gospel, he says that he hath given an account of things, as he hath learned them from those, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses of them; and that having had a perfect understanding of all things, he thought fit to transmit them to posterity. An author that had been informed of such matters by divine inspiration, would naturally have said: I have related things as they were dictated to me by the Holy Ghost. St. Paul's conversion was an extraordinary and supernatural event; but yet to give an account of it, nothing more was necessary for St. Luke, than the testimony of St. Paul himself, and of those that were with him. And accordingly there is some variety in the relation of it, but still without any manner of contradiction.

The difference of style in the sacred writers of the New Testament, is a good argument of their truth and sincerity. Was their style exactly alike, one would be apt to suspect, that they had all combined together when they wrote, or else, that having agreed what they should teach, one of them had set pen to paper, and made a system of their doctrine. When in a work, which goes under the name of one author,

there is observed a difference of style; we have reason to believe that it was written by several hands. For the very same reason, when books, which go under the name of different authors, are written in a different style, we may reasonably suppose that they were not the composition of one person. The books of the New Testament then contain divine matters, written in the language of man, but with the particular direction and assistance of the Spirit of God.

Though each of the writers of the New Testament hath a particular style, yet they all wrote in the same language, that is, the Greek (*). This tongue being then most in vogue, it was very proper that books, which were to serve to convert the whole world, should be written therein. It must notwithstanding be observed, that the Greek of the Evangelists and Apostles is not pure and unmixed; it abounds with Hebraisms (+), and Latin words put in Greek characters and terminations. Besides, as the greatest part of the Jews, which were dispersed through Greece (||), had forgot the Hebrew language, and made use of the Greek version of the Old Testament, which goes under the name of the Septuagint; the sacred writers of the New have frequently adapted their style thereto, and have almost always followed that translation in their quotations, as we have made appear in our *prefaces* and *notes*. And the apostolical style not only bears a great conformity with the septuagint version, and the Hebrew tongue, but there are likewise found in it abundance of words, expressions, proverbs, and maxims that were in use among the Rabbins (*). For though the Thalmud was not compiled till after Christ, yet the main of it was in being a long time before, as hath been observed by the learned. These remarks on the style of the New Testament are of great use, either to help us to understand several difficult passages, or else to discover the true sense and occasion of some expressions, which, at first sight, seem a little strange. This the *heathens* did not consider, when they undervalued the style of the *sacred* writers, as we find they did from Origen (a), Lactantius (b), and others of the fathers. There have been also some ancient doctors of the church, as well as modern authors, who, for want of reflecting on this, have taken too much liberty in finding fault with the style of the New Testament. It is certain, as St. Augustin hath observed (c), that the Evangelists and Apostles have all the eloquence and elegancy suitable to their character and design. Their business was to convert the ignorant as well as the learned, and therefore it was necessary they should use a popular style, and intelligible to all. The gospel was at first to be preached both

(*) We have proved in our preface that they all writ in Greek.

(+) That is, a mixture of Chaldee and Syriack, which was then the vulgar tongue in Judea.

(||) These Jews were called *Hellenists* or *Græcising* Jews (because they used the Greek language in their synagogues), and their tongue may be called the *Hellenistical*, without making of it however a particular language.

(*) Instances of all these may be seen, in an excellent collection of dissertations concerning the style of the New Testament, Van den Honert de *stilo Novi Testamenti Græco*. Leovardie, 1702.

(a) Contra Celsum, l. vi. init.

(b) Institut. l. v. c. i.

(c) De Doctrina Christ. l. iv. c. 6.

both to the Jews of Judæa and of Greece, and therefore it must have been in such a language as was familiar to them. Add to this, that the style of the Apostles is in itself a proof of their being the authors of the books which go under their names. Had they written like Isocrates, or Demosthenes, it would have been objected against them, that it was impossible for Hebrews, who professed to be men of no learning, to have written in so pure and excellent a style, and consequently that the books which were ascribed to them, must have been the invention of some impostor. So that all the objections that are framed against the style of the New Testament, serve, after all, to confirm the truth of it, and to prove that it came from God.

As we have been frequently obliged to mention in our notes the *version of the Seventy*, and the Apostles having often followed it in their quotations, and imitated the style of it, it will be proper to give some short account of it here. It is the ancient Greek version of the Old Testament, which was used by the Jews who were dispersed throughout Egypt and Greece, because the greatest part of them did not understand Hebrew. A certain author named Aristeas (*d*), who, as he relates, was contemporary with Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt, by whose order this translation was made, gives us a very pompous account of it. He says, "that this prince making a great library, was desirous of procuring the Jewish writings; and that for this purpose he sent ambassadors with rich presents to the then high-priest Eleazar, desiring that he would send six men out of each of the tribes of Israel to make this version. Aristeas tells us that he was one of those ambassadors. The seventy-two Jews were gladly received at Alexandria; and having set about their translation, they finished it in 72 days, to the great satisfaction of the king." Thus far Aristeas. But several learned authors (*e*) have plainly shewed, that this Aristeas, though he pretends to be a *heathen* (*f*), was some Jew of Alexandria, who composed this *romance* since the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, to give the greater authority to the septuagint version. It is notwithstanding certain, that the counterfeit Aristeas is pretty ancient, since we find him quoted by Josephus (*g*), who takes almost word for word out of him what he hath said of this translation. But it is very probable that he lived after Philo, for though this last gives a full account of the version of the Seventy (*h*), he never mentions Aristeas, who, in all likelihood, embellished Philo's account.

However this be, it is acknowledged on all hands, that the chief part of this version was made by the Jews of Alexandria (*i*), under the reign of

(*d*) Aristeas Hist. lxx. Interp. ab Humf. Hody. See this whole story fully confuted by Dr. Prideaux, Connect. P. 2. B. 1.

(*e*) Dr. Hody de lxx. Interp. Oxon. 1705. Vandale de Arist. Amst. 1705.

(*f*) Jos. Antiq. l. xii. c. 2.

(*g*) Id. ibid.

(*h*) Philo de Vita Mosi, l. ii. p. 509.

(*i*) About 300 years before Christ. Dr. Prideaux, after Archbishop Usher, places it under the year 277. and gives a very accurate account of the occasion on which it was made. See his Connect. P. 2. B. 1. under the year 277. N^o. viii.

of Ptolemy Philadelphus, or while he was his father Ptolemy Lagus's associate in the kingdom; but whether they did it by order of this prince, or of their own accord, is not well known. It may be inferred from the relations of Philo, Aristeas, and Josephus, that there were no more than the *five books of Moses* translated at that time. The rest was done afterwards by several hands, as is evident from the difference of style. Though this version is not to be compared with the original Hebrew, it was notwithstanding reckoned of great authority in the *primitive church*. We have already observed that the Apostles have chiefly adhered to it in their quotations. The Greek fathers always made use of it, and the most ancient Latin version of the Bible was translated from it (*).

It is moreover very useful upon several accounts. 1. The consulting of it often serves to clear the Hebrew text, as the learned have shewed in numberless instances. The *vowel-points* of the Hebrew not being of the same standing with that language, the *Seventy* have frequently read otherwise than the Massorites, the first inventors of these points (*k*). There are also found in the Septuagint whole verses which are not in the Hebrew, and which, according to the sense, should be there. 2. It is very necessary for the understanding of the New Testament, there being several expressions therein, which could not be well understood, was that sense to be put upon them, which they commonly bear in Greek authors, and not that which they have in the Septuagint. They therefore that are desirous of understanding the true meaning of the books of the New Testament cannot be too often advised carefully and diligently to peruse the Septuagint version.

Of the chronology of the New Testament. The *sacred* writers having set down neither the year, month nor day, of our Saviour's birth; men have been all along divided in their opinions about it. There are notwithstanding in the gospel some marks which may help us to discover, if not the day and month, at least the year in which this happy and glorious event happened. We are told by St. Matthew, that JESUS CHRIST was born in the reign of *Herod the Great*, and it is certain that it was but a little before the death of that king, since JESUS CHRIST was but a child, when he came back from Egypt, upon the information which Joseph received from an angel, of Herod's being dead. The words of St. Matthew shew plainly enough that this information was given immediately after the death of Herod; and it cannot well be supposed that after that, Joseph and Mary made any considerable stay in Egypt, since, when they came back, they knew not that Archelaus reigned in the room of his father; which they must have known, had this happened any time before. Now it is no difficult matter to guess pretty

(*) This is what is called the *Italic* version, which was before that of St. Jerome.

(*k*) The vowel-points, according to some, were invented about the 500th year after Christ, and according to others not till the 9th century. See *Dupin's* hist. of the canon of the Old Testament. Book I. ch. 4. §. 2. and Dr. *Prideaux* Conn. Part. I. p. 352. of the 8vo. edit. 1718. But especially *Capelli Arcanum Punct.*

pretty nearly at the time of Herod's death ; Josephus (*l*) places it in the 34th year after his becoming master of Jerusalem, by the defeat of Antigonus, and the 37th from his being declared king by the Roman senate. If we reckon these 37 years from the 714th of the foundation of Rome, when he was declared king ; or 34 from his taking Jerusalem, according to the same historian, we shall find that he died the 750th or 751st from the building of Rome. There is another particular which helps us to discover in what year the death of Herod fell out ; that is, an eclipse of the moon, which, according to Josephus (*m*), happened during Herod's last illness, and which is by astronomers placed in 750. But this point is attended with one difficulty, namely, that it is not known how long this eclipse was before the death of Herod, whose illness might last till the next year, as it seems we may infer from Josephus it did.

The question then would be to know how long the birth of JESUS CHRIST happened before the death of Herod, but this would be very hard to determine. St. Luke tells us (*n*) that John began to baptize the fifteenth year of the emperor Tiberius, and he adds that when JESUS CHRIST came to be baptized by him, he was then *about* (***) thirty years old. If the beginning of the reign of Tiberius be reckoned from the death of Augustus his predecessor (*†*), who died in the 767th year from the foundation of Rome, the fifteenth year of Tiberius must have fallen upon the 781st of the Roman *Æra* (*‡*). Now if JESUS CHRIST was then about thirty years old, it follows that he was born about the 750th year of the same *Epocha*, and consequently a little before the death of Herod.

There occurs in St. John's gospel another mark whereby we may pretty nearly guess at the year in which the birth of JESUS CHRIST happened. Our blessed Saviour might be about one and thirty years old, when the Jews told him that the temple had been 46 years in building. We learn from Josephus (*o*) that Herod undertook this work the 18th year of his reign (*†*), which answers to the 736th from the building of Rome, that is about 16 or 17 years before his death. Now, if we reckon from 736 to 780 or 781, when, in all probability, this conference passed between JESUS CHRIST and the Jews, we shall find
about

(*l*) Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 26, 27. xvii. 10. & de Bello Jud. l. i. c. 21.

(*m*) Jos. Antiq. l. xvii. c. 8.

(*n*) Luke iii. 1.

(***) *About* signifies either more or less.

(*†*) Some reckon the beginning of Tiberius's reign from his being made partner with Augustus in the empire ; but the other way of reckoning is the most common, as well as the most probable.

(*‡*) *Æra* or *Epocha* is a fixed point, or a certain and remarkable date, made use of in chronology to begin to compute years from. Thus the Jews were used to reckon from the *flood*, from their coming out of Egypt, from the building of the *temple*, &c. The Greeks reckoned by Olympiads ; the Romans from the foundation of Rome ; and the Christians from the birth of Jesus Christ.

(*o*) Jos. Antiq. l. xv. c. 14.

(*†*) That is, if we reckon from the defeat of Antigonus, when he became master of Jerusalem.

about 46 years. If therefore JESUS CHRIST was then 31 years old, it follows that he was born 16 or 17 years after Herod had begun to build the temple, that is, about the death of that prince. As for the *day* and *month* on which the birth of Christ happened, nothing can be said of them that may be depended upon. From what we find related in St. Luke, that there were then shepherds in the fields watching over their flocks, one would be apt to think that it was not in winter-time. Some authors (*p*) imagine, that the festival of CHRIST's nativity, who was the restorer of mankind when polluted and defiled with vice and idolatry, was by Christians brought in instead of the feast of the *dedication* which the Jews celebrated on the 25th of December.

The Evangelists have recorded but one particular action of JESUS CHRIST's, during the 30 years he spent in Galilee with Joseph and Mary; which is, that when he was in the twelfth year of his age, he went up with them at the feast of the *passover*, and staid behind in the temple to hear the *doctors*, and ask them questions (*q*). This, in all probability, came to pass about a year after the banishment of Archelaus, whose cruelty obliged them to retire to Nazareth. Those many miracles therefore which are ascribed to JESUS CHRIST in the forged and *apocryphal* gospel concerning the *childhood* of JESUS, ought to be looked upon as false and fictitious.

During this interval of time, there happened several things in the Roman empire, which have some relation to the New Testament. Archelaus was banished to Vienne in Dauphine, in the tenth year of his reign. Whereupon Judea being made a province, Augustus ordered *that* *taxing* to be made there, of which we read in St. Luke (*r*). To this taxing did Judas Gaulonita (*s*), or the Galilæan, oppose himself, as to a tyrannical imposition which the Jews ought not to suffer. He drew into his party great numbers of rebels, which filled Judea with murders and robberies. Though he was overthrown, he left behind him a very considerable party, which by their outrages and cruelties occasioned the ruin of Jerusalem, and consequently made way for the establishment of the *Christian religion*. It was rather a faction than a sect, though Josephus gives it that name. It is supposed, with a great deal of probability, that those Galilæans, whose blood Pilate mixed with their sacrifices (*t*), were some of them. To commit this massacre, Pilate took an advantage of the feast of the *passover*, when the Galilæans were come up to Jerusalem, to offer sacrifices, because he could not have done it in Galilæa, it being not under his jurisdiction. This might happen about the third year of JESUS CHRIST's entering on his ministerial office.

The emperor Augustus died four years after the banishment of Archelaus, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, after having reigned fifty-seven. He was succeeded by Tiberius, in whose time JESUS CHRIST was

(*p*) Olderm. de Fest. Encæn. p. 15, 16.

(*q*) Luke ii.

(*r*) Luke ii. 2.

(*s*) Acts v. 37. Jos. Ant. & de Bello Judaic. l. ii. c. 7.

(*t*) Luke xiii. 1.

was crucified. Some ancient fathers (*u*) have notwithstanding imagined that this emperor favoured the Christians, and that upon the account which he received from Pilate of the miracles and resurrection of JESUS CHRIST, and of his being reckoned as a God, he had proposed to the senate to have him ranked among their deities. He adds moreover, that the senate rejected this motion, either out of envy, because this relation had not been at first communicated to them, or else because they thought that a matter of that consequence had not been fully enough enquired into. Notwithstanding this, Tiberius, as they pretend, remained in the same mind, and went so far as to order that Christians should not be persecuted. But several learned writers (*x*) have plainly shewed, that this tradition having no better foundation than some certain feigned *acts of Pilate*, which are manifestly forged, it is not to be relied on. Most of the ancient fathers of the church were, like the generality of honest and well-meaning men, very credulous; and received, without much examination, whatever they thought could be of any service to religion, or piety. But such pious frauds have certainly done more harm than good to the *Christian religion*; besides that they are inconsistent with truth and sincerity. For, to instance in the point now before us, those counterfeit *acts of Pilate*, which speak so favourably of Christ, gave the *heathens* an occasion of forging others full of blasphemous reflections upon our blessed Saviour. Eusebius, who hath fully displayed the falshood of the latter (*y*), relates, that by the emperor Maximinus's order, these used to be publicly affixed in the provinces of the Roman empire, and were taught children in schools.

In the twelfth or thirteenth year of Tiberius, Pontius Pilate was appointed governor (*z*) of Judea in the room of Valerius Gracchus. As it was under him JESUS CHRIST was crucified, it will be proper to give some account of his *character*. The Jews underwent several hardships during his administration. He began with a very bold undertaking, that is, with bringing one night into Jerusalem some ensigns of Cæsar's, with his image upon them, which he designed to set up there (*a*). The Jews, moved with an extreme indignation at the sight of such an attempt upon their laws and liberties, went and fell down at his feet, beseeching him that he would remove those images out of the city. Whereupon this cruel and dissembling tyrant called them together, as if it had been only to receive a favourable answer. But he had posted soldiers in a private place, who, upon a signal given, were ordered to put all these poor wretches to the sword. But finding that they were obstinately resolved rather to die, than suffer such a prophanation of their laws, he desisted from this undertaking; several Jews however perished on this occasion, some being slain, and others dangerously wounded. This is not the only piece of cruelty which he exercised

against

(*u*) Justin Martyr. Apol. i. & Euseb. H. E. l. ii. c. 2. Oros. vii. 4.

(*x*) Alb. Fabric. Codex Apoc. Nov. Test.

(*y*) Hist. Eccl. l. i. 9. & ix. 5.

(*a*) See Joseph. de Bello Jud. l. ii. c. 8.

(*z*) Procurator.

against that unhappy nation. We have already seen how he massacred the Galileans. He made besides a terrible slaughter of the Jews, when they went about to hinder him from rifling their *corban* or holy treasury (*b*). He did not behave himself with more equity and moderation towards the Samaritans, so that they carried their complaints against him to the emperor, whereupon he was forced to go to Rome to get himself acquitted (*). Philo (*c*) gives him a very odious character. He charges him with bribery, he accuses him of having committed all kinds of violence and extortion, of being the author of several massacres, of having caused innocent persons to be put to death; in a word, of having exercised a most horrid barbarity. Eusebius relates (*d*) that he laid violent hands upon himself, after having led a lingering and unhappy life, till the fortieth year of JESUS CHRIST. The unwillingness a man of his cruel and inexorable temper shewed in condemning JESUS CHRIST, is a very clear proof of our Saviour's innocence.

The *passovers* celebrated by JESUS CHRIST after his baptism, are so many epochs, that may help us to trace out the history of his life. The learned are not agreed about them, some admitting only of *three*, and others maintaining that there were *four*. That the latter is the most probable, St. John's gospel gives us no room to doubt. The *first* passover is mentioned in the second chapter (*e*), when JESUS CHRIST drove out of the temple the merchants and money-changers. From Jerusalem he went with some of his disciples into other parts of Judea, where he stayed till the imprisonment of John the Baptist. After which he travelled into Galilee through Samaria, where he preached the gospel. After some fruitless attempts to establish it at Nazareth, he departed to Capernaum, where he resided more than in any other place. Here he chose some disciples, as Peter, Andrew, John, and James. He went afterwards through the cities and villages of Galilee, preaching the kingdom of God in the synagogues on the sabbath-days. All this was done within the space of one year, or thereabouts.

The second *passover* is mentioned by St. John, in the fifth chapter of his gospel (*f*), where he saith, that when the feast of the Jews was at hand, Jesus went up to Jerusalem. It is true that the Evangelist not expressly saying which feast it was, hath made some writers imagine, that it was not the feast of the *passover*. But it seems much more natural, to understand it of a feast of the Jews by way of eminence, such as the *passover* was, than of any other. Besides, that this is very conformable to the style of St. John and the other Evangelists (*g*), who call the *passover* the *feast* only. When this festival was over, Jesus returned into Galilee, where he chose from among his disciples, *twelve*, whom he named Apostles, and whose business it was to be always with him, or else

(*b*) Which he spent in building an aquæduct, for the bringing in of water at the distance of 300 furlongs. Joseph. *ibid*.

(*) But instead of being acquitted, was banished to Vienne, a city of Gaul.

(*c*) Philo Legat. ad Caium.

(*d*) Euseb. Hist. Eccl. ii. 7.

(*e*) V. 13. See Mr. Le Clerc, of the years of Jesus Christ.

(*f*) V. 1.

(*g*) See Mark xv. 6. Luke xxiii. 17.

elle to execute his commands in different places. From that time, he began to deliver his instructions in a more plain and extensive manner, and to perform a greater number of miracles, for the confirmation of his doctrine, than he had done before. Having taught the multitudes at Capernaum, and near the sea, or lake of Tiberias; he came to Nazareth. At his departure out of this city, he sent his disciples to preach throughout Galilee, while he himself went to other parts. The Apostles came to him again at Capernaum, or some other place near the lake.

The *third-passover* is that of which St. John says (*b*), that it was at hand, when JESUS CHRIST fed five thousand men, besides women and children, with five loaves and two fishes. The Evangelist doth not expressly say, whether JESUS CHRIST went up to Jerusalem, to celebrate this feast, as he was wont to do; but it is very probable that he did. From thence he went into that part of Galilee, which borders upon Tyre and Sidon, where he was less known. Afterwards coming back towards the lake of Genesareth, he stayed for a considerable time in the country of Decapolis. As he avoided all concourse of people, for fear of being charged with sedition, he often removed from one place to another, being sometimes on the lake, and, at other times, in the neighbouring cities and villages. For this same reason he enjoined people not to make his miracles known, nor even to tell that he was the Christ. From hence he departed into Paneas, near the source of the river Jordan. And afterwards returned into Galilee, where he was transfigured upon a mountain in that province, to several places whereof he went at that time. He came up to Jerusalem to celebrate the *feast of tabernacles*. At his return, the disciples, whom he had sent about to several places, came to meet him in Galilee. From whence he departed, travelling towards Jerusalem, and preaching from place to place. He then returned into Galilee, and afterwards into Judea, where he made but a short stay. But in a little time came back there, to raise Lazarus from the dead. After this miracle, he went to Jericho, where he remained till the last *passover*, when he was crucified on a friday, after having Preached somewhat above three years. He rose the sunday morning, having remained only about *six and thirty* hours in the sepulchre. After his resurrection, he continued forty days upon earth, appearing several times to his disciples, and others. It is manifest from the gospel, that he appeared no less than twelve times. At the end of those forty days, he ascended into heaven, after having blessed his Apostles, who, ten days after, that is, on the day of Pentecost, received the Holy Ghost, according to their divine Master's promise. By these miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost, wherewith they were then endued, it was, that they were enabled to publish the gospel throughout the whole world. Having in our *prefaces* to each of their books set down the time in which they were written, and given as full an account as possible of their preaching, travels, hardships, sufferings, and martyrdom, we shall here conclude this article concerning the *chronology* of the New Testament.

Though

(*b*) V. 4.

Of the harmony of the four gospels. Though there were, even in the Apostles' time, several treatises handed about, under the name of gospels (*i*), yet the *primitive Christians* did unanimously receive but *four*; namely, those of St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John. This we find attested by four of the ancientest fathers of the church. The *first* is St. Irenæus (*k*), who lived in the second century, and who expressly says, that there were no other gospels but the *four* just now mentioned; and he adds, that this tradition is so much the more to be depended on, because the hereticks themselves acknowledged these gospels. The *second* is Tertullian (*l*), an author of the same century, who says, that the gospel was written by two apostles, St. Matthew, and St. John; and by two of their disciples, St. Mark, and St. Luke. The third is Origen (*m*), who tells us that he learned from tradition, that none but our four gospels are received by the universal church. The last is Eusebius (*n*), who, writing in the fourth century, testifies that in St. John's time the four gospels were received all over the world, and that this Apostle had given them the seal of his approbation.

As the churches kept very carefully the original copies, this was a very sure and easy method to distinguish the true from the counterfeit gospels, and to discover the forgeries of hereticks (*o*). Besides, by St. Paul ordering that this epistle should be read by all the *faithful* (*p*), we may reasonably suppose, that the gospels were so too, as soon as they appeared in the world. And that it was so, is evident from the testimony of Justin Martyr (*q*), who wrote in the second century; when giving an account of the religious offices of Christians, he says, that the *apostolical monuments*, that is, the gospels, and perhaps the Acts, were read every Sunday.

The sixteenth canon of the *council of Laodicea* enjoins, that the gospels, with the other scriptures, should be read on the sabbath-day, which the Christians then observed. This canon seems plainly to insinuate, that it was usual to read the gospels on Sundays, but that on Saturdays, to comply with the Jews, they read only the books of the Old Testament. From all these particulars it is manifest, that the *canon* of the gospels was already made at that time. The date of it may be fixed to St. John's approbation, just before mentioned. St. Ignatius (*r*), who was cotemporary with the Apostles, at least with St. John, speaks of the evangelical canon, under the name of *gospel*, as some authors have observed. St. Irenæus (*s*) styles the *gospel* the pillar and ground of the faith; whereby he means the four Evangelists, as he explains his meaning more fully afterwards. Eusebius (*t*), when speaking of the four gospels,

(*i*) Luke i. 1. (*k*) Iren. iii. 1. (*l*) Tertull. adv. Marc. iv. 1.

(*m*) Origen. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. vi. 25.

(*n*) Euseb. Hist. Eccl. iii. 24.

(*o*) This was Tertullian's method. Præscr. Hæret. c. 21.

(*p*) Coloss. iv. 16. 1 Thes. v. 27.

(*q*) Just. Martyr. Apoll. ii. p. 77.

(*r*) Ignat. Ep. ad Philipp. & alibi. See Dr. Mill Prolegom. N. T. Oxon. Fol. xxiv.

(*s*) Iren. ii. 1.

(*t*) Euseb. ubi supra.

pels, uses the word *canon*. It would have been a very hard matter to have been imposed upon at that time by false gospels (*). Besides, it was an easy matter to judge by those very composures, that they were no way suitable to the character of the Evangelists, of which they were but imperfect copies. If there was any good thing in them, it was blended with a parcel of fables, and with other silly and trifling things, which were unbecoming the gravity and simplicity, as well as the wisdom of the *sacred* writers. Thus have we both internal and external proofs of these writings being forged and fictitious, as we have on the other hand substantial arguments of each of these kinds for the truth of the books of the New Testament.

Those that have read the history of the gospel, have undoubtedly observed, that though the four Evangelists are perfectly agreed in the main, yet there is some difference between them; either because some take notice of circumstances that had been omitted by the rest, or else follow a different order and method in relating the matters they treat of. This hath, from the earliest ages of the church, set men upon comparing the gospels together, in order to shew the *harmony* and agreement between them. The first that undertook a work of this nature, as we are informed by Eusebius (u), was Tatian, who lived in the second century, and was the disciple of Justin Martyr; his performance he intitled, *one gospel out of four*, or the *chain of the four Evangelists* (*). But as Tatian fell into some *heretical* opinions, and had even suppressed the *genealogies* of JESUS CHRIST, and whatever proved that he was of the family of David, his composure soon came to nothing. It was however still extant in Theodoret's time, who says that it used to be read in churches (w), but that he destroyed all the copies of it, to bring the four gospels in the room of the abridgment which that heretick had made of them. In the 3d century, Ammonius, a Christian philosopher of Alexandria, published a harmony, which, in the ixth century, was illustrated with notes, by Zacharias Chrysopolitanus. Eusebius (x) hath transmitted to us an excellent fragment of a letter written also in the 3d century by Julius Africanus, wherein he reconciles St. Matthew, and St. Luke in the *genealogies* they have given of JESUS CHRIST. This fragment is well worth reading (†). In the fourth century, St. Augustine (y) composed a very good treatise in three books concerning the *agreement between the four Evangelists*, wherein he answers the objections of the *heathens*, who made the seeming contradiction between the Evangelists

(*) Which were collected together by Dr. Albert Fabricius, in his *Codex Apocryphus N. Test.* Hamb. 1703. See likewise Dr. Grabe's *Spicilegium.* Oxon.

(u) Euseb. Hist. Eccl. iv. 29.

(*) There is in the 1st. vol. of *Bibliotheca Patrum*, a harmony ascribed to Tatian, but it is none of his.

(w) Theodoret. Hær. Fab. l. i. c. 20.

(x) Euseb. Hist. Eccl. i. 7.

(†) You have it in Dupin's *Biblioth. of the Eccl. Hist.* vol. 1. under the word *Julius Africanus*.

(y) Aug. Tom. iii. Part. 2.

gelists a pretence for their unbelief. We may likewise rank among the harmonies, a *history of the gospels* written in verse by Juvencus a Spanish priest, who lived under the reign of Constantine the Great. And we may also pass the same judgment upon an excellent book composed by Helychius patriarch of Jerusalem (z) in the beginning of the seventh century, wherein several passages in the gospels, that seem to contradict one another, are very ingeniously reconciled. In the twelfth century, a harmony of the four Evangelists was compiled by order of Lewis the Pious (*). There is to be seen in some libraries a harmony written in Latin in the same century by an English priest, and translated into English by Wickliff. Among John Gerson's works there is a harmony extant, composed by that author, under the name of *one gospel out of four*; and also among those of John Hus a *history of JESUS CHRIST*, taken out of the four Evangelists. Since the reformation, harmonies are vastly multiplied. Protestants and Papists having shewed a very commendable emulation in this respect. For harmonies of the gospels have been compiled in all countries and languages. As they are in every body's hands, it would be needless to give an account of them here. They are all good in their kind, but it is very natural to suppose that the last must be the most exact and compleat.

Nothing can certainly be more useful or convenient, than to have a coherent account of the actions, miracles, and preaching of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST. It must besides be no small satisfaction to see at one view in a harmony, an exact agreement between four historians who have written the same history in different times and places. But it would therefore be unreasonable to suppose that there is no difference between them, especially as to order of time. The reason is this, that these divine authors have not had so much regard to order of time as to the things themselves, so that they have almost always related matters of fact, according as occasion offered.

Perhaps also the same things have happened more than once, they are consequently related at different times. This is the opinion of several authors concerning the *beatitudes* (a), and other passages of the New Testament. St. Matthew for instance tells us (b), that it was to the *twelve* Apostles JESUS CHRIST said, *I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves*; whereas, according to St. Luke, this was spoken to the seventy disciples (c). Nothing can be more natural than to suppose that it was said to both of them at different times.

Besides, when a historian omits any one circumstance, which is taken notice of by another, it doth not at all follow that the latter hath invented it. Thus St. Matthew (d) speaks of *two* persons possessed with devils, which were cured by JESUS CHRIST in the country of the Gergesenes; whereas St. Mark and St. Luke mention but *one* (e): all that can be inferred from this, is, that there are some circumstances in this history,

(z) Cotel. Monum. Eccl. Græc. Tom. iii.

(*) The MS. of it is in St. Paul's library at Leipstick.

(a) Helych. Quæst. Monum. Eccl. Gr. T. iii. p. 5. 15.

(b) Matt. x. 16. (c) Luke x. 1, 3. (d) Matt. viii. 28.

(e) Mark v. 1. Luke viii. 26.

history, which have been omitted by one of the Evangelists, and taken notice of by the other.

Had St. Mark and St. Luke said, that there was no more than one person possessed, they would indeed have contradicted St. Matthew; but because they speak but of one, it doth not at all follow that there were not two. St. Luke alone makes mention of the seventy disciples (*f*). Now what consequence can be drawn from hence? No other certainly than this, that there is that circumstance more in St. Luke, than in the rest of the Evangelists.

Besides, a thing is often taken for a contradiction when it is not really so, or at least but a seeming one. St. Matthew tells us that the miracle just now mentioned was done in the country of the Gergesenes, whereas, according to St. Mark and St. Luke, it was in that of the Gadarenes; but Gadara being in the land of the Gergesenes, there is no manner of contradiction here. The same Evangelist says (*g*), that it was the mother of Zebedee's children which came to desire of JESUS CHRIST, that her two sons might sit down, the one on his right hand, and the other on his left in his kingdom; but St. Mark tells us (*h*), that the sons themselves made this request. These two accounts are no way contradictory. The mother, and the children being together, they jointly put up their petitions. Besides, nothing is more common in the style of the eastern nations, than to say that a man hath done a thing himself, when he hath caused it to be done by another. The sons of Zebedee therefore having got their mother to make JESUS CHRIST this request, are here said to have done it themselves. Which, by the way, clears up a seeming contradiction that occurs in the history of the centurion, who is by one of the Evangelists said to have gone himself to JESUS CHRIST, and by another to have sent to him (*i*). St. Matthew affirms, that Judas hanged himself (*k*), and St. Luke that he cast himself headlong, and his bowels gushed out (*l*). It is really strange, that large volumes should have been written to remove a difficulty which is only imaginary, and hath no other foundation than an extreme fondness for gain-saying, there being several ways of reconciling the two Evangelists, as we have observed in our notes on those places.

The Evangelists may have had also particular reasons for suppressing or relating some circumstances. St. John for instance observes, that it was St. Peter who cut off Malchus's ear, but the other Evangelists say only that it was one of those that were with Jesus (*m*). A very probable reason may be assigned for this difference. St. Peter being yet alive when the other Evangelists wrote, they did not think it proper to name him, because the law took cognizance of what he had done; but St. John having written since St. Peter's death, had no need of using the same caution (*).

There are likewise in the accounts of the death, resurrection, and apparitions

(*f*) Luke x. 1.

(*g*) Mat. xx. 21.

(*h*) Mark x. 37.

(*i*) Matth. viii. 5. Luke vii. 3. (*k*) Matth. xxvii. 4. (*l*) Acts i. 18.

(*m*) Matth. xxvi. 51. Mark xiv. 47. Luke xxii. 50. John xviii. 10.

(*) Hefych. Quæst. ubi supr. p. 31, 32.

apparitions of JESUS CHRIST after it, some particulars wherein the Evangelists seem to differ one from another. But we may safely affirm, that there is none of those pretended contradictions, but what might be easily reconciled, would men but read the books of the New Testament with the same candour and impartiality, as they peruse profane historians, when they seem to contradict one another (†). We may even reap these two advantages from the difference between the Evangelists. 1. The same inference may be drawn from it, as from the difference of their stile, That they did not write by concert, or by any mutual agreement. 2. One of the Evangelists explaining some particulars more fully than the others have done, and some relating such and such matters of fact with a greater exactness, and describing them fuller with all their circumstances, than the rest of those sacred writers may do, we are hereby induced to read all the four gospels, which we should be apt to neglect, were they all exactly alike.

The Geography of the New Testament.

WE have already had an occasion of speaking of the several names which the land of Israel went by, and likewise of the situation of Jerusalem, and the neighbouring parts, as the Mount of Olives, Bet-any, Emmaus, &c. In treating of it at present, we shall denote it by the name of Palestine (*), which is more common; and shall only give a general description thereof, as far as may serve to give an account of the journeyings of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST. As the ancient Jews had no true notion of the extent of the world, and were besides no great *geographers*, they fancied that Palestine stood in the middle of the world (†), as Jerusalem did in the middle of Judea. Theodoret, in his comment on the prophet Ezekiel, assigns this country the same situation, when he says, that the Jews have Asia on the east and north, Europe on the west, and Africa on the south.

Palestine

(†) There are very good rules for reconciling the Evangelists, in a *harmony* printed at Amsterdam in 1699, in fol.

(*) Though Palestine, properly so called, be only the country that was inhabited by the Jews on this side Jordan, and which was formerly in the possession of the Philistines, yet this name hath since been given to all Judea, as well on *this* as the *other* side Jordan.

(†) This is a piece of folly which several nations have been guilty of. See Reland Palæst. Sac. l. i. c. 10. The Jews grounded their pretensions on two passages of the prophet Ezekiel, wherein mention is only made of the nations that were round the land of Israel, and not of the whole world. Ezek. v. 5, 6. xxxviii. 12.

Palestine was bounded on the south by Idumæa (*a*), the country of the Amalekites and the wilderness of Seir; on the east by Arabia, the Nabathæans (*b*), Kedarenians (*c*), Moabites (*d*), Midianites (*e*), and Ammonites (*f*); on the north by Phœnicia and Syria; and on the west by the Great or Mediterranean sea. Palestine may be divided into four parts; viz. Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, on this side Jordan; and Peræa on the other side, which contained Gaulonitis, Batanæa, Ituræa, and Trachonitis.

Judea had on the south, Idumæa; the river Jordan on the east; Judea. Galilee on the north; and on the west, Samaria, with part of the Mediterranean sea. The metropolis of it, as is well known, was Jerusalem. One of the most remarkable places in Judea, was undoubtedly Bethlehem (*), and that upon account of our Saviour's being born there. This city, formerly called Ephrata (+), was distant but six miles from Jerusalem to the south-west.

It is named in the sacred writings Bethlehem-Judah, to distinguish it from another Bethlehem belonging to the tribe of Zebulun (*g*). The Jews seldom mention the first: we read however in the Gemara of Jerusalem (‡), and some Rabbins, that the Messiah was to be born at Bethlehem. Two miles from this city, on the road to Jerusalem, stood, as is commonly supposed, Rachel's tomb (*h*). Which serves to explain Matth. ii. 18. After the emperor Adrian had made a thorough conquest of Judea, he forbid the Jews to dwell in the neighbouring parts of Jerusalem, and particularly at Bethlehem. From whence Tertullian (*i*) draws a very good argument against them; namely, that since the Messiah was to be born out of the tribe of Judah, and in Bethlehem, they could not have any manner of ground for expecting him, since no Jew was permitted to live in that city. From that time till Constantine the Great, who caused a temple to be built there, it became extremely polluted with idolatry. We learn from St. Jerom (*k*), that an idol of Adonis was set up in the place where JESUS CHRIST was born. The *hill-country* of Judea, where Mary went, after the angel had declared to her she should be the mother of the Son of God, was likewise on the south

(*a*) So named from Edom, one of the names of Esau; Seir from one of the descendants of Esau, of the same name; Amalekites from Amalek, the grandson of Esau. Gen. xxxvi.

(*b*) The Nabathæans from Nebaioth the son of Ishmael. Gen. xxv. 13.

(*c*) The Kedarenians, from Kedar the son of Ishmael. Gen. xxv. 13.

(*d*) The Moabites from Moab, the incestuous offspring of Lot with his eldest daughter. Gen. xix. 37.

(*e*) The Midianites from Midian the son of Abraham by Keturah. Gen. xxv. 2.

(*f*) The Ammonites from Ammon, or Ben-ammi, Lot's son.

(*) Bethlehem signifies *the house of bread*, and was so named because of the fruitfulness of the soil round it.

(+) Gen. xlviii. 7. Micah v. 2.

(*g*) Judg. xvii. 7, 8.

(‡) Gem. Hierosol. Berac. fol. 5. I. Echa. Rabbathi. fol. 72. I. ap. Lightfoot T. ii. p. 208. & Reland Pal. Sac. p. 644.

(*h*) Gen. xlviii. 7. Itin. Hierosol.

(*i*) Tertull. adv. Jud.

(*k*) Hieron. ad Paulin.

south side of Jerusalem. In this country lay Hebron (*l*), one of the cities allotted to the priests, where, as is commonly supposed, lived Zacharias, John the Baptist's father. In the remotest parts of Judea towards the south, there was another considerable city, called Beersheba. We read in the second book of Samuel (*m*) that the land of Israel reached from Dan to Beersheba. After the schism of the ten tribes, the bounds of the kingdom of Judah were described by these words, from *Beersheba to mount Ephraim* (*n*). Beersheba belonged to the tribe of Simeon (*o*). It is nowhere mentioned in the gospels.

On the south-east side of Jerusalem lies the lake Asphaltites (*p*), that is of Bitumen, otherwise called the Dead sea (*q*), because no fish can live in it (***); as also the Salt sea, because its waters are saltier than those of other seas (*†*); and lastly, the sea of Sodom, because in that place formerly stood Sodom and Gomorrah, with three other cities, that were consumed by fire from heaven. In this lake the river Jordan discharges itself. There stood on the eastern parts of Jerusalem several cities, as Gilgal, Engaddi, &c. but the most considerable of all was Jericho, where our Saviour was often wont to go, and where he converted Zacchæus (*r*). It is well known in what a miraculous manner this city was destroyed by Joshua (*s*). This great leader of the Israelites, pronounced a curse upon the person that should lay the foundations of it again. Notwithstanding which, we find that it was afterwards rebuilt, as we read in the first book of Kings (*t*), but the restorer of it was severely punished. Jericho was situated in a bottom (***), in that vast plain that was named the *great plain*, at the distance of 150 furlongs from Jerusalem (*†*). Between this capital of the *holy-land*, and Jericho, there was a dreadful wilderness, which was a receptacle for thieves and murderers (*‡*). The waters

(*l*) Otherwise called Kirjath-arba: Gen. xxiii. 2.

(*m*) 2 Sam. xvii. 11.

(*n*) 2 Chron. xix. 4.

(*o*) Josh. xv. 28. xix. 2.

(*p*) The breadth of this lake is 150 furlongs, and the length 580. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. v. c. 5. It is said to be 24 leagues long, and six or seven broad. Mr. Maundrell, Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, Oxon. 1721. p. 84.

(*q*) It hath been before observed that the Jews give the name of *sea* to any considerable collection of waters, whether sweet or salt. Porphyry then was in the wrong to find fault with the Evangelists for calling the lake of Genesareth a *sea*, as St. Jerom hath observed. Quæst. Hebr. I.

(***) This report (saith Mr. Maundrell, p. 84. of edit. 1721.) I have some reason to suspect as false, having observed among the pebbles on the shore, two or three shells of fish resembling oyster-shells.

(*†*) Not only salt to the highest degree, but also extreme bitter and nauseous. Id. *ibid*.

(*r*) Matth. xx. 29. Luke xviii. 35. xix. 1.

(*s*) Josh. vi. 20. Hebr. xi. 30.

(*t*) 1 Kings xvi. 34. Jos. Antiq. Jud. l. v. c. 1. The length of this plain was 230 furlongs; the breadth 120. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. v. c. 4.

(***) Hence this expression, *to go down from Jerusalem to Jericho*. Luke x. 30.

(*†*) About 19 miles.

(*‡*) St. Jerom tells us that this place was called *Adamim*, i. e. *Blood*, upon account of the frequent murders committed there. This in all likelihood gave

waters of Jericho are famous upon account of the miraculous alteration which Elisha caused in them, by rendering them wholesome, they having been very bad before (u). This city was a bishop's see at the time of the council of Nice.

The most remarkable places on the north of Jerusalem, were, 1. Ephraim, a pretty large city, eight miles from Jerusalem, near a desert of the same name, where JESUS CHRIST retired after he had raised Lazarus from the dead (x). 2. Rama (y), that is, a high or lofty place, is placed by the sacred writers in this neighbourhood. This town, which lies six miles from Jerusalem, is in the road that leads from the kingdom of Judah to that of Israel. Through this place the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin passed, when they were carried away captive to Babylon (z). Which occasioned the saying of the Jews, That *there are two places of tears*, Rama and Babel, applying to this captivity the 15th verse of the xxxixth chapter of Jeremiah. There were several towns of this name in Judea, but all more remote from Bethlenem than Rama of Benjamin, which was likewise at a considerable distance, since people were obliged to pass through Jerusalem, in order to go from Rama to Bethlehem (a). This distance hath induced some authors, after St. Jerom, to render the words that have by St. Matthew been applied to the massacre at Bethlehem, in the following manner, *in a high place was lamentation heard* (b), instead of rendering them thus, *in Ramah was lamentation heard*, as the passage of Jeremiah (c), which St. Matthew alludes to, hath been translated by the *seventy*, whose version the Evangelist follows. By this *high place* these writers have understood the *hill-country* of Judea near Bethlehem. But as Jeremiah speaks of the town Ramah, it is much more natural to put the same sense upon it in St. Matthew, because Rachel's sepulchre was between Rama, and Bethlehem. This last opinion we have followed in our note on that place. Beyond Ramah stood Gibeah, noted for the shameful violence offered by some of it's inhabitants to a Levite's wife (d). This was one of the Levitical cities. Shiloh and Bethel are also on the north of Jerusalem, near the borders of the tribes of Benjamin, and Ephraim. They are no where mentioned in the gospels, but are both famous in the Old Testament, the former upon account of the *tabernacle* being set up therein (e), and the latter for the vision of the patriarch Jacob, who gave it the name of the *house of God* (f), and afterwards for an altar that was erected there by Jeroboam (g). Upon this last account it was called Beth-aven, that is,

the

gave our blessed Lord an occasion to instance in this part of the country, in his parable concerning the man that fell among thieves. See Luke x. 30. Well's Geogr. of the N. T. Part. I. p. 121.

(u) 2 Kings ii. 20, 21, &c.

(x) John xi. 54.

(y) Josh. xviii. 25. Judg. iv. 5. xix. 13.

(z) Jerem. xl. 1.

(a) This is what may be inferred from Judg. xix. 11.

(b) Matth. ii. 18.

(c) Jerem. xxxi. 15.

(d) Judg. xix.

(e) Josh. xviii. 1. Jerem. vii. 12.

(f) Bethel. It was before called Luz. Gen. xxviii. 19.

(g) 1 Kings xii. 29. Amos iii. 14.

the house of iniquity (b). There was however another Beth-aven (i) on the east of Bethel.

Joppa. The most remarkable place west of Jerusalem was Joppa (*), remarkable upon several accounts, and particularly for the history of Jonah, and its convenient harbour. It was situated in a most delicious plain, close by the Mediterranean sea. Through this place king Hiram conveyed cedar-trees from Libanus to Solomon, for building the temple. Strabo tells us (k) that Jerusalem could be seen from Joppa, though they were forty miles distant one from another. According to the descriptions given of this city by historians, there are few places in the world that enjoyed a better situation. It appears from the Acts of the Apostles (l), that the gospel was received in this place soon after Christ's ascension; for here St. Peter restored Dorcas to life. In the way from Joppa to Jerusalem was Lydda, or Diospolis, famous for the cure of Eneas (m). Between Joppa and Lydda, lay Arimathæa, to which Joseph belonged, who begged the body of Jesus from Pilate (n). Below Lydda stood Azotus or Ashdod, between Gaza, and Jamnia, or Jafnia, which was a sea-port town, as well as Azotus. In this last was Philip found, when he was carried away by the spirit, after his baptizing the eunuch. This Apostle preached the gospel in the neighbouring parts. Azotus was a bishop's see at the time of the first general council. Though Askelon be not mentioned in the New Testament, yet it is so famous, that we cannot pass it over in silence. This city lies indeed in the tribe of Judah near the sea-coast, but we do not find that it ever belonged to that tribe. It was inhabited partly by Jews, and partly by Philistines; and was also a bishop's see at the time of the first council just before mentioned. Gaza may be reckoned among the cities of Judah that are on the west of Jerusalem, though it be nearer the south. This was one of the five cities of the Philistines, which fell by lot to the tribe of Judah (o); but we learn from Josephus (p), that the Israelites could not make themselves masters of it, nor of Acaron. The same historian tells us, that Hezekiah added to his own territories all the cities of the Philistines, from Gath to Gaza (q). It was taken by Alexander the Great (r); and afterwards by Ptolemy Lathurus king of Egypt (s); but Alexander Jannæus king of the Jews took it again soon after (t). The procunful Gabinius having had it repaired with several other cities of Judea (x), it remained in the possession of the Romans, till Augustus gave it Herod (x). Josephus ranks Gaza among the Grecian cities, and says that it was not annexed to the jurisdiction of Archelaus (y). This city is mentioned but once in the New Testament, and that in the Acts,

(b) Hosea iv. 15, v. 8. x. 5.

(i) Josh. vii. 2.

(*) The Hebrew word *Joppa* signifies *beauty*; it is the ancient *Japhos*: it is now called *Jaffa*.

(k) Strab. l. xvi.

(l) Acts ix. x. xi.

(m) Acts ix. 33.

(n) Matth. xxvii. 57.

(o) Josh. xv. 47.

(p) Joseph. Ant. l. v. c. 2.

(q) Id. l. ix. c. 13.

(r) Id. l. xi. c. 8.

(s) Id. l. xiii. 21.

(t) Id. Ibid.

(u) Id. l. xvi. c. 10.

(x) Id. l. xv. c. 11.

(y) But was by Augustus annexed to Syria. Joseph. Ant. l. xvii. c. 13.

Acts, where it is called *desert* (z). The word *desert* may be referred to the road that led thither, as we have done in our note on that place. If it be applied to the city, then it must be said that it retained this appellation from the time it was laid waste; for we learn from Josephus that it was desert, when Gabinius caused it to be rebuilt. The bishop of Gaza was present at the council of Nice. This city was notwithstanding partly inhabited by heathens for a long time, since, as is supposed, there were in the 4th century, eight temples therein, dedicated to false deities (a).

Having taken a survey of the several parts of Judea, we must now enter into Samaria. But as we have already had an occasion of speaking of the country, and city of that name, and of its several inhabitants, we have but little more to say about it. Samaria was situated between Judea and Galilee, so that the Galileans were forced to pass through it in their way to Jerusalem, when they would shorten their journey. Josephus tells us (b), that Galilee was three days journey from Jerusalem. What the bounds of Samaria were, may be seen in the same historian (c). Its chief cities were Samaria, otherwise Sebaste, and Sichem, now called Naplouse. Antipatris may likewise be reckoned among the cities of Samaria, since it lay in the road from Judea to Galilee. Through this place the soldiers carried St. Paul, when they were going along with him to Cæsarea (d). It was built by Herod, who gave it the name of Antipatris, in memory of his father Antipater. One of its bishops was at the council of Chalcedon in the fifth century. Some famous ancient and modern geographers have ranked Cæsarea of Palestine (*) among the cities of Samaria, though Josephus places it in Phœnicia. It was formerly called Turris Stratonis, or Strato's tower, from the name of its founder. Herod having adorned it with abundance of magnificent buildings, and particularly with several temples, and a most noble harbour, he named it Cæsarea, in honour of Cæsar Augustus (e). This city was for the most part inhabited by *heathens*, who were frequently troubling and vexing the Jews. For an instance of which, Josephus gives an account of a massacre of the Jews at Cæsarea, which was occasioned by a Greek that had a house adjoining to their synagogue, and which they would have purchased, that they might not be disturbed in their divine service (f). The same historian relates, that there

(z) Acts viii. 26. (a) Act. Sanct. T. V. p. 655. (b) Joseph. Vit.

(c) Id. de Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 2. (d) Acts xxiii. 31.

(*) It was otherwise called Cæsarea Maritima, to distinguish it from another Cæsarea, of which we shall speak hereafter.

(e) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 16. & Antiq. l. xiv. c. 8.

(f) He not only refused to let them have it, though they offered much more than it was worth; but, out of pure crossness, he blocked the way in a manner quite up, by crowding so many little shops into the passage, that there was hardly any room left for one single body to get into the synagogue. The next day, being the sabbath, when the people were all together in the synagogue, a Cæsarean set an earthen vessel just before the door with a sacrifice of birds upon it. This contemptuous mockery put the Jews out of all patience,—whereupon they went to blows. Jos. de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 14.

there happened grievous disputes and quarrels between the Jews and Syrians about this city. The first claimed a right to it, because it had been rebuilt by Herod, and the latter on the contrary maintained that it was theirs, because no Jew had any footing therein, when it was at first built by Strato (*g*). We take notice of these particulars, because Josephus ascribes to them the cause of the war, and the ruin of the Jewish nation. As the first propagators of Christianity were forced to go through Cæsarea, in order to preach the gospel to the Gentiles, it is therefore frequently mentioned in the Acts (*h*). It was formerly a bishop's see, and a council was held there towards the end of the second century, in which Theophilus, the then bishop of it, presided. Cæsarea was about fourscore miles from Jerusalem. There were two mountains in Samaria, famous for the blessings and curses of the law; namely, Gerizim, whereon stood the temple of the Samaritans, and Ebal. Before the schism of the ten tribes, Samaria belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, and the half tribe of Manasseh. The soil of it is nearly the same as that of Judea.

Galilee is often mentioned in the Old Testament (*i*). We read in the 1st book of Kings, that Solomon would have given Hiram twenty cities in Galilee, but the latter would not accept of them (*k*). This is to be understood of Upper Galilee, which bordered upon Tyre, and was mostly inhabited by heathens. And this, in all probability is the same as is called in scripture *Galilee of the Gentiles* (*l*). Some authors make Galilee reach beyond Jordan; but this opinion is rejected by others, because Josephus always places it on this side the river (*). Without entering into this dispute, we shall at present speak of Galilee on this side Jordan, and afterwards of the country on the other side.

Galilee was bounded on the north, according to Josephus (*m*), by the Tyrians; on the west by the city and territory of Ptolemais, and mount Carmel; on the south with Samaria and Scythopolis, as far as the river Jordan; and on the east by Hippene and Gadaris. To begin then with the first, as lying near Samaria and Judea which we have been giving an account of, it reached in length from Tiberius to Zabulon, and in breadth from a village called by Josephus Xaloth, which was situated in the *great plain* (†), to another named Bersabe (‖).

We

(*g*) Id. Antiq. l. xx. c. 6.

(*h*) Acts viii. 40. ix. 30. xii. 19. xviii. 22. xxi. 8. xxiii. 33.

(*i*) Josh. xx. 7. 1 Chron. vi. 76.

(*k*) 1 Kings ix. 11, 12. Joseph. Ant. l. viii. c. 2.

(*l*) Isai. ix. 1. Matth. iv. 15.

(*) In order to frame a notion of what is *on this side Jordan*, we must represent to ourselves the children of Israel, as coming out of Egypt. In this view, Judea, Samaria, and Galilee will be found to be on this side Jordan; and Peræa, Gaulonitis, &c. on the other.

(*m*) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 3. c. 2.

(†) There was another plain on the west of Galilee, called also the great plain of Jizreel, or Esdraelon.

(‖) We must take care not to confound this Bersabe with Beer-sheba before mentioned.

We learn from Josephus (*n*) that the chief cities of Lower Galilee were Tiberias, Sephoris, and Gabara. Tiberias the capital of Galilee was so named by Herod Antipas, the founder or repairer of it, in honour of Tiberius: It was situated in a plain, near the lake of Gennesareth, which, from that city, was also called the lake or sea of Tiberias.

This city is very famous, and frequently mentioned in the Jewish writers, because after the taking of Jerusalem, there was at Tiberias a succession of Hebrew judges and doctors (*), till the 4th century. It was a bishop's see in this same century. We are told by St. Epiphanius (*o*), that a Hebrew translation of St. John's gospel, and the Acts of the Apostles, was kept in this city. Tiberias might be about fourscore and ten miles from Jerusalem. Sephoris, otherwise called Diocæsarea, was also a considerable city, which lay in the midst of Lower Galilee towards the west. It even became the metropolis of this country, after Nero had bestowed it upon Agrippa the Younger (*p*). Josephus represents it as the strongest place in Galilee (*q*). It was also a bishop's see. Though the same author ranks Gabara among the chief cities of Galilee, yet he hath nothing remarkable about it, nor about Scythopolis, which was formerly called Bethshan (*r*). There would be no occasion neither to speak of Giscala, another city of Lower Galilee, was it not for one particular recorded by St. Jerom (*s*), which is, that St. Paul was of that city, and that when Judea was conquered by the Romans, he went and dwelt at Tarsus in Cilicia. Giscala was a very strong place. It held out against the Romans to the last extremity: but was at length surrendered to Titus upon terms. Josephus relates a remarkable circumstance that happened at that time (*t*). Namely, that Titus having made some overtures of peace to the inhabitants of Giscala, on the sabbath-day, one John, the head of a troop of robbers, desired him to put it off till the next day, because it was unlawful for the Jews, either to make war or peace on that day. Titus readily granted them their request, and even removed his troops, and encamped farther off the city. From whence John took an occasion of flying in the night to Jerusalem with several thousands of people. Titus entered the city the next morning, and sent a party of horse to pursue those that were fled away.

The small towns and villages of Galilee have received abundantly more honour from our Saviour's presence in them, than from whatever else is recorded of them in history. It doth not indeed appear from the *gospels* that JESUS CHRIST ever was in the cities last mentioned, for he exercised his ministry only in the smallest towns of this province. For the same reason undoubtedly it was, that he avoided, as much as possible, all concourse of people, that he stole away from the multitude that would have made him king, and that he forbid those that were the

witnesses

(*n*) Joseph. in Vita.

(*) Maimon. Sanch. 4. Tiberias was the place where the Massorites resided.

(*o*) Hæref. xxx. p. 127.

(*q*) Id. de Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 1.

(*s*) Catalog. Scrip. Eccl.

(*p*) Joseph. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 3.

(*r*) Judg. i. 27. 1 Chron. vii. 29.

(*t*) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 4.

witnesses of his miracles to make them known, as we have before observed, for fear his enemies should from thence take occasion of charging him with sedition. At Tiberias stood the palace of Herod the Tetrarch, and here the Jews had great authority, as well as at Sephoris, which besides was well guarded, and strongly fortified. It was not therefore consistent with the wisdom of JESUS CHRIST, who was to suffer death at a certain time and place, to run himself into an unnecessary danger in those cities, where perhaps, after all, his doctrine would have been rejected. To which we may add, that it is probable he seldom went to those cities that were inhabited both by Jews and heathens, for fear of creating in the former an aversion to his precepts. The case was otherwise with Jerusalem. There stood the temple, there it was necessary he should preach, and there he was to lay down his life for the redemption of mankind.

Nazareth. In order therefore to take a view of the chief places of Galilee, we shall begin with Nazareth (*u*), where JESUS CHRIST was brought up, where he preached, and from whence he was called a *Nazarene*. It was but a small town, built on a rock, from the top of which the inhabitants would have thrown JESUS CHRIST headlong (*x*). It lay west of Jordan, not far from mount Tabor; at the distance of about twenty-seven leagues from Jerusalem. If we will believe St. Epiphanius (*y*), there were no Christians at Nazareth before the time of Constantine, who caused a church to be built there. It appears from the gospel according to St. John (*z*) that Nazareth was looked upon by the Jews as a very contemptible place. It was still in being in the twelfth century (*a*). At some distance from thence towards the south stood the little town Nain, where JESUS CHRIST restored to life a widow's son (*b*); and on the north, Cana, where he did his first miracle, by changing water into wine (*c*), and where he cured the son of an officer belonging to Herod Antipas (*d*).

St. Matthew tells us, that JESUS CHRIST departed from Nazareth, and went into Capernaum, a sea-port town, *on the borders of Zebulun and Nephthali* (*e*), where he did many miracles. The reason why he chose to go there, was, because that place lying nearer the sea of Tiberias, he could conveniently go backwards and forwards to preach the gospel in the neighbouring parts. It may be inferred from the saying of JESUS CHRIST concerning Capernaum, namely, *that it had been exalted unto heaven* (*f*), that it was a considerable city. The Jews had a synagogue there (*g*), as the Christians had a church afterwards. Not far from Bethsaida, thence was Bethsaida, of which were Philip, Andrew, and Peter (*h*), and where JESUS CHRIST restored a blind man to his sight. Geographers are not agreed about the situation of this city. The Evangelists place it always in Galilee (*i*), and on this side Jordan.

Besides

(*u*) Mat. ii. 23. Mark i. 9.

(*y*) Epiphan. Hæres. I. p. 136.

(*a*) Gul. Tyr. l. xxii. 26.

(*c*) John ii. 9—11.

(*f*) Mat. xi. 23.

(*h*) John i. 45. Mark viii. 23.

(*x*) Luke iv. 29.

(*z*) John i. 46.

(*b*) Luke vii. 11—15.

(*e*) Mat. iv. 13.

(*g*) John vi. 59.

(*i*) John xii. 21,

Besides JESUS CHRIST joins Capernaum with Bethsaida and Chorazin (*k*), which were two towns of Galilee, on this side the lake. Notwithstanding, Josephus speaks of a village called Bethsaida, where Philip the Tetrarch, whose dominions were on the other side the lake, built a city, which he named Julius (*l*). For which reason several authors have imagined, that the Bethsaida mentioned in the gospel, was on the other side the lake of Tiberias. But there can be no manner of inconvenience in supposing two cities of the same name, because the word Bethsaida signifying a *house of fishing*, there might be one on each side the lake. Near the eastern Bethsaida was a *desert* of the same name, where JESUS CHRIST went, when he was informed that Herod the Tetrarch desired to see him (*m*). A little above Bethsaida, stood Chorazin, and two villages stiled Dalmanutha and Magdala, where JESUS CHRIST preached (*n*). We must not forget to mention here Enon near Salim where John baptized, because there was plenty of water in that place (*). The two last towns lay near the river Jordan, on the south side of the lake, between Tiberias and Scythopolis.

Mount Tabor (†) is one of the most famous places of Galilee; and is frequently mentioned in the Old Testament (*o*). It stands about the middle of Lower Galilee, between Nazareth (||), and the country of Gennesareth. According to Josephus (*p*), it is 30 furlongs in height, and 26 round. It is remarkable upon this score, that it stands by itself in a plain (§), without any other mountain or hill near, having a plain area at the top (§), most fertile and delicious. Josephus tells us, that he had it surrounded with walls (*), within the space of 40 days, for no other reason undoubtedly, but that he might render it the more inaccessible to the Romans. We learn from an ancient tradition (*q*), that it was upon mount Tabor JESUS CHRIST was transfigured, and that it is the same place which is by St. Peter called the Holy Mount (*r*). But this hath been called in question by some learned authors, because the transfiguration is related immediately after the discourse which JESUS CHRIST made to his disciples at Cæsarea-Philippi, and that the Evangelists do not mention our Saviour's coming back from thence into Galilee. This hath inclined those authors to believe, that that event happened upon a mountain near Cæsarea-

(*k*) Luke x. 13, 15.

(*l*) Joseph. Ant. l. xviii. c. 3.

(*m*) Luke ix. 9, 10.

(*n*) Matt. xi. 21. Mark viii. 10. Mat. xv. 39.

(*) John iii. 23.

(†) The same as is called Itabyrium (Ἰταβήριον) by Josephus and the Seventy. Jer. xlv. 18, &c.

(*o*) Josh. xix. 22. Judg. iv. 6, 12. Psal. lxxxix. 12. Jer. xlv. 18. Hos. v. 1.

(||) At two hours distance from Nazareth eastward.

(*p*) De Bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 2.

(§) The plain of Esdraelon.

(§) Of an oval figure extended about one furlong in breadth, and two in length. See Maundrell's Journey. p. 113.

(*) Of which it shews many remains at this day. Maundrell. ibid.

(*q*) Hieron. et Cyril. See Mat. xvii. 2. Mark ix. 2. Luke ix. 28.

(*r*) 2 Peter i. 18.

Cæsarea-Philippi (*s*). But after all, this is no sufficient reason for departing from so ancient a tradition. For since the Evangelists observe (*t*), that six days passed between JESUS CHRIST'S discourse at Cæsarea-Philippi, and his transfiguration, he had time enough to return into Galilee, it being not above five and twenty leagues from Tabor. We meet in the first book of Chronicles with a city called Tabor (*u*). But it is not well known how it was situated in respect of the mount. .

Since we are come to the lake of Gennesareth so frequently mentioned in the gospel, it will be proper to give a description of it before we pass into Upper Galilee. This lake was formerly called Cinnereth (*x*), from a city of the same name; as is commonly supposed. Afterwards it went by the name of the lake of Gennesareth, which is a very beautiful country, on the west of this lake, wherein are situated most of the cities just before described (*y*). It was otherwise called the sea of Galilee, or the sea of Tiberias. Josephus makes this lake to be 100 furlongs, that is, about four leagues in length; and 40 furlongs, or near two leagues in breadth. The river Jordan runs through the middle of it, and afterwards discharges itself into the Dead-sea. The water of the lake of Tiberias is fresh, sweet, and good to drink, and also very full of fish, as is evident from the gospel history (*z*).

Upper Galilee. There are but very few cities of Upper Galilee, which contained the tribes of Nephthali and Asher, mentioned in the New Testament. It reached in breadth from Bersabe before-mentioned, to a village called Bacca, which, according to Josephus (*), divided the Tyrians from Galilee; and in length, from Thella, another village near Jordan, as far as Meroth (†). One of the first places on the west of Upper Galilee was Dor, a sea-port town, and a bishop's see. Near Dor stands mount Carmel, famous in the Old Testament (*a*) for the miracle performed there by Elias; and in profane history, upon account of the idol Carmel, which was worshipped there by the heathens (*b*). We must take care not to confound this mount with a city of the same name, which was situated upon a mountain, in the tribe of Judah, and on the east of Hebron. Mount Carmel is never mentioned in the New Testament, though we find the contrary asserted by a geographer that lived in the twelfth century (‡). From this mountain you go to Ptolemais,

(*s*) Viz. upon mount Panium, which is exceeding high, according to Josephus. Ant. l. xv. c. 13. de Bel. J. i. 16.

(*t*) Mat. Mark, Luke, ubi supra.

(*u*) 1 Chron. vi. 77.

(*x*) Numb. xxxiv. 11. Josh. xii. 3.

(*y*) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 18.

(*z*) Matth. iv. 18. and elsewhere.

(*) Concerning Bacca, Thella, and Meroth, see Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 2.

(†) Sanfon says, that Meroth was a village: others, that it was a lake. Josephus doth not expressly say what it was.

(*a*) 1 Kings xviii. 19, etc.

(*b*) Plin. xxxi. 2. Tacit. Hist.

(‡) Joan. Phoc. apud Rel. Pal. Sac. p. 330.

mais (c), one of the most considerable cities of Upper Galilee, standing upon a gulph of the Mediterranean sea. This city was partly inhabited by heathens, who were very troublesome to the Galileans (d). St. Paul went through it in his journey from Ephesus to Jerusalem, and abode one day with the Christians that were there (e). On the east and north of Upper Galilee, were Bacca, Cades, and Dan, which are the frontier towns.

Before we leave Galilee, it will be very proper to give an account of the character of the Galileans. Josephus (f) describes Galilee as a very fruitful and populous country; and represents the inhabitants as an industrious and laborious sort of people, and of so warlike a disposition, that though they were surrounded by heathens, who continually harassed them, yet they were always able to make head against them. Notwithstanding which, it appears from several places in the gospel, that the Jews had but a very mean opinion of the Galileans. It was out of contempt they called *Jesus* a Galilean, as did Julian the Apostate (g), who gave the Christians also the same name. As it was a commonly received opinion among the Jews, that the Messiah should be born at Bethlehem, as the scribes told Herod (h); and Christ being born there, they affected to call him a Galilean, because his mother belonged to Galilee, designing by this means insensibly to wear out the remembrance of his being born at Bethlehem. This at least we find Origen charging them with (i). It was with an intent to render St. Peter odious, that they said he was a Galilean (k). They cast the same reflection upon Nicodemus, adding, that out of Galilee never came a prophet (l). *Jesus Christ* seems to give the Jews an indirect reproof for this aversion, when he asks them, whether those Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mixed with their sacrifices, were greater sinners than themselves (m). There was a saying current among the Jews, which plainly enough discovered their hatred to the Galileans. And that is, that when the Messiah comes, Galilee will be destroyed, and the Galileans shall wander from city to city, without meeting with pity or compassion. From whence a learned commentator (n) hath very ingeniously observed, that when the person possessed with the devil at Capernaum asked *Jesus Christ*, "Are you come to destroy us?" he meant the Galileans, and not the devils.

Several very probable reasons may be assigned for this aversion which the Jews had for the Galileans. 1. It is undeniably certain, that the Jews ascribed a greater degree of holiness to Judea, than to the other parts of the Holy Land, because Jerusalem and the temple stood therein. 2. We have

(c) Formerly called Acco, Judg. i. 31. now Acra.

(d) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 9, 20.

(e) Acts xxi. 7.

(f) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 2.

(g) Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. 12.

(h) Matt. ii. 5. John vii. 42.

(i) Origen contra Cels. p. 39, 40.

(k) Matth. xxvi. 73. Luke xxii. 59.

(l) John vii. 52. This was a great falsehood, as we have observed in our note on that place.

(m) Luke xiii. 2.

(n) Lightfoot Hor. Hebr. in Marc. i. 24.

have already observed, that Galilee was inhabited by those parts of the ten tribes that remained in the land, when the rest were carried away captive, or returned thither from the place of their captivity (*o*). Now the Jews, properly so called, set a vast difference between themselves and the ten tribes. 3. The uncouth language of the Galileans made the Jews slight and despise them. It is well known how the wrong pronunciation of the word Shibboleth betrayed the inhabitants of Ephraim (*p*); and that St. Peter was known to be a Galilean by his speech (*q*). We have this maxim in the Thalmud, that because the Jews speak their own language well, therefore the law was confirmed to them; whereas it never was so to the Galileans, because they speak ill. 4. The Galileans being mixt with the Gentiles, was a very great cause of this aversion. They were not only in a manner surrounded with them, having for their neighbours the Phœnicians, and Syrians, but they also jointly inhabited several cities in Upper Galilee, and other places, as Scythopolis (*r*), &c. It is true that there were Gentiles in some cities of Judea, but that was only in sea-port towns, at a considerable distance from Jerusalem, and the rest of Judea, as Azotus, Gaza, Jamnia, where Philo says (*s*), “ that the Heathens were very troublesome to the Jews.

Tyre. Let us now return to the north of Upper Galilee, where lay Tyre. Phœnicia (*t*), and Syria. In Phœnicia there are two remarkable cities on the sea coast, namely, Tyre and Sidon. The former (*u*), which is built on an island of the same name, is a place of great antiquity, and famous upon several accounts, as its vast trade (*x*), the nations and colonies it transplanted into several parts of the world (*), as Carthage, &c. and the wars which it was engaged in against Nebuchadnezzar, who besieged it for thirteen years together (*y*), and against Alexander the Great, who spent seven months in taking it (*z*). The prophets draw almost the same character of this city (*a*), as St. John doth of the mystical Babylon in the Revelations (*b*), and denounce almost the same judgments against both of them. Ezekiel in particular (*c*) foretold that Tyre should be built no more. It was, notwithstanding, in all its glory in the time of Alexander the Great, who took it about 300 years after Nebuchadnezzar. It was still in great repute in our Saviour’s time; he frequently mentions it (*d*), he preached in the neighbouring parts, and there

(*o*) See this proved by Lightfoot in Chron. Nov. Tef. Tom. 2. p. 14. and Galp. Abel. Monarch. Israël. p. 294, 295.

(*p*) Judg. xii. 6.

(*q*) Luke xxii. 59.

(*r*) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 19.

(*s*) Philo Legat. ad Caium.

(*t*) Called otherwise Syro-Phœnicia, because it bordered upon Syria, to distinguish it from Palestine, properly so called, which sometimes went by the name of Phœnicia.

(*u*) Tyre was formerly called Tzor. Josh. xix. 29.

(*x*) Ezek. xxvi. xxvii.

(*) Plin. Hist. Nat. v. 19.

(*y*) Joseph. Antiq. l. x. c. 11.

(*z*) Q. Cur. l. iv. c. 4. Arian. de Exped. Alexand. l. ii.

(*a*) Isai. xxiii. Ezek. xxvi. xxvii.

(*b*) Revel. xviii.

(*c*) Ezek. xxvi. 14.

(*d*) Matth. xi. 21. xv. 21. Mark iii. 8. Luke vi. 17.

there he healed the daughter of a Canaanitish woman. We find that the Tyrians made a considerable figure in the reign of Herod Agrippa, who designed to go and wage war with them, had they not made their peace with him by their deputies (*e*). There were Christians at Tyre, when St. Paul travelled through that place (*f*). It was a bishop's see in the second century. St. Jerom tells us (*g*), that in his time it was the most famous, and most beautiful city of Phœnicia, and a mart for all the nations of the world. That antient father alledges this, as an objection against the fulfilling of the prophecy of Ezekiel (*h*), and solves it, by saying that the prophet's meaning is only this, That Tyre should no longer be the queen of nations, and enjoy the same authority and dominion it had under Hiram, and its other kings, but should be subject to the Chaldeans, Macedonians, Ptolemies, and at last to the Romans. Others suppose, that the prophet doth not there speak of the ruin of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, and Alexander the Great, but of its final destruction, whereof the others were only so many fore-runners. And indeed Tyre is now only a poor village inhabited by a few fishermen. So that the prophecy is fulfilled, which declared, "That it should be a place for fishers to dry their nets on (*i*)."
Ezekiel may also be explained by the prophet Isaiah (*k*), who limits the destruction of Jerusalem to 70 years. But, without having recourse to explanations, that may seem to be far-fetched; it is much more proper, with some learned authors (*), to interpret this prophecy concerning Old Tyre (*l*), which stood a little lower on the continent. This last was indeed destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, and never built again. The inhabitants finding themselves upon the very brink of destruction, took ship with their wives and children, carrying along with them their most valuable goods, and came to the island of Tyre, where they built a city of the same name; so that Nebuchadnezzar, according to the prophecy (*m*), got nothing by his expedition. It is somewhat strange that St. Jerom (*n*), who hath recorded this particular, doth not make use of it to answer the objection he brings. We learn from Josephus (*o*), that there were Jews at Tyre, who underwent very great hardships from the Tyrians. This city was formerly the metropolitan see for the province of Phœnicia.

Among the chief cities of Phœnicia, we must not forget to rank Tripoli, which was also a sea-port town, and a bishop's see. It is still in being, and in the hands of the Turks. There are some Christians in it belonging to the Greek church (†).

Above

(*e*) Acts xii. 20.

(*f*) Acts xxi. 4.

(*g*) Hieron. in Ezek. xxvi. xxvii.

(*h*) See Ezek. xxvi. 14.

(*i*) Id. ibid.

(*k*) Isai. xxiii. 15.

(*) Sir J. Marsham, Sæc. xvii. Le Clerc, Comp. Hist.

(*l*) i. e. Palætyrus. Alexander the Great used the best part of the materials of this city in making the isthmus, which now joins Tyre to the continent. See Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 2.

(*m*) Ezek. xxix. 18.

(*n*) Hier. in Ezek. xxix.

(*o*) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 20.

(†) See the description of Tripoli, and mount Libanus, in Dandini's Voyage du Mont Liban.

Above Tyre on the sea-coast, stands Sidon (||), named the Great in Joshua (*p*). This city, which is of a longer standing than Tyre, had been assigned to the tribe of Asher, but they could not drive out the Sidonians from thence (*q*). Josephus, who places it within the dominions of the Phœnicians, tells us, that the inhabitants shook off their government, and submitted to Shalmenefer. Sidon is but occasionally mentioned in the New Testament, and that is when St. Luke tells us that Julius the centurion gave St. Paul leave to go there and see his friends (*r*). It was a bishop's see.

Between Tyre and Sidon lies Sarepta, a little town, remarkable upon account of the miracles performed there by almighty God for the sake of Elijah, and a widow woman belonging to that place (*s*). We learn from the Itinerary of Antonius the martyr, who is supposed to have lived in the fourth century, that there were Christians in his time at Sarepta, and that they pretended to shew there Elijah's chamber, and the widow's cruse. Another traveller (*t*) tells us, that they had built a church in the place where that miracle was done.

On the east of Sidon stands mount Libanus (*u*), so famous for its fine cedars, and Anti-libanus, another mountain over against it, as you go towards Damascus. Between these two mountains lies a large valley, of a considerable length, where Cœla-Syria is commonly placed. They reckon several cities in this part of Syria, as Abila, from whence the province Abilene, which was bestowed by Agrippa upon Lyfanius (*x*), seems to have taken its name.

Several countries of Asia went under the name of Syria, as Syria. Palestine for instance, and Mesopotamia, which is called Syria of Rivers, because it is between the Tigris and Euphrates. But by Syria here we understand, that which lies on the north-east of Upper Galilee, and is called in scripture Syria of Damascus (*y*). David made himself master of this province, and annexed it to the land of Israel (*z*). It was taken from Solomon by the Syrians of Zoba (*a*). Benhadad was king of Syria in the time of Elisha (*b*). This country fell afterwards into the hands of the Assyrians, from whom Alexander the Great took it. After the death of this monarch, his dominions being divided among his chief officers, this province fell to Seleucus's share, and was for a considerable time enjoyed by his descendants, who from him were called Seleucides. It was at last conquered by Pompey, and thenceforward governed by Roman presidents, on whom the procurators of Judea did depend.

The chief city of Syria is Damascus, more remarkable for Damascus. St. Paul's conversion that happened near it (*c*), than for any thing

(||) It took its name from Sidon, the eldest of the sons of Canaan. Gen. x. 15.

(*p*) Jos. xix. 28.

(*q*) Joseph. Antiq. l. v. 1. and ix. 11.

(*r*) Acts xxvii. 3.

(*s*) 1 Kings xvii. 9.

(*t*) Phoc. Descript. Loc. Sanct.

(*u*) Libanus is derived from a Hebrew word signifying *white*, because this mountain is covered with snow. Jerem. xviii. 14.

(*x*) Luke iii. 1.

(*y*) 2 Sam. viii. 6.

(*z*) 2 Sam. x.

(*a*) 1 Kings xi. 25.

(*b*) 2 Kings vi.

(*c*) Acts ix 3, etc.

thing else that could be said in its commendation. It appears from Genesis (*d*) that it is a place of very great antiquity, since we read that Abraham pursued as far as that city, those kings which had taken his nephew Lot prisoner. Damascus is frequently mentioned in scripture under different ideas, sometimes as a noble and magnificent city, and at other times as a place full of pride, violence and idolatry. It was heretofore an episcopal seat, and the bishop thereof suffragan to the patriarch of Antioch.

It remains now that we should say a word or two concerning that part of Palestine which lies on the other side Jordan, beginning at the north. The most considerable city on that side, at the upper end of the lake, is Cæsarea-Philippi, so called, because Philip the Tetrarch repaired, and beautified it with several stately buildings in honour of Tiberias Cæsar (*). It was before named Panæas, because situated near mount Panium. *Jesus Christ* often preached near this city; but it is no where said that he ever was in it. And therefore what is related concerning a statue of our Saviour's being set up in that city, in remembrance of his curing a woman there, that had been troubled with an issue of blood for twelve years (*e*), is all a fable. The miracle might indeed have been performed near the city, but it doth not appear that it was done therein. However it be, we are further told, that Julian beat down that statue, that the heathens put the Emperor's in its room, and that the Christians placed *Jesus Christ's* in their own church. Cæsarea Philippi is frequently mentioned in the gospel history. But the two Cæsareas lying near one another, it is no easy matter to know which is meant, when we find Cæsarea mentioned without any distinguishing appellation.

Above Panæas, on the east of the lake, stands another city of Gaulonitis, named Julias, built also by Philip the Tetrarch in honour of Julia, in the place of a village called Bethsaida (*f*). We have spoken of it elsewhere.

One of the most considerable places on the other side Jordan is Decapolis, that is, the country or territory of ten cities. It is frequently mentioned in the gospels (*g*), as well as in Josephus, and other profane authors. But it is no easy matter exactly to know which were these ten cities, because the learned are not agreed about it. It is even supposed that there were some of them on this side Jordan, as Scythopolis. We may safely rank among the cities of Decapolis, Gadara (*h*), which was situated on the other side Jordan between Gaulonitis

(*d*) Gen. xiv. 15. For an account of the present state of Damascus, see Mr. Maundrell's travels.

(*) Joseph. Antiq. xviii. 3. Philip's dominions were Gaulonitis, Ituræa, Trachonitis, Batanæa, and Peræa.

(*e*) Theophanes, who lived in the ninth century, relates this matter: but the truth of it may justly be questioned, because that author was a great stickler for image worship, and it is even supposed that he died a martyr for it.

(*f*) Joseph. ubi supra. (*g*) Matt. iv. 25. Mark v. 20. and vii. 31.

(*h*) There was another Gadara near Azotus, on the west of Judea.

lonitis and Peræa; where *Jesus Christ* did some miracles (*i*). As also Pella, where the Christians retired after the destruction of Jerusalem. This last was a bishop's see.

Bethabara. It is very probable that Bethabara (*k*), where John baptized, stood on the other side Jordan. At least St. John seems to place it there (*l*). Some authors are indeed of opinion, that the Greek word (***), which is commonly rendered *beyond*, signifies also *along*, which makes it doubtful whether Bethabara was on this, or the other, side Jordan. We shall leave the matter undecided, because it is of no consequence (*†*).

There are several other places in that part of Palestine lying on the other side Jordan, which we shall take no notice of, because they are nowhere mentioned in the gospel. For this reason we shall say nothing of Batanæa, Ituræa, otherwise called Auranitis, nor of Trachonitis, a province on the north of Peræa, which was the most considerable of all. There will be no occasion neither for speaking of the several countries, where the Apostles preached the gospel, because they are sufficiently described in our notes and prefaces, on the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, and besides are known by every body. Here therefore we shall conclude this article (*‡*).

As there is frequent mention of the distance of places, Of the distance both in the New Testament, and also in our notes and of places. this Introduction, it will be proper to give a general notion of them here. The Greeks commonly reckoned the distance between places by stadia (*||*), as did afterwards the Romans; and the Hebrews (*m*) since their intercourse with the Greeks. The stadium was 125 paces, eight of which made a Roman mile.

The miles were so called, because they contained a thousand paces, of five feet each. The Romans used to mark them by setting stone-pillars at every mile's end; hence this expression in their authors, "at the first, second, or third stone (*n*)."
The miles are mentioned but once in the gospels (*o*).

One Roman, which is the same as one of our English miles, was 1000 paces,

(*i*) Mark v. 1. Luke viii. 26.

(*k*) Bethabara signifies the *house of passage*, because here was a ford over the river Jordan.

(*l*) John i. 28. x. 40.

(***) Πέραν.

(*†*) It is however very probable, that in St. John's gospel the Greek word (πέραν) signifies *beyond, on the other side*; since Peræa, which is certainly on the other side Jordan, took its name from that word, and that the other provinces which are beyond, and not along the river, went also under the name of Peræa.

(*‡*) As geographers are not always agreed about the situation of some places, we have followed Josephus, Eusebius, and especially Mr. Reland's *Palæstina Sacra*, wherein this whole matter is fully handled.

(*||*) The stadium was a space of 125 paces in length, where people exercised themselves in running. 1 Cor. ix. 24.

(*m*) Luke xxiv. 13. John vi. 19.

(*n*) Ad primum, secundum, tertium lapidem, &c. *i. e.* mile.

(*o*) Mat. v. 41.

paces. The land of Israel might be near 220 miles in length, and about 120 in breadth.

The cubit, which was used in measuring buildings, consisted of 1 foot and a half. And therefore 2000 cubits, which was the space the Jews were allowed to walk on the sabbath-day (*p*), amounted to about 8 stadia, or one of our miles.

It cannot be unexceptionable to the reader to have here all these measures comprised in five Latin verses, which we have borrowed from a late learned author (*q*).

- “ Quatuor ex granis digitus componitur unus.
 “ Est quater in palmo digitus, quater in pede palmus,
 “ Quinque pedes passum faciunt; passus quoque centum
 “ Viginti quinque & stadium dant; sed miliare
 “ Octo facit stadia; & duplatum dat tibi leuca.”
-

Of the Hebrew Money.

THEY were formerly wont in their commerce and payments, not to tell the money, as we now do, but to weigh it; and the same pieces served them both for weights and money. They were made of one of these three sorts of metals, brass, silver, or gold (*a*). But the word brass was used to denote any kind of money, of what metal soever (*b*); the reason of which is, that the weight of brass was the standard whereby money was valued.

One of the least pieces of money mentioned in the New Testament is the *lepton*, or mite, which is by St. Jerom called *minuta*. St. Mark tells us (*c*), that two of these pieces made one quadrans. It is probable that the word *lepton* was used to specify any small piece of money, since what St. Matthew calls quadrans, is by St. Luke (*d*) named *lepton*. The *lepton* was worth (ol. os. od. oq. $\frac{3}{8}$.)

The *quadrans* was a piece of brass money weighing three ounces, which makes the fourth part of the Roman *as*, or penny. This word, as well as *lepton* was used to denote any small piece of money. The quadrans was the fee of the bath-keepers at Rome. (ol. os. od. oq. $\frac{2}{4}$.)

The *as*, or penny, was a brass piece, which weighed seven ounces and a half, at least, in the time of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST (*e*). For it is to be observed, that at first the Roman *as* or penny weighed one pound, that is, twelve Roman ounces. Afterwards it was reduced to ten ounces, then to nine, and at last to seven and a half, as it was in Augustus's

(*p*) Acts i. 12.

(*q*) Leusden ap. Pritium Introd. ad Lect. Nov. Test. p. 609.

(*a*) Mat. x. 9. (*b*) Mark vi. 8. (*c*) Mark xii. 42.

(*d*) Matth. v. 26. Luke xii. 59. xxi. 2.

(*e*) The sesterius was worth two-pence half-penny.

Augustus's time (*f*). There is no mention in the Evangelists of the *as*, but only of a piece of less value, which is by them termed assarion (*). The *as*, as is supposed, was worth 8 lepta, (or $3q. \frac{1}{16}$.)

The *drachma* was a silver coin, in use among the Greeks, and afterwards among the Jews and Romans (*g*). It was somewhat less than the Roman denarius, and more than the *as*, since it weighed eight ounces. The *didrachma* was two drachmas, which made half a shekel. Every Israelite, when he was arrived at the age of twenty, was obliged to pay yearly this tribute for the use of the temple (*h*). It is commonly supposed that the Roman Emperors, upon their becoming masters of Judea, exacted the same sum (*i*), and that so the Jews came to pay it twice, once to the temple, and once to the Emperor. If this conjecture is well grounded, it may give a great light to these words of JESUS CHRIST; "Render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's (*k*)."
But CHRIST is not there speaking of the tribute of the didrachma, which is mentioned elsewhere (*l*), but of that of a denarius. Thus much is certain, that after the destruction of the temple, Vespasian ordered all the Jews to pay yearly those two drachmas to the capitol (*m*). (The drachma was $7d. 3q.$ of our money.)

The Roman *denarius* was a silver piece weighing ten ounces, which was worth at first ten *as*'s (*n*). After the war with Annibal, it mounted to sixteen, and afterwards was reduced to twelve. It is frequently mentioned in the gospels; being one of those Latin words to which the Evangelists have given a Greek sound and termination. The denarius was worth $7d. 3q.$ of our money.

The *statera* (*o*) was also a piece of silver money worth about four drachmas or denarii. It was the same with the shekel, which made $2s. 3d. 1q. \frac{1}{7}$. The Rabbins infer from Exod. xxx. 13. and Lev. xxvii. 25. where there is mention of the shekel of the sanctuary, that there were two sorts of shekels, the one sacred, and the other profane, and that the sacred was worth double the profane. But several learned authors (*p*) rejecting this distinction, understood by "the shekel of the sanctuary," a shekel of just weight and good silver, such as was kept in the sanctuary, for a standard; in imitation of the Egyptians, who kept in their temples standards of their weights and measures. However it be, it is commonly supposed that it was some of these pieces the priests gave Judas to betray Jesus (*q*). And indeed when the ancients spoke of a piece of silver in general, they meant the shekel. There are Hebrew shekels still to be seen in the cabinets of the curious. They have on one side a vessel, which is supposed to be the pot wherein the manna was laid up, or else Aaron's censer, with this inscription in Samaritan characters,

(*f*) Pitisc. Lexic. Antiq. Rom. (*) Matt. x. 29. Luke xii. 6.

(*g*) Luke xv. 8. (*h*) Exod. xxx. 13. Matt. xvii. 24.

(*i*) Hoffm. Lexic. (*k*) Matt. xxii. 21. (*l*) Matt. xvii. 24.

(*m*) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 26.

(*n*) For which reason it was named denarius, *i. e.* the tenth. There was the number X marked on one side.

(*o*) Matth. xvii. 27.

(*p*) Cleric. in Exod. &c.

(*q*) Matth. xxvi. 15.

raçters, "The shekel of Israel:" and on the other, a blown flower, which seems to be Aaron's rod that budded, with these words round it, "Jerusalem the Holy."

The *mina* (*r*), or silver mark, weighed sixty shekels, and according to others, fifty (*): which might make about 6*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* 1*q.* $\frac{1}{7}$. There were also minas of gold that weighed 100 shekels.

Some learned authors infer from Exod. xxxviii. 25, 28, that the silver talent weighed three thousand shekels. But it must be observed that the talent was not the same every where. The Hebrew one weighed more than that of the Greeks, and amounted to 34*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* 1*q.* $\frac{1}{7}$. The common Attick talent might be worth about 193*l.* 15*s.* It is very probable that the Jews made use of it in their commerce. We have given but a general description of these matters, thinking it both needless and impossible to pretend to give an exact account of them, since authors are so very much divided about them.

We may say the same concerning the measures, and it will also be sufficient to have only a general notion of them. There are two sorts of measures; some are used in taking the dimensions, as the length or breadth of any thing; others are vessels for measuring corn, and the like, or liquors, as wine and oil, &c. The long measures of the Hebrews were as follows:

The *digit* or finger's breadth is something less than an inch, [0 foot. 0 inch. $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3}$.] The *lesser palm* is four fingers, or three inches; the *great palm* is the length between the top of the thumb, and the top of the middle finger when the hand is stretched out. The *common cubit* is one foot and a half. The *royal cubit* (*) is longer than the last by three digits. The *geometrical cubit* consists of six common cubits. The dimensions of Noah's ark are supposed to have been made according to this. *Reeds*, or *lines*, were used in measuring land (*s*). Hence this expression in the Psalms (*t*), "The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places." The reed or line was six cubits and one palm long (*u*). The long measures.

The *chænix*, mentioned in the Revelations (*x*), was one of the least of the dry measures. It held as much as a temperate man can eat in a day. But it was not of the same bigness every where. It is supposed that that which is mentioned in the Revelations was one of the least of those that went under that name, and held about two pounds. This measure was used in distributing to the soldiers their allowance of food. Of dry and liquid measures.

There is mention in St. Matthew (*y*) of a measure called *fatum* (†), which

(*r*) Luke xix.

(*) The passage in Ezek. xlv. 12. where the mina is mentioned, is obscure. In some copies of the septuagint the mina is said to be 50 shekels, in others 60, &c.

(*) The Chaldee paraphrast hath rendered by a royal cubit, what is called "the cubit of a man." Deut. iii. 11.

(*s*) Josh. xvii. 14.

(*t*) Psal. xvi. 6.

(*u*) Rev. xxi. 15.

(*x*) Rev. vi. 5. 6.

(*y*) Matt. xiii. 33.

(†) This word is derived from the Hebrew *seab*, which is the name of this measure.

which was very much in use in Palestine. The learned are not agreed about its bigness, some making it bigger, and others smaller. It is most generally supposed, that it was the third part of an *ephah*, which was an Hebrew measure containing 447 cubick inches, that held 1 gallon, and 7 pints. The *ephah* was otherwise named *bath*. The *corus* is the same measure as the Hebrew *chomer* (*), as is manifest from Ezekiel, by comparing the original Hebrew with the seventy (z). The *chomer* was the largest measure the Hebrews had. It held 10 *ephahs*, [or 24 pecks] and contained 13410 inches. It was also a liquid measure (a). The *modius*, mentioned in St. Matthew (b), is supposed to be the same as the *satum* or *seah*. The Hebrews had several other kinds of dry measure, but since they are not mentioned in the New Testament, we think it needless to give an account of them here, and therefore desire the reader to consult those that have fully treated of this matter.

The least measure that is mentioned in the gospel (c) is the *sextarius* (†), which is supposed to be the same as the *log* (d) of the Hebrews, that held about one pound of oil.

Authors are very much divided in their opinions about the bigness of the measure which is by St. John named *metretes* (e); some fancy that it was the same as the *ephah*. Others taking the dimensions of the vessels or cisterns mentioned in that place, (which are said to contain two or three *metretæ* apiece) according to those of the *amphora*, or *Attick urn*, which contained, it is supposed, 100 pounds of liquor, imagine that the *metretes* held 200, or 300 pounds of water. Others, in short, imagine that it answered to twelve Roman *congi* (‡). It is of no manner of consequence, after all, to know the bigness of those cisterns, because though JESUS CHRIST had changed but one drop of water into wine, the miracle would have been as large as if he had changed a great quantity. The miracle would not have been indeed so conspicuous, but it could not upon any account have been the less certain or unquestionable.

(*) We must take care not to confound the *chomer* with the *gomer*, which held 3 pints. The *corus* is mentioned Luke xvi. 7.

(z) Ezek. xlv. 14. (a) 1 Kings v. 11. Luke xvi. 7.

(b) Matt. v. 15. Grot. in loc. The *modius* is one of those Latin words to which the Evangelists have given a Greek sound and termination.

(c) Mark vii. 4.

(†) The word *sextarius* is also a Latin word, to which the Evangelists have given a Greek termination; it was so called, because it was the sixth part of the Roman *congius*, which was a vessel containing ten Roman pounds of water.

(d) Lev. xiv. 12.

(e) John ii. 6. It is a Greek word which signifies measure. It was in use among the Greeks and Romans. (It held $7\frac{1}{2}$ pints.)

(‡) The *congius* was a Roman measure, which held six *sextarii*, and was the eighth part of the *amphora*.

Concerning the Various Readings.

IT was next to impossible that the original copies of the New Testament should not in process of time be lost, especially during the grievous persecutions which the church was at first exposed to, without a perpetual miracle which there is no ground for supposing. To prevent such an inconvenience, the primitive Christians took care to write out several copies, that if any should happen to be lost in one place, there might be some to be found in another. There are none of those antient copies, which were taken from the originals, extant at this time; but as the number of them increased by degrees, there are several of a considerable antiquity still in being, from which, editions of the Greek Testament have been printed at different times (*). Great numbers of these manuscripts are to be seen in the most famous libraries of Europe (†).

All diversity between copies made by different persons, and at different times, and places, could not possibly have been prevented, without a great and a continual miracle. These differences that occur in manuscripts, are termed *various readings*. When therefore it is said that there is in such, or such a place, a various reading, the meaning of it is, that you read otherwise in one manuscript than in another. Origen long ago complained (*a*) of these diversities, which he ascribed to several causes, as the negligence, rashness, and knavery of transcribers. St. Jerom (*b*) tells us, that when he made his version of the New Testament, he collated the manuscripts that were then extant, and found a great difference among them.

Several persons are of opinion that it would have been much better to let those various readings remain in libraries, than communicate them to the publick, as hath been done, especially in this, and the last century: but this diversity is so far from being any way prejudicial to religion, that, on the contrary, the making of it known to the world hath been of great service to the Christian cause, and that upon several accounts. 1. As this diversity could not by any means be so well concealed, as not to be discovered some way or other, the enemies of our religion would have taken from thence an occasion of insulting, and magnifying this difference, and would have proclaimed it every where, that there must needs be a very great diversity between the manuscripts and printed copies, since people were unwilling to communicate the various readings to the world. Whereas by their being made publick, we find with pleasure, and even with some admiration, that those variations consist in indifferent points, that there is none of any consequence

(*) The first was in the year 1515, at Complutum a city of Spain, now called Alcalá.

(†) For an account of them, see Dr. Mill's Prolegomena to his edit. of the New Testament, printed at Oxford in 1707. And a dissertation upon that subject, printed at Amsterdam, Anno 1709.

(*a*) Origen Hom. 8, in Matt.

(*b*) Hier. Præf. in 4 Evang.

sequence but what may be easily reconciled by comparing other manuscripts, and that they are almost every where nothing but pure mistakes of the transcribers, which are unavoidable in any work whatsoever.

It may also have sometimes happened, that a scholium or note, which had by one transcriber been put in the margin to illustrate a passage of scripture, was foisted into the text by another, either because he looked upon it as a good observation, or imagined that it belonged to the text. But in this case, it is very observable, that the difference caused by such additions as these, doth no way affect either faith, or morality. Several criticks, for instance, are of opinion, that the 7th verse in the vth chapter of the 1st Epistle of St. John, crept in this manner from the margin into the text, because this passage is not to be found in most of the antient Greek and Latin manuscripts, nor in the writings of the Greek fathers, that disputed against the Arians. But let it be, if you will, an omission in the manuscripts where it is wanting, or an addition in those where it occurs, it can no way be prejudicial to the Christian faith; since whatever sense you put upon that passage, the same truth being taught in other places of the New Testament, there is no more occasion of adding, than there is inconvenience in omitting it. The whole question then is to know the truth of the matter; [*i. e.* whether this passage hath been foisted in or not.]

2. It is evident from those various readings, that the books of the New Testament have not been corrupted by the malice of hereticks, and that if there occurs any difference between the several copies of them, it is entirely owing to the carelessness or ignorance either of the transcribers, or of those that dictated, the latter of which might possibly mistake in reading or pronouncing. And indeed it is plain that if those transcribers had been directed by hereticks, they would have made such alterations as countenanced their errors and prejudices, and that their varying from the other copies would not have been confined to words, or different turns, which in the main signify the same thing; or to some additions or omissions, from which they could reap no manner of advantage. If likewise they had altered any passages in one of the gospels, they must have altered also all the rest, where the same matter is recorded. Now we find no such thing, and instead of the differences observable in their copies, they would have taken care to render them exactly uniform, had they had any design of corrupting the text on purpose to support their opinions. In short, neither would an orthodox Christian nor a heretick, have presumed to falsify any one place in the New Testament. Had the former been guilty of such a pious fraud, the hereticks would not have spared him in the least; as on the other hand, no orthodox person would have suffered hereticks to make any falsification in the sacred writings. The hereticks that sprung up in the apostolical times attempted indeed to corrupt the gospels, but all their endeavours proving unsuccessful, they forged several gospels, as we learn from St. Irenæus (*c*). This father does not charge the hereticks with falsifying the

the New Testament, but only with putting a wrong sense upon it, and taking some passages from thence, which they put into their pretended gospels (*d*). It is true that we find Origen complaining (*e*), that the Marcionites, Valentinians, and Lucianites had adulterated the gospel. But it is well known how they were exposed by St. Irenæus, Tertullian, and others; though Arianism had been then anathematized, it got notwithstanding the upper hand in the following ages. Now what could be easier than for the Arians to have seized all the copies, and changed the *n* as they thought fit. Yet it is what the Greek fathers, who disputed against them, never charged them with. They confuted them, on the contrary, with passages, which were not by them, called in question.

St. Ambrosius, a Latin father, accuses indeed the Arians of having added to the 32d verse of the xiiith chapter of St. Mark these words, “nor the Son;” and he affirms at the same time, that they were not in the ancient manuscripts. But we have more reason to believe in this particular the Greek fathers, than St. Ambrosius, who in all probability had consulted but few Greek manuscripts, and who used the ancient Italic version. It is really strange, that these words should be wanting in the ancient manuscripts, when they are found in all those that are now extant, some of which are supposed to be as old as the fourth century. Then we cannot well imagine what St. Ambrosius means by the ancient manuscripts. The Italic version which he used, and wherein these words occurred, had been translated from the most ancient manuscripts, and perhaps from the originals themselves, since it was done in the beginning of the second century. St. Irenæus (*f*) who lived about the same time, found these words in his manuscripts. When Arius pressed Athanasius with this passage (*g*), nothing could be more natural than for him to say, that these words, “neither the Son,” were not in the ancient copies. But instead of that, in answer to the objection made to him, he observes that the rest of the Evangelists were silent in this particular, and he puts an orthodox interpretation upon the words of St. Mark. So that in all probability St. Ambrose had been imposed upon in this matter, and too rashly given credit to a false report. The manuscripts written in after ages have not the least marks of the errors which sprung up after Arianism. Some of the Latin fathers have indeed accused the Pelagians and Lutychians of falsifying the gospels, but without any manner of ground. It is supposed, for instance, that St. Jerom upbraids the Pelagians for having altered the 14th verse of the xvth chapter of St. Mark, wherein JESUS CHRIST reproves his disciples for the hardness of their hearts, because they did not believe those who had seen him after his resurrection. But we find nothing of this in St. Jerom (*h*). Having alledged the incredulity of the disciples to prove that it is not in our power to prevent falling into sin, he brings in the answer which the Pelagians made to the objection; but he doth not speak of the

(*d*) Id. l. i. c. i. p. 1—19.

(*e*) Orig. contra Cels. l. ii. p. 77.

(*f*) Iren. ii. 48.

(*g*) Athan. contra Ar. T. i. p. 131.

(*h*) Heir. adv. Pelag. l. ii. T. iii. p. 291.

the text being corrupted, nor of various readings in this place, as there is really none in the manuscripts. It is true, St. Jerom says, that this passage is to be found in some manuscripts, and especially in the Greek ones; but what he means by this, we cannot well imagine, since all the manuscripts, Greek as well as Latin, agree in this respect with the printed copies.

Vigilius bishop of Tapfus in the fifth century accuses the Eutychians of having altered the 28th verse of the xvth chapter of the same gospel, by putting that *Jesus Christ* was "numbered among the dead," whereas it is in the text, that he was "ranked among malefactors." This alteration they made, as the bishop pretends, with a design to countenance their notion, that *Jesus Christ* did not really suffer and die, but only appeared to others so to do. But nothing can be more groundless than this charge. We do not learn that Eutyches ever maintained that *Jesus Christ* did not really die. This was only a consequence drawn from his doctrine, wherein he confounded the two natures of Christ. Besides, supposing that he had been an assertor of the opinion of the Docetæ (*), this change was likely to do more harm than good to his cause; since the original Greek word, which he rendered "to be reckoned," signifies also "to be ranked amongst." He must therefore have made the like alteration in St. Luke (i), where the same words are read, which yet we do not find he did. But what puts the matter out of all doubt, is, that this various reading is of a more antient date than the Eutychians, since it occurs in a writer of the third century (k). It must then be a various reading, which was put into the copies by mistake (†), and not out of any ill design. We have insisted upon this point, that we might give the reader to understand how indiscreet a zeal it is, to charge the hereticks with having falsified the holy scriptures; since such a charge tends to destroy the authentickness of that sacred book, and besides, it may be retorted against the orthodox Christians.

We must do these latter justice as well as the first, and not accuse them, without sufficient reasons, of having been guilty of pious frauds, for maintaining the truth. There are authors, for instance (l), who imagine, that the words just now alledged, "nor the Son," had been taken away by orthodox Christians. Some weak and ill-designed persons, being sensible of the advantage which the adversaries of Christianity used to take from these words, may perhaps have been rash enough to commit such a piece of knavery. But it would be wrong, to lay the blame upon all the orthodox Christians in general. And after all, it is as unreasonable to accuse them of having cut off this passage, as to imagine

(*) Hereticks which maintained that Jesus Christ did not really partake of the human nature, and also that his sufferings were not real, but that he only *seemed* to suffer and die.

(i) Luke xxii. 37.

(k) Hippolitus de Antichr. 26. in Auët. Biblioth. Patrum, Part I.

(†) By the same means undoubtedly this whole verse hath been left out in the Alexandrine manuscript; which is of no manner of consequence, since this particular is recorded in St. Luke.

(l) Pfaff. Dissert. de Var. Lect. p. 192.

imagine that it hath been foisted in by hereticks. Both sides ought to be ruled by the greatest number of copies, where these words are to be found, rather than fall into injurious reflections one upon another. Thus also we read, Luke i. 35. "The Holy-one which shall be born of you." Now the last words, "of you," being omitted in several manuscripts, some learned authors pretend, that they were added by orthodox writers, in opposition to the Eutychian heresy(*m*), as also to prove that *Jesus Christ* was really born of Mary, and formed out of her substance. But the force of this passage doth not lie so much in the words "of you," as in the words to be born, or begotten. And then at this rate, St. Matthew's expression(*n*) "in her," must have been also an interpolation. Besides, St. Irenæus(*o*) read, "in you," before there were any such things as Eutychians. As did also Tertullian(*p*), St. Ambrose(*q*), and St. Augustine(*r*): which is a manifest proof that the Italick version, which, as we have already observed, was made from the most ancient manuscripts, read it so. St. Jerom read also the same words in his manuscripts, since we find them in the Vulgate. All the ancient versions have them. Upon the whole therefore we must conclude, that "in you," is the true reading, and hath not been put in by any orthodox writer.

This accusation brought against orthodox Christians, of having inserted into the sacred writings, or taken away from thence some words, is of a very ancient date. St. Epiphanius asserts(*s*), that they had cut off these words from St. Luke's gospel(*t*), "he wept over it." But it is really very strange, that they should be omitted in the manuscripts in St. Epiphanius's time, and yet be found in all those that are now extant. The reason alledged by that bishop for this alteration, is very trifling. He says, that orthodox Christians were afraid lest this particular should bring a reflection upon our blessed Saviour. But they should then, upon the very same account, have left out that passage of St. John's, wherein it is recorded that *Jesus Christ* wept for Lazarus(*u*). And yet we do not find that this is omitted in any manuscript. It is then much better to suppose that Epiphanius was mistaken, than to charge the orthodox Christians with so notorious an imposture. And indeed it is well known that he is far from being exact. Perhaps these words had been omitted in some few copies made by weak and superstitious persons; but these copies being of no authority, they have not been transmitted down to us.

It must also be supposed, that it is only owing to a mistake, that we do not find it recorded in some manuscripts of St. Luke's gospel(*w*), that an angel strengthened *Jesus Christ* during his agony. Had this been designedly taken away, it would have been much better to leave out the whole account of this agony, since the enemies of our religion might take from thence a more specious pretence for accusing *Jesus Christ* of weakness, than from the help which he received from

(*m*) Dr. Mill ad loc. (*n*) Matth. i. 20. (*o*) Iren. iii. 26.

(*p*) Tertull. adv. Marc. l. iv. p. 658. (*q*) Ambros. in Rom. v.

(*r*) Aug. Sermon. 123. T. V. (*s*) Epiphanius in Anchorat. 31.

(*t*) Luke xix. 41. (*u*) John xi. 35.

(*w*) Luke xxii. 43. Hilar. de Trin. l. x. p. 74. Hier. contr. Pelag. l. ii.

from an angel. This, on the contrary, is an evident proof of God's protection, which was a manifest token of our Saviour's innocence, and consequently of the truth of his divine mission. From all these particulars it is plain, that the books of the New Testament have been conveyed down to us, without any other alteration but what is unavoidable in copies, made from old and worn-out manuscripts (x).

3. These various readings, if compared together, and with the printed copies, may be very serviceable in helping us to discover the true one, and also the word or expression used by the sacred writers, as several able critics have done with good success. Since the restoration of learning, several authors have rendered this method of comparing the various readings very commodious and easy, by setting down the various readings in the editions they have given of the Greek Testament (*). They seem even in these latter times to have over-done the matter. For it was needless to rank among the various readings, things that are visible blunders in the transcribers, words that have no meaning at all in any language, lame expressions, some little different particles which amount to the same, and other things of the like nature (||). All this heap of rubbish serves only to swell the bulk of a volume, to puzzle the reader, and to fright weak persons, who are already, in a consternation to see so many various readings published.

There is a good deal of judgment and caution requisite in comparing the various readings, that we may not prefer the bad to the good. St. Augustin (†) hath a very judicious observation upon this point. "There being," saith he, "some little difference between the copies of the New Testament, as is well known by those that are conversant in the sacred writings, if we would be satisfied of the authority of any various reading, we must consult the copies of the country from whence the doctrine was conveyed to us. If we meet also with some variety between them we ought to prefer the greater number of manuscripts to the lesser, and the ancient to the modern. If there still remains any uncertainty, we must then have recourse to the language from which the version was made." And whereas we have now greater advantages than they had at that time, we may therefore take more care to prevent our being mistaken (*). The knowledge of the eastern languages being grown more common, the ancient versions may be of great use to us, because they were made from very old manuscripts (†). It is also

(x) Dr. Mill's Proleg. Fol. xxx. xxxix. xl.

(*) The most famous men in this sort of learning have been Laurentius Valla, Erasmus, Lucas Brugenſis, Robert Stephens, Bp. Walton in the English Polyglot, Curcellæus, Bp. Fell, and lastly Dr. Mill in his edit. of the New Testament printed at Oxford, 1707.

(||) See Dr. Whitby's Examen Variar. Lect. Millii.

(†) Aug. adv. Manich. l. xi. c. 2. He is there speaking of the Italick version.

(*) Dr. Pfaffius hath given very good rules upon this point, in his dissertation concerning the various readings of the New Testament.

(†) For instances of this, see our notes on Jam. v. 12. 1 Pet. v. 13. 2 Pet. ii. 2.

also proper to consult the fathers in those places where they have quoted passages out of the New Testament. But we must use a great deal of circumspection and care in this particular, because the fathers frequently quoted passages as they came to their minds, or else gave the sense of them, without setting down the very words of scripture, and sometimes also they borrowed out of false gospels certain passages, which having some conformity with those that are found in ours, may be easily mistaken for *various readings*, though they are not really so. It is likewise necessary often to consult the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, in order to find out the true meaning or spelling of some words, especially of proper names. But we ought above all to render the *version of the Seventy* familiar to us, because the sacred writers of the New Testament have chiefly followed it in their quotations, as we have before observed. By such means as these, and especially with the assistance of the writings of so many learned and pious persons that have made the sacred writings their particular study, we may easily extricate ourselves from all the objections and difficulties that may be raised against the text of the New Testament, especially if we do it with a design of being informed and arriving at the truth, and not out of any cavilling and contradicting humour.

Concerning the Chapters and Verses of the New Testament.

THE ancients were wont to write or indite their composures without breaking off between every word, neither did they divide them into sections, chapters, or verses. And even in manuscripts of any considerable antiquity, there are neither points nor accents. This, which to us may appear inconvenient, and is really so, was not without its conveniencies. Men could not then be led into any mistakes by a wrong punctuation, as we often are at this day, and the reader used a greater application in order to discover the meaning of his author, which is now frequently dark and intricate, because in most manuscripts words and sentences are separated which ought to have been joined, and those are joined which should have been separated (*).

There is indeed no manner of accent, or any other mark of distinction in most of the manuscripts of the New Testament, and this is even looked upon as a sign of antiquity. But these sacred writings being read every sunday, in the churches, they were for this purpose divided into sections, that the reader might know how far he was to read every

(*) There are some learned persons, who, when they would find out the meaning of some difficult Greek passage, write it down at length, without leaving any distinction between the words or letters; which is a very good method.

every funday (†). The books that were thus divided were called *lectionaries*, and the sections went under the name of *titles* (||), and *chapters*. In these *lectionaries*, there were yet other distinctions (*), which were of use in quoting passages, and comparing the gospels together. The author of these sections is supposed to have been Ammonius of Alexandria, a writer of the second century, of whom mention hath been made elsewhere. His method was followed by Eusebius, who made use of it in compiling the ten canons he invented, wherein he shews what particulars are recorded by all the Evangelists, and what is mentioned only by one or two of them. As these canons are not in use at present, we think there is no occasion of giving an account of them here (a).

The ancients were also wont to divide their books into verses, each of which contained only a line. There were no marks for this division in the text, but the number of lines was set down at the end of the book, to shew the bigness of the volume (b). Lastly, they used to reckon how many sentences there were in a treatise (c).

It is not well known who was the author of the distinction into *chapters*. It seems to have been done in the thirteenth century (§). The *verses* were invented in the sixteenth century (d) by Robert Stephens, as we are told by Henry Stephens, his son (e). This division of the chapters into verses was found so very convenient, that it hath been used in all the editions of the bible that have been made ever since. It is notwithstanding attended with some inconveniencies.

For, 1. The sense is often interrupted by this division, and so the reader may hereby be led into mistakes, by fancying that every verse compleats the sense. Instances enough of this are to be met with the first moment we begin to read.

2. People are insensibly come into this notion, that every verse contains a mystery, or some essential point, though there is frequently no more than some incident or circumstance recorded in that place.

3. This hath proved the occasion of that wrong method which prevails among preachers. Which is, that the generality of them imagine that

(†) In imitation of the Jews, who divided the law into *perashim*, or sections.

(||) The *titles* were generally larger than the *chapters*. There are some manuscripts, for instance, wherein St. Matthew's goip. hath 68 titles, and 355 chap. St. Mark's 48 titles, and 234 chap. St. Luke's 83 titles, and 342 chap. and St. John's 17 titles, and 231 chap. but these two words were often used promiscuously the one for the other.

(*) These distinctions were in being in the time of Justin the Martyr. They were called *Pericopes*, i. e. sections. p. m. 225. 233. 263.

(a) You may see them in Dr. Mill's edition of the New Testament, after the *Prolegomena*; and also in St. Jerom, who hath explained and prefixed them to his translation of the gospels.

(b) This they called *Stichometria* (συχμετρία.)

(c) This was stiled *Rhesis*, (ῥήσις) or word.

(§) And, as is supposed, by Cardinal Hugo a Dominican, the author of the first concordance to the holy scriptures.

(d) Anno 1551.

(e) In the preface to his *Concordance of the New Testament*.

that one verse is sufficient to be the subject of a sermon; but when they come to handle it, finding that it cannot furnish them with solid and instructing reflexions enough, they are forced to go from their point, and in order to fill up their discourse, to display their wit and learning, which very often administer but little edification to their hearers, and is certainly contrary to the end of preaching. It is then much to be wished, that some able hand would divide the *chapters* otherwise than they are at present. If the *verses* were suffered to remain, they should be so divided as to make always a compleat sense, though they happened to be upon that account either longer or shorter than they now are. But perhaps it would after all be better to suppress the verses intirely, and to divide the chapters into certain articles, which should contain such a number of verses as compleats the sense. When any word or passage of scripture is quoted, it would be no great trouble to look over a whole article, which could not be very long. Add to all this, that such a method would be a vast ease to the memory, which cannot but be over-burdened with such a great number of verses as we are, upon occasion, obliged to remember. Besides, that we should hereby avoid the other inconveniencies that have been mentioned before (†).

Of the Heresies that arose in the Apostolical Times.

NOTHING can be a greater help for the understanding of several places in the New Testament, and particularly in the epistles, than the having some notion of the *heresies* or *sects*, which arose in the time of the Apostles. The word *heresy* (*a*), as used by ancient writers, properly signifies no more than a *sect*. It was one of those words which had a good or bad meaning, according as they were placed. In the first and original sense of this term it is, that Josephus (*b*) calls the sect of the Pharisees a *heresy*, though he was himself a Pharisee. St. Paul had no design of blaming this sect, [or *heresy*, as he styles (*t*) it] when he said, that it was the strictest of all. It is very probable, that when those Jews that were at Rome gave the Christian religion the name of heresy (*d*), they understood this word in its general and indeterminate signification, since they expressed a great regard for St. Paul, and even desired to hear him; however, this word is most commonly taken

(†) For a full and exact account of the division of the scriptures into chapters and verses, see Dr. Prideaux's Connect. Part I. B. 5. under the year 446.

(*a*) The word *heresy* is derived from a Greek verb, which signifies to *chuse*.

(*b*) Joseph. Antiq.

(*c*) ἡρесь. Acts xxvi. 5.

(*d*) Acts xxviii. 22.

taken in an ill sense (*), and thus it is frequently used in the New Testament (e). The fathers of the church have almost always affixed an odious idea to it: thus St. Irenæus wrote five books against the *hereticks*. St. Hippolytus, disciple of Irenæus, made a collection of thirty-two *heresies*, as we learn from Photius (f). Justin Martyr mentions a treatise of his own writing (g), wherein he had confuted all the *heresies*, and he offers to lay it before the emperor Antoninus. Tertullian composed a book against the *hereticks*, which he entitled *prescriptions*. If we will believe St. Epiphanius, there had been from the first rise of Christianity down to his own times, no less than fourscore *heresies*. It is true, this father is very apt to carry matters too far. St. Augustin and several others have given catalogues of the *Hereticks*.

It is certain, that there arose heresies, even in the time of the Apostles, as is manifest from the passages just before alledged, notwithstanding what some ancient writers seem to have said to the contrary (i).

St. Paul, in his epistles to Timothy and Titus, gives us plainly enough to understand, what was the character of the hereticks of those times: from whence we learn, 1. That these first heresies were broached by some of those persons that turned from Judaism to Christianity. 2. That they were profane and ridiculous fables, endless genealogies, questions about words, which served only to raise quarrels and disputes, very pernicious doctrines which spread themselves, and eat like a canker. 3. That those hereticks were men of abominable principles. They were proud, crafty, hypocritical, mercenary, given to all sorts of vices, and consequently *self-condemned* (k). It is no wonder therefore that St. Paul orders such persons to be avoided after the first or second admonition. 4. That they gave their tenets the specious name of *knowledge*, in Greek *gnosis* (*).

From this word was the name of *gnosticks* derived, which Gnosticks. was given to most of the ancient hereticks in general, though they were divided into several branches. We do not find that the name of *gnosticks* was known in the Apostles' time, but it is very plain that their opinions were then in being (l). It is very probable, that they had borrowed their system from the Jewish cabala (†), and that their

æones

(*) Like the word *tyrannus*, which, in its original signification meant no more than a king, but was afterwards used to denote an usurper, or an oppressor.

(e) 1 Cor. xi. 19. Gal. v. 20. Tit. iii. 10. 2 Petr. ii. 1.

(f) Phot. Bibl. Cod. 121.

(g) Just. Apol. p. 54.

(i) Firmil. ap. Cyprian. Epi. 75. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. vii. p. 549.

(k) 1 Tim. i. 3—6. iv. 7. vi. 20, 21. 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18. Tit. i. 5—10. iii. 9.

(*) This word denotes the understanding of the deep and mystical senses of scripture. The Apostles were perfect masters of this sort of knowledge; that which the hereticks pretended to, was but falsely so called. 1 Tim. vi. 20. See our preface on that epistle.

(l) Rom. i. 21. 1 Cor. viii. 11. 1 Tim. vi. 20.

(†) Cabala signifies tradition, we have spoken of it elsewhere. There were abundance of Plato's and Pythagoras's notions in the Jewish cabala.

cones or *generations* had a great conformity with the *sephiroth* of the cabalistical doctors (†). They seem afterwards to have adopted several of the errors which were in vogue among the heathens, since they acknowledged *two* Gods, one whereof they supposed to be the Supreme Being, the other they stiled the Creator of the world. But it must be owned, that either their notions, or the representations that have been given of them, are so very confused, that it is not possible for us to say any thing of them that can be depended on. What they were, may partly be guessed at from the writings of St. Irenæus, Tertullian, Clemens of Alexandria, Theodoret, Epiphanius (*m*), &c. It must only be observed, that since there are none of the books of the *gnosticks* extant at this day, we ought not in justice to believe in every particular those ancient fathers that wrote against them, because they discover in their writings a great deal of prejudice and partiality. Perhaps the obscure and barbarous expressions which these hereticks affected to use, made their notions appear much more extravagant and dangerous, than they really were, as a late learned author hath plainly shewn (*n*).

St. Irenæus tells us, that the *gnosticks* owed their rise to Simon Magus (*o*). We read in scripture (*p*) that this heretick had a mind to be thought some mighty man, that he practised magick, and bewitched the people of Samaria, that they all gave heed to him from the least to the greatest, and called him, *the great power of God*. It is further said, that Simon was baptized by Philip, and that quite amazed at the wonderful works that were done by this Evangelist, he followed him every where. Finding that such miraculous operations tended to discredit his sorceries, he desired to be endued with the power of working miracles. As he undoubtedly used to be well paid for his impostures, he judged of the Apostles by himself, and offered them money to procure him the same privilege (*). But for this he was severely rebuked by the Apostles, who had been taught by their divine Master freely to give what they had freely received; and therefore he had no other reward for his ambition and impiety, than shame and confusion. Terrified at the judgments of God which St. Peter denounced against him, he earnestly begged of the Apostles, that they would

(†) The *sephiroth* of the cabala were certain numberings which were used to represent the attributes of God, considered as the Creator and Governor of the world, and Protector of the church. The names of these *sephiroth* were *crown*, *wisdom*, *understanding*, *magnificence*, *severity*, *glory*, *victory*, *foundation* and *kingdom*. These numberings are supposed to have been the genealogies which St. Paul condemns. Vitring. Obs. Sacr. Diff. 4, l. 1. c. 11.

(*m*) See also our preface on the epistle to the Colossians, § xi. and on 1 Tim. § xiv. The *gnosticks* were otherwise called *borborites*, upon account of the impurity of their lives; it is perhaps to them St. Paul alludes, Phil. iii. 2, 18, 19.

(*n*) Vitring, ubi supra.

(*o*) Iren. i. 20. It was undoubtedly by means of the cabala, that they pretended to exercise magick.

(*p*) Acts viii. 9, 10.

(*) From hence giving or promising any money or reward for holy orders, or to get a benefice, is come to be called Simony.

would avert those judgments by their prayers. From that time forward we find no mention at all of Simon in holy scripture (*q*). Justin Martyr, who was cotemporary with him, tells us in his apology for the Christian religion, that this impostor had divine worship paid him throughout all Samaria, as well as at Rome, and other places. He adds, that Simon carried along with him a Tyrian prostitute named Helena, which he called the *first mind*, and *which*, as he blasphemously said, *proceeded from him*; thus applying to himself what is said in the gospel, of the Father and the Son. St. Irenæus confirms Justin's account of Simon, and moreover charges him, as doth also Gregory Nazianzen, with believing two *principles*, the one *good*, and the other *bad*; which was a prevailing notion amongst most of the hereticks of those times (*r*). He ascribes to him several other opinions which are so very strange and monstrous, that it can hardly be conceived, how any man could have folly or impudence enough to pretend to impose such monstrous extravagancies upon the world (*s*); or, that there could be any persons weak enough to believe such things, or so wicked as to adhere to such a vile impostor. However Origen (*t*) and Eusebius (*u*) tell us that there were still some Simonians in their time (*). St. Irenæus gives a shocking description of their morals. We may rank the Dositheans among the Simonians. The author of them was one Dositheus, who was cotemporary with Simon, and, as is supposed, his master (*†*).

The Nicolaitans. The Nicolaitans are represented in the Revelations (*x*) as very infamous upon account of their idolatry and lewdness. It is supposed, and with a great deal of probability, that the followers of the doctrine of Balaam (*y*) were the Nicolaitans (*). The Hebrew name Balaam signifies the same thing as the Greek word Nicolas, that is a *conqueror of the people*. St. Irenæus accuses them of being given to brutish and sensual pleasures. There is no manner of reason

(*q*) Just. Mart. Apol. p. m. 54. Justin says, that there was a statue at Rome with this inscription, SIMONI SANCTO. But several learned authors have proved that Justin was mistaken, and that the statue was dedicated SEMONI SANCO, which was one of the deities of the Sabines.

(*r*) Iren. i. 28.

(*s*) We may justly reckon as fictitious what is related by some authors of the fourth century, as the author, or rather the interpolator of the Apost. Constit. vi. 9. Arnob. contra Gent. l. ii. p. 50. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. vi. p. 88. concerning the pretended fight of St. Peter with Simon, and the miraculous victory the Apostle got over the magician; because they are not mentioned by more ancient authors, namely Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Eusebius. The latter speaks indeed of a dispute between St. Peter and Simon, but not a word of the pretended fight. Euseb. l. ii. c. 14.

(*t*) Orig. contra Cels. i. 44.

(*u*) Euseb. Hist. Ec. l. ii. c. 13.

(*) Such as were Menander, and his followers, concerning whom see Iren. i. 21. and Tertullian de Anima.

(*†*) Euseb. H. E. l. iv. c. 22. Orig. Tract. 27. in Matth. xxvii. l. 1.

(*x*) Rev. ii. 15. (*y*) 2 Pet. ii. 15. Jude ver. 11. Revel. ii. 14.

(*) They were in all probability so called, because they were very great seducers.

reason for supposing that the deacon Nicolas, mentioned in the Acts (*z*), was the founder of this sect, though we find it asserted by St. Irenæus (*a*), and though they were wont to boast of it (*†*), grounding themselves upon an ambiguous expression, which Nicolas is said to have used. But Clemens Alexandrinus hath cleared him from this imputation (*b*). And indeed is it likely that the Apostles, after having called upon the Holy Ghost, would have chosen for deacon, a man of so indifferent a character? The Nicolaitans soon came to nothing (*c*).

We learn from the Acts of the Apostles (*d*), that all Christians in general were at first called Nazarenes. The Nazarenes. That name was afterwards given to those judaizing Christians, which joined the observance of the ceremonial law with the Christian institution. And for this reason they rejected St. Paul's epistles, as we are informed by St. Jerom, who calls them also Ebionites (*e*). Eusebius tells us, that they dwelt at Choba, a little town near Damascus (*†*). It was in opposition to them that St. Paul wrote his epistle to the Galatians (*f*). There were some also at Beræa a city of Syria, who, as St. Jerom tells us, gave him leave to transcribe the Hebrew copy of St. Matthew's gospel. These first Nazarenes not entertaining, as far as we can find, any erroneous opinion concerning JESUS CHRIST, it is very probable that they have been confounded with the Ebionites, which did not appear till afterwards.

Polycarp, as quoted by St. Irenæus (*g*), tell us that Cerinthus was cotemporary with St. John. St. Jerom The Cerinthians. pretends (*h*), that this Evangelist wrote his gospel at the request of the bishops of Asia, in order to confute the Cerinthian heresy. We are told by some authors of the 4th century (*i*), that he was the occasion of the assembling the council of Jerusalem, and the cause of several persecutions against St. Peter and St. Paul (*k*). The chief of his errors were as follow: 1. He maintained, that JESUS CHRIST was not born of a virgin, but was the son of Mary and Joseph, and that he did not excel other men except in wisdom and holiness. 2. That after the baptism of Jesus, the Christ descended upon him, and at his death flew up again into heaven, so that Jesus alone died, and rose again. 3. That the world was not created by God, but by some inferior power (*l*), as that of angels, whom he held in extreme veneration, and from whom he pretended to receive some revelations (*m*).

It is supposed with a great deal of probability, that St. Paul alludes to these erroneous opinions, when in his epistle to the Galatians (*n*) he says,

(*z*) Acts vi. 5. (*a*) Iren. i. 27.

(*†*) Euseb. Hist. Ec. iii. 29.

(*b*) Clem. Alex. Strom. iii. p. 436.

(*c*) Euseb. ubi supra.

(*d*) Acts xxiv. 5.

(*e*) Hier. Ep. ad Aug. 74. Tom. iv. Ed. Benedict.

(*†*) Euseb. Onom. (*f*) Catalog. Script. Eccl.

(*g*) Iren. iii. 3.

(*h*) Catalog. Script. Eccles.

(*i*) Epiph. Hær. 28. Philastr. de Hæres. c. 36.

(*k*) Acts xii. xxi.

(*l*) Iren. i. 25. Tertull. Append. Præscrip.

(*m*) Euseb. iii. 28.

(*n*) Gal. i. 8.

says, that though an angel from heaven should preach unto us any other doctrine than what is contained in the gospel, we ought to look upon it as accursed; and also in his epistle to the Colossians (o), where he condemns the worship of angels. Cerinthus was a great stickler for the *ceremonial law* (p), and this was the reason he rejected the epistles of St. Paul (q). He was the author of those sensual *chiliasts* or *millenarists* (r), who imagined that after the resurrection, men should live a thousand years upon earth in all manner of voluptuousness and carnal pleasures. Papias and St. Irenæus believed also a *millennium*, but they entertained more spiritual ideas about it (s). This heretick must have been extremely odious, since, according to Polycarp (t), St. John happening to be in a bath, where Cerinthus was, or had lately been, he got out of it in all haste, as soon as he knew it, for fear it should fall upon him. This story, by the by, can hardly be reconciled with St. John's character.

The Ebionites. St. Jerom (u) makes Ebion to have been successor of Cerinthus (*). St. Irenæus seems notwithstanding to say, that Ebion had not the same notions concerning JESUS CHRIST as Cerinthus had (+). There is indeed this difference between them, that Ebion looked upon Jesus as the Messiah, which Cerinthus did not (x); but they both agreed in this, that they thought JESUS CHRIST was no more than a mere man. Origen (†) mentions two sorts of Ebionites, the first of which acknowledged that CHRIST was born of a virgin, whereas the others imagined that he was the son of Joseph and Mary. It was in all probability these two sorts of Ebionites that Justin Martyr spoke of before Origen, without naming them, in a passage which hath very much puzzled controversial writers; but which, laying all controversy aside, admits of no manner of difficulty.

The Ebionites were besides guilty of other errors; as for instance, they joined the observance of the ceremonial law with the gospel, for which reason they rejected the epistles of St. Paul, whom they called an *apostate* (y). Of the four Gospels, they received only that of St. Matthew, as did also the Cerinthians and Nazarenes, which they had altered and adapted to their prejudices. They fancied, as we are told by Theodoret (z), that the Messiah was come for the salvation of the Jews only. Some learned authors are of opinion (a) that St. John alluded to this last

(o) Coloss. ii. 18.

(p) Hier. Ep. 89.

(q) Epiph. Hæres. 28.

(r) Euseb. l. iii. 28. Auc. de Hæres.

(s) Iren. v. 33, 34.

(t) Iren. iii. 3. Euseb. iii. 28. and iv. 14.

(u) Hieron. Dial. contra Lucif. 8.

(*) Most of the ancients say, that one Ebion was the author of the sect of the Ebionites. But others suppose that this Hebrew name Ebion, which signifies *poor*, was given them because they entertained but *mean* and *poor* ideas of Jesus Christ. Both these opinions may be true, because proper names are often found to denote the temper of those whose they are.

(†) Iren. i. 26. Some learned authors are persuaded that there is a mistake in St. Irenæus, and that instead of *non similiter*, we should read *confiniliter*. See Dr. Grabe's Edit.

(x) Iren. iv. 59.

(†) Contra Cels. l. v. p. 272.

(y) Iren. i. 26.

(z) Theod. Hæret. Fab. 1.

(a) Orig. Philocal. 17.

last error, when he said (*b*), *That Jesus Christ was the propitiation not only for our sins, but also for those of the whole world.* The Ebionites believed likewise a millennium.

We can get no manner of information from ecclesiastical history concerning two hereticks mentioned by St. Paul in his second epistle to Timothy (*c*), namely Hymenæus and Philetus, who said that the *resurrection was already past*. The opinion of these false teachers hath been explained different ways by the fathers. Theodoret (*d*) imagined that it was nothing but a quibble, and that their meaning after all was, that men daily revived in their posterity. Pelagius (*e*) puts the same sense upon it in his commentary on this passage; but he adds, that perhaps they took the vision of Ezekiel (*f*) concerning the dry bones that were made to live again, for a resurrection that had actually happened. Others suppose that they understood it of the transmigration of souls, which was a doctrine very common in those days. Others in short have asserted, that Hymenæus and Philetus believed that the resurrection was already past, because some persons came out of their graves when our blessed Saviour rose again. But St. Augustin seems to have dived into their meaning better than any other (*g*). *Some persons*, saith he, *finding it frequently mentioned by the Apostle, that we are dead and risen again with Christ, and not well apprehending the meaning of these expressions, have imagined that the resurrection was already past, and that there was to be no other at the end of the world. Such were, as the same Apostle tells us, HYMENÆUS and PHILETUS (*), &c.* That is, they acknowledged no other resurrection than the spiritual one, namely regeneration, or a change from a vicious to a virtuous course of life. However it be, as this doctrine was very pernicious in itself, and directly contrary to the gospel, one of the chief articles whereof is the *resurrection*, we have no reason to wonder at the severity St. Paul exercised towards those that promoted it, and especially towards Hymenæus, whom *he delivered unto Satan*, that is, *excommunicated*. We have likewise no reason to be surprized at the great progress it made in the world, as we are told by the same Apostle, since it favoured men's corrupt inclinations.

This same Apostle ranks one Alexander among those that had made shipwreck of their faith (*b*). It is, in all likelihood, the same that is elsewhere called *Alexander the copper-smith*, and who had caused St. Paul much trouble (*i*). He places likewise among those apostates Phygellus and Hermogenes, who are mentioned in no other place. Though St. Paul does not charge them with any error, it is notwithstanding very probable that they did not forsake him, till they had forsaken his doctrine. Tertullian, when writing against another Hermogenes (*k*), accuses the *apostolical Hermogenes* (as he styles him) of heresy.

Diotrephes,

(*b*) 1 John ii. 2.

(*d*) Theod. T. iii. p. 498.

(*f*) Chap. xxxvii.

(*) See our note on 2 Tim. ii. 18.

(*i*) 2 Tim. iv. 14.

(*c*) 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18. See also 1 Tim. i. 20.

(*e*) Inter. Aug. Oper. T. xii. Antv. 1703.

(*g*) Epist. 55.

(*b*) 1 Tim. i. 20.

(*k*) Tertul. contr. Hermog. init.

Diotrephes, that ambitious man, who cast malicious and virulent reflections upon the Apostles, is likewise ranked among the heresiarchs (*l*). The author of this accusation is indeed too modern to be relied on (*m*). We may however easily guess, from the description St. John gives of him, that he was one of those false teachers whom St. Paul complains of (*n*). As for Demas, who accompanied him for some time, and afterwards forsook him, he is only charged with having loved this present world (*o*). St. Epiphanius hath accused him, but without any proof, of believing that JESUS CHRIST was only a mere man.

From all that hath been said, one may easily judge, that the Apostles were exposed to more troublesome persecutions from those hereticks and false brethren, than from the Jews and heathens themselves, though it must be owned they were not attended with so many acts of cruelty. But martyrdom added a lustre to the church, whereas by heresies it was disfigured and disgraced. After all, we ought not to think it strange that so many heresies should arise even in the time of the Apostles. For, 1. This is what was foretold by JESUS CHRIST as well as by St. Paul and St. Peter (*). 2. St. Paul says, that *there must needs be heresies* (*p*). Whereby we are not to understand an absolute necessity. But the Apostle's meaning is only this, that, considering the corruption and perverseness of men, heresies are unavoidable; just as when our Saviour said, *Offences must needs come* (*q*). But waving this consideration, it is only reflecting on the state and condition of those that at first embraced the gospel to discover that it was next to impossible but that sects and heresies should arise.

The Jews coming out of the synagogue, brought the same spirit into the church. And the different *sects* that were among them, proved so many seeds of dissension and discord. Such of the *Sadducees* as embraced Christianity were not easily brought to believe the resurrection. The Pharisees being extremely zealous for the ceremonial law, and their own traditions, could not but give the Christian religion some tincture of this zeal. The *cabala* gave birth to the monstrous opinions of the *Æones*. The *heathens*, on the other hand, that had been brought up in the schools of the philosophers, introduced into the Christian institution, the subtilties of the Platonick philosophy, and of the other sects (*r*). Perhaps also the disputes that happened between them might occasion a mixture, or rather a confusion of ideas, which gave rise to ill-grounded and incoherent systems.

There are besides in the Christian religion some truths that exceed human apprehension, and require such a degree of faith as new converts are not always capable of. Thus Cerinthus could not believe that JESUS CHRIST was born of a virgin, because he looked upon it as an impossible thing (*s*). The same religion recommends us to duties that seem contrary to men's natural inclinations. And this was enough to make

(*l*) 3 John. 9, 10.(*o*) Coloss. iv. 14.(*p*) 1 Cor. xi. 19.(*s*) Iren. i. 25.(*m*) Beda ad loc.

(*) Matth. vii. 15. 2 Tim. iii. 1—5. 2 Pet. ii. 1.

(*q*) Matth. xviii. 7.(*n*) 2 Cor. xi. 13.(*r*) Tert. de An. c. 18.

make Simon and the *gnosticks* reckon martyrdom as a piece of weakness and folly (*).

As in those early times there was no canon of the books of the New Testament, and that besides all instruction was delivered *vivâ voce*, people were more apt to misunderstand, or forget things, than now, when they have them laid open before their eyes in a book. And even after the canon had been compiled, and approved of by the church, some difficult passages might give rise to different notions, and even to sects, if this diversity of opinions was accompanied with perverseness and obstinacy, as it is generally known to be. Add to this, that copies of the sacred writings being then very scarce, there were persons that took the liberty of forging gospels as they thought fit. Lastly, This might be occasioned by a spirit of contradiction, and an ambitious desire of distinguishing one's self from the croud, which, as we have before observed, was the case of Diotrephes.

3. St. Paul shews of what use heresies may be to the church, namely, that *they who are approved may be made manifest* (†). As in all numerous assemblies there will always be some wicked persons, that may for a long time conceal their pernicious dispositions, it is proper there should happen occasions of discovering and finding them out. Besides, as St. Chrysostom hath well observed (u), truth receives a great lustre by being opposed by falshood. When there arose any false prophets under the Old Testament, it served only to render the true ones more illustrious. It is much the same with men as with trees, when they have once taken deep root, they grow the stronger by being shaken with storms and tempests. Had the truths of the gospel been exposed to no manner of contradiction, men might insensibly have fallen into an ignorance or neglect of them. But their being contradicted, hath induced Christians to collect all their stock of knowledge, strength, and assistance, in order to defend them against their adversaries.

Of the Versions of the New Testament.

THE ancient versions of the New Testament may also serve to clear several passages in it, because most of them were made, if not from the originals themselves, at least from antienter copies than any we now have, as St. Augustin hath observed (a). The same author tells us, that even in the earliest times of Christianity, several had attempted to translate, as well as they could, the Greek text of

(*) Orig. contr. Cels. l. vi. It was against this error of the *gnosticks* that Tertullian wrote his book entitled *Scorpiace*.

(†) 1 Cor. xi. 19.

(u) Chrys. in Acta Hom. 54.

(a) Aug. de Doctr. Chr. ii. 11, 15.

The Italick version. of the Old and New Testament. But among all these versions, he prefers that which he calls the Italick (*), undoubtedly because it was made in Italy, or for the use of the Latins. As it was used in the church till the sixth century, there are several fragments of it extant in the quotations of those Latin fathers that wrote before that time. There are some parts of it to be seen in the margins of some ancient *manuscripts*. Dr. Mill supposes that it was done by several hands in the second century, by order of pope Pius I. who was an Italian (†).

The Vulgate. To this version succeeded that of St. Jerom, which commonly goes under the name of the Vulgate. This father having observed that the Italick version was extremely faulty, and that there was a vast difference between the copies that were dispersed in the world, undertook towards the end of the fourth century, by order of pope Damascus, to revise this translation, and render it more conformable to the original Greek; he began by the New Testament, and published at first only the four Gospels. He declares that he used a great deal of care and circumspection in this work, never varying from the Italick version, but where he thought it misrepresented the sense (b). But as the Greek copies he had, were not so ancient as those from which the Italick version had been made, some learned authors are therefore persuaded that it would have been much better, if he had gathered all the copies together, and by comparing them, have restored that translation to its original purity.

There was, for instance, in the Italick version (c), *Give us our daily bread*; now instead of the word *daily*, which very well expresses our Saviour's meaning, St. Jerom not well apprehending the signification of the original (*) Greek term, hath rendered it by one (†) that signifies *above our subsistence*; whereas the true meaning of it is, *of the time to come, or for the next day*. There are several other places, wherein St. Jerom seems to have departed from the Italick translation, without any manner of reason (||). The Epistles, and the rest of the books of the New Testament, were published by him some few years after. But it is plain that he never put the finishing hand to this work, and even that he left some faults in it, for fear of varying too much from the ancient version, since he renders in his commentaries some words otherwise than he had done in the translation. This version was not introduced into the church but by degrees, for fear of offending weak persons (d). Rufinus, notwithstanding he was St. Jerom's professed enemy, and had exclaimed

(*) St. Jerom calls it the *Common* and *Vulgar*. Gregory the Great, *the Ancient*.

(†) Dr. Mill's Proleg. fol. 41, etc. You have there an account of the qualities of this version; and how far it may be of use for discovering the true reading of the original Greek.

(b) Hier. Præf. ad Damas. (c) Matth. vi. 11. (*) ἐπιείσιον.

(†) *Super substantialem*. St. Jerom himself tells us, that there was in the Hebrew gospel of the Nazarenes, *our bread of the next day*, which answers to the original Greek word.

(||) For an instance of this, see our note on Ephes. i. 6.

(d) Aug. Ep. ad Hieron. 82.

exclaimed very much against this performance ; was yet one of the first to prefer it to the Vulgar, as is manifest from his commentary on Hosea, at least if it be his. This translation gained at last so great an authority, by the approbation it received from pope Gregory I. (†) and the preference that prelate gave it above the other, that it came thenceforward to be publickly used all over the *western churches*, as we learn from Isidorus Hispalensis (e), who was cotemporary with Gregory. Though this version is not reckoned *authentick* (f) among us, yet it is certainly of very great consequence, and may serve to illustrate several passages both of the Old and New Testament.

The Syriac version.

The Syriac version is generally acknowledged to be very ancient, but people are not agreed about the time when it was made. If we will believe those Syrian Christians that made use of it (§), part of the Old Testament was translated in the time of Solomon (*), and the rest under Agbarus king of Edessa, by Thaddæus and the other apostles. Some authors (g), in the editions they have given of the Syriac New Testament, have carried up the antiquity of it as high as the apostolical times, but without alledging any proof. As the second epistle of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, that of St. Jude, and the Revelations, (which have been called in question for a long time) are not in this version ; it is very probable that it was made before the canon of the New Testament had been made and approved of by the church. It is supposed that Melito bishop of Sardis (h), who lived towards the end of the second century, hath made mention of a Syriac version ; but in this there is no certainty. Ephræm a Syrian author, who wrote commentaries upon the holy scriptures in the Syrian tongue, quotes some passages out of the sacred writings in the same language, which seems to prove that in his time the bible was translated into Syriac. As there were in the earliest ages of Christianity some Christians beyond the Euphrates, most of whom, as not being subject to the Roman empire, understood neither Greek nor Latin, Mr. Simon supposes, that they soon got a version of the New Testament. This version having been made from the Greek. and from very ancient manuscripts, may be of the same service as the Italic and Vulgate. It may also serve to correct the Vulgate in some places, as having been made from ancienter copies : that word, for instance, which is by St. Jerom rendered *super substantial* (i), hath by the Syrian interpreter been translated *the bread which is needful for us*, which very well expresses our blessed Saviour's meaning.

According to the account given by several learned authors (k) of the Armenian version, there is none

The Armenian version.

more

(†) Greg. I. Ep. ad. Leandrum Expos. in Job. c. 3.

(e) Isidor. Hispal. Divin. Off.

(f) It was never declared such till the council of Trent.

(§) That is, the Nestorians, Jacobites, and Marionites.

(*) For the use of Hiram king of Tyre. See Dr. Prid. Corn. Par. 2. B. 1. under the year 277. § 10.

(g) Tremellius, Trottius.

(h) See Dr. Mill's Proleg. p. 127.

(i) Matth. vi. 11.

(k) Mr. Simon, Dr. Mill, Father le Long.

more valuable among all the ancient ones. But nothing can give a better or greater idea of it than a (†) letter which we shall here communicate

(†) “ The Armenian version is, to me, the queen of all the versions of the New Testament. The excellency which this language has above any other, of being able to express word by word the terms of the original, is peculiar to it alone. You know what is the nature of the Syriac tongue; the Egyptian is yet more different from the Greek, so that you can hardly perceive it hath any manner of relation to it in the version of the New Testament. Nothing can be more favourable than the judgment the late Mr. Picques passed upon the Armenian version.

“ The antiquity of the Armenian version is unquestionable. The historians of that nation assert it was done in the beginning of the fifth century, and their authority, which is not to be slighted, is very agreeable to what may be observed concerning it, in comparing this version with the ancientest copies that are now extant. Of numberless instances which I could bring, I shall mention but two, which, in my opinion, are remarkable. You know what father Lami hath observed in his *harmony* on the fourth verse of the fifth chapter of St. John. This verse, which is omitted by Nonnus in his paraphrase, and wanting in several manuscripts, is not to be found in the Armenian. I mean, in the Armenian manuscript; for Uscan bishop of Armenia hath foisted it in the Armenian editions that have been printed in Holland, having translated it from the Latin of the Vulgate. In the XXVIIth chapter of St. Matthew, the author of the Armenian version hath read the 16th and 17th verses, as I set them down here. 16. Εἶχον δὲ τότε δέσμιον ἐπίσημον λεγόμενον Ἰησοῦν Βαζράβαν. 17. Συνηγμένων δὲ αὐτῶν, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος. Τίνα θέλετε ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν; Ἰησοῦν Βαζράβαν ἢ

Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χρῆστον. This reading, though it may seem strange, is very ancient, and among all the versions, none but the Armenian hath retained it. I would even have taken it for a palpable mistake in the translator, had not I discovered it in Origen's homilies on St. Matthew. His words are as follows. Homil. xxxv. fol. 86. of the Paris edit. 1512. The Greek of that homily is lost. *Quem vultis dimittam vobis Jesum Barabbam, an Jesum qui dicitur Christus In multis exemplaribus non continetur quod Barabbas etiam Jesus dicebatur, & forsitan recte, ut ne nomen Jesu conveniat alicui iniquorum.* Some peremptory critick would be apt to imagine that Origen's reasoning had eclipsed the ancient reading.

“ These two instances may suffice for the present. I give a full account of the Armenian version in the preface to my dictionary of this language. This translation is not so well known as it ought to be. It is in every respect preferable to the Syriac, which, as is manifest from the testimony of several authors, particularly of Gregory Abulfaragius, hath often been revised upon the Greek text; whereas the aversion the Armenians have always had for the Greeks ever since the council of Chalcedon, hath so entirely stopt all manner of communication between these two nations, that nothing like it can be suspected in the present case. This way of reasoning may indeed appear of no force, and I would even have omitted it, could I have made you as sensible as I am of the beauty, perfection, energy, and antiquity of the Armenian version. To be convinced of it, one ought to learn this language, it being as useful for the understanding the Greek of the Old Testament, as that of the New. The text of
“ the

municate to the public. It was written to us by a learned person (*l*), who is a perfect master of the Armenian language, and hath thoroughly studied this version.

Though the Greek tongue hath been used in Egypt for a long time, the Coptick or Egyptian version is notwithstanding of a considerable antiquity. Some authors (*m*) place it in the *fifth*, and others even in the *fourth* century. This version agrees in several particulars, with the Armenian, as the same learned person, whose letter we have just now given, hath observed. The Coptick translation was made from the Greek.

The Coptick
or Egyptian.

The Ethiopick version is also very ancient, and the first of all those made in the eastern languages that ever was printed. Some pretend it was done in the third century. Was the time of the conversion of the Ethiopians exactly known, we might more easily judge of the antiquity of their version; but some fix this conversion to the Apostolical times, and others to that of the emperor Justinian, that is, in the sixth century. An Ethiopian abbot named Gregory, who, as we learn from the celebrated Ludolphus (*n*), was well versed in these matters, pretended that it was made in the time of St. Athanasius (*o*), *i. e.* in the fourth century. Thus much is certain, that that father placed at Axuma (*p*), which was then the chief city of Ethiopia, a bishop named Frumentius, who was banished into Egypt

The Ethiopick
version.

“ the Seventy may be restored in a
“ thousand places by means of this
“ version.

“ I have set down in the margin
“ of my copy of Mr. Simon’s critical
“ history some of the blunders he
“ hath committed when speaking of
“ the Armenian edition of the holy
“ scriptures, published at Amsterdam
“ by bishop Uscan. This prelate was
“ a zealous Roman catholick, as all
“ his prefaces plainly shew. He under-
“ stood a little Latin, and had no
“ manner of taste, or judgment. He
“ hath not indeed left out or altered
“ any one passage; but when he
“ found any thing more in the Vul-
“ gate, he made no scruple of foisting
“ it in his edition. He owns it in
“ one of his prefaces, and hath even
“ the confidence to boast of it. I
“ have observed it before with rela-
“ tion to the fourth verse of the fifth
“ chapter of St. John. He hath un-

“ doubtedly done the same with the
“ passage concerning the *three witnesses*
“ mentioned in the fifth chapter of
“ the first epistle of the same apos-
“ tle. The fair Armenian manuscript
“ of the four Gospels, which I have
“ procured for the king’s library, hath
“ given me an exact knowledge of all
“ the interpolations the Armenian
“ bishop hath made to his edition.
“ To my great sorrow I have no ma-
“ nuscript of the Acts and Epistles.
“ Mr. Simon hath given but an imper-
“ fect and superficial account of the
“ Armenian version, as he commonly
“ doth of matters which he did not
“ understand. I should write a whole
“ book, was I to tell you all that I
“ have to say of the Armenian ver-
“ sion, for which I have a very great
“ value, and not without good reason.

Berlin, Sept. 29, 1718.

(*l*) Monsr. de la Crose, counsellor and library keeper to the king of Prussia.

(*m*) Mill, fol. clii. clxvii.

(*n*) Hist. Æthiop. l. iii. c. 4.

(*o*) Athan. Oper. T. i. p. 696.

(*p*) Now called Acco.

Egypt (*) by the emperor Constantius. It is supposed that the Ethiopick version was made by some Egyptian monks, because of its agreement with the Alexandrian manuscript (q). If so, this version is of no small consequence.

The Arabick version. The origin of the Arabick version is unknown. Some imagine that St. Jerom hath mentioned it, but it is more probable that he speaks only of some Arabick terms which are to be found in some of the books of the Old Testament, as in that of Job (r). It is commonly placed in the eighth century. But it is not well known whether it was made from the Greek, or from some Syriack versions; perhaps from both. As the Arabick language was used almost all over the east, there are more versions in this tongue than in any other of the oriental languages, and it is likely that some were made from the Greek, some from the Syriack, and others from the Coptick (s).

The Persian version. The Persian translation of the four gospels is commonly supposed to have been done in the fourteenth century. Those that can read it, say that it is very loose, more like a paraphrase. It was made from the Syriack. There is another Persian translation of the four gospels of a later date, which was made from the Greek. We do not find that the rest of the New Testament was even translated into Persian.

The Gothick and Anglo-Saxon versions. We must not forget to rank among the ancient versions of the New Testament, the Gothick, which was done in the fourth century by Ulphilas the first bishop of the Goths. Philostorgius (t) tells us, that this bishop translated the whole bible, except the books of Kings, because they chiefly treat of wars, and that the Goths being a very warlike nation, have more need of a curb than a spur in this respect. This version is the more to be valued, because, as is pretended, it agrees with the manuscripts from which the Italick was made. There are only the four gospels remaining of the Gothick version (*). It is supposed that the Anglo-Saxon translation of the gospels was done about the same time, and consequently may be as useful.

From this account of the ancient translations of the New Testament, we may learn, 1st, to adore the providence of God, which hath thereby so wisely provided for the conversion and salvation of all men. So that these versions may be said to have supplied the gift of tongues wherewith the apostles were endued. 2ly, From the agreement which so many translations that were made in different parts of the world have with the original, it is plain, that this latter hath not been altered.

(*) The churches of Ethiopia depended on the patriarch of Alexandria.

(q) Mill's Proleg. fol. 121. (r) Mill's Proleg. fol. 136.

(s) Le Long Biblioth. Sac. Sect. i. c. 2.

(t) Philostorg. Hist. Ec. c. 5. Socrat. Hist. Ec. l. iv. c. 33.

(*) The manuscript of it, which is very fair, but withal very imperfect and worn out, is kept in the library of Upsal in Sweden. Several think that it is the very original of Ulphilas. There are copies of it in several places.

altered: 3dly, We find, that notwithstanding the corruption and barbarity which have reigned in the world, there have been in all ages, persons that had at heart the conversion of souls, and were besides furnished with a sufficient stock of learning to be able to put into the hands of the faithful, the sacred instrument of this conversion, by translating the holy scriptures into the vulgar languages.

Since the restoration of learning, several persons Of the modern Latin have applied themselves to translate the Bible from version of the New the *originals*; that is, the Old Testament from the Testament. Hebrew, and the New from the Greek. Some of these translations have been made by persons of all persuasions; and into all languages, without excepting even the *modern* Greek. We shall here give an account only of the Latin and English versions.

Among the Roman catholicks, the celebrated Erasmus (||) Erasmus, was the first that undertook to translate into Latin the New Testament from the Greek. In this translation he followed not only the printed copies, but also four Greek manuscripts. According to St. Jerom's example, he varied but very little from the Vulgate, which had been in use for several ages. The first edition of this book was published in 1516, and dedicated to Pope Leo X. who sent Erasmus a letter of thanks, wherein he mightily commends this version. It was notwithstanding extremely found fault with by the Roman catholicks themselves. The author defended himself with as much courage as he was attacked, and these disputes have been of no small service to the publick. This version hath been printed, and corrected several times by Erasmus himself, and others.

Arias Montanus undertook, by the order of the council Arias Montanus, of Trent, as some persons pretend, a version of the Old and New Testament. In his translation of the Old, he followed that of Pagninus, a Dominican monk, and keeper of the Vatican library, who had translated the Old Testament from the Hebrew by order of Clement VIII. As for the New, Arias Montanus changed only some words in it, namely where he found that the Vulgate differed from the Hebrew. This version was never much in request, because it is too grammatical.

There is also ascribed to Thomas de Vio, a Dominican, who is commonly known under the name of Cardinal Cajetan; a Latin version of all the New Testament, except the Revelations. But as he did not understand Greek, it is likely that he got somebody to make it in his name (+).

We have not seen another Latin version that was published by an English writer in 1540. and dedicated to Henry VIII. We are told, that

(||) See Beza's opinion of Erasmus's translation of the New Testament, in Beza's preface to his edit. of the New Testament in 1560. See also Dr. Mills's Proleg. p. 111, & 112.

(+) We have not seen this version. It was printed at Venice in 1530, and 1531. with the Cardinal's commentaries on the whole New Testament, except the Revelations.

that this version was made not only from the printed copies, but also from very ancient Greek manuscripts (*).

The Zurich version. One of the most ancient Latin versions made by Protestants, is that which commonly goes under the name of the Zurich translation. Part of it was done by Leo Juda, one of the ministers of that city, who was assisted in this performance by the most learned of his brethren. But as he was prevented by death from finishing this work, he left the care of it to Theodorus Bibliander, minister and professor at Zurich; who, with the help of Conradus Pellican, professor of the Hebrew tongue in the same place, translated the rest of the Old Testament. The New was continued by Peter Cholin, professor in divinity; and by Rodolph Gualterus, Leo Juda's (||) successor in the ministerial function (†). Though this version hath not been free from all censure, it hath notwithstanding met with a general approbation, because it keeps a true *medium* between such translations as stick too close to the letter, and those wherein too much liberty is taken. Mr. Simon hath even a remarkable story about it (x): which is, that a Spanish monk had praised this version in a book printed at Venice, and licented by the inquisitors. It is true, the monk fancied that Leo Juda was bishop of Zurich, as he calls him himself, and therefore thought that he might safely commend his performance. The seventh verse of the fifth chapter of the first epistle of St. John is omitted in this translation, and put only in the margin. *We have chose*, say the translators in their note, *to follow Cyril, and the best copies* (*). They had in their library an ancient manuscript, where this verse was left out. Which made Bullinger say (x), that some pretender to learning having found it in the margin, where it was put by way of explanation, had inserted it into the text.

Robert Stephens the
kings printer.

The year following, Robert Stephens printed this same edition with a few alterations. To it he joined the Hebrew text, and the Vulgate, and illustrated his edition with notes taken from the publick lectures of Franciscus Vatablus, regius professor of the Hebrew tongue. But the latter disowned the notes, because, as he pretended, Robert Stephens had inserted among them things which favoured the protestants. This edition was censured several times by the doctors of the Sorbon, against whom Stephens briskly defended

(*) Le Long Biblioth. Sacr. Part i. p. 752. That English author's name was Walter Deloën.

(||) Some have imagined that Leo Juda was originally a Jew, but they were mistaken.

(†) This version was published in 1544, with prefaces that are well worth reading, and short notes to explain the text.

(x) Simon Hist. Crit. des Versions, c. 23.

(*) We forgot to observe before, that Erasmus did not put this passage in his first editions of the New Testament, because he found it not in the Greek copies; but having afterwards met with it in a manuscript in England, he put it in the following editions.

(x) Comment. ad loc.

defended himself. Notwithstanding all their censures, this edition was afterwards printed at Salamanca.

Of all our Latin versions, none hath made more noise than Castalio. that of Sebastian Castalio, professor of the Greek tongue at Basil (†). It was vastly run down, upon its first appearance, by Theodorus Beza, and the rest of the Geneva divines, who charged it with impiety, and did not spare the author of it in the least. What chiefly gave offence in this version, was, 1. That Castalio departed in some places from the protestant's system, concerning predestination, grace, and free-will. 2. That he affected an elegance which was suitable neither to the simplicity nor majesty of the sacred writings. Nothing could be more specious than what this author proposed to himself in translating the books of the Old and New Testament, according to the purity of the Latin tongue: namely, thereby to engage some over-nice persons to read the holy scriptures, who had an aversion to them, upon account of the rough and uncouth language of the common versions. But surely, he could have arrived at this end, without departing so much from the style and manner of writing of the sacred authors, as he hath done. For, besides the false elegance and over-strained politeness, which he is justly blamed for, he often-times takes more liberty than a faithful translator ought to do. We shall alledge some instances of it taken out of the xxvith chapter of the Acts of the Apostles at the first opening of the book (y). In the eleventh verse, instead of rendering the word *synagogas* by *synagogues*, he translates it *assemblies* (z), which is ambiguous, and even unintelligible in this place. In the same verse, instead of *to blaspheme*, he translates *to speak impiously* (a), which hath no determinate signification. In the eighteenth verse, instead of these words, *that they may obtain, by faith in me, forgiveness of sins, and their lot in the inheritance of the saints*: he hath rendered thus (*), *that they may have the same lot as those which shall be sanctified by faith*; joining *by faith* with *sanctified*, whereas it ought to be joined with *to obtain*. Which is all a piece of affectation to remove the idea of an *absolute and unconditional election*. This edition hath notwithstanding met with abundance of admirers, and hath had several editions. He translated the bible afterwards into as uncouth and barbarous a French, as his Latin version is elegant.

Among all the Latin versions made by protestants, none is more universally liked than that of Theodorus Beza. Theodorus Beza. Chamier (b) gives it the preference above all the rest. River hath bestowed very great *encomiums* upon it, in his preface to the version of the Old Testament by Junius and Tremellius, at the end of which Beza's version of the New had been joined. A Geneva divine (c) found it the most exact of all, and wished it was introduced into churches and schools

(†) Castalio was born in Savoy, and 18 years professor at Basil.

(y) The edition we use is that of 1555, which is dedicated to Edward VI.

(z) Collegia.

(a) Impie loqui.

(*) — Eandem cum eis sortem consequantur, qui fide mihi habenda sancti facti fuerint.

(b) Panstr. T. i. l. xii. c. 1.

(c) P. Loiselier de Villiers in his letter to the earl of Huntingdon 1579.

schools in the room of the Vulgate. This translation did not meet with the same approbation from the Roman Catholics, who, perhaps, out of *prejudice*, accused Beza of having accommodated his version to his *prejudices*. Though it hath been several times printed in England, yet the English have not expressed the same value for it as the rest of the protestants. It was even judiciously enough criticized upon in several places by a Canon of Ely (*d*), who had been put upon it by the bishop of that diocese (*e*). Bishop Walton (*f*) is of opinion, that Beza hath been justly charged with having departed from the common reading, without necessity, or having on his side the authority of the manuscripts, and also with deciding frequently in a magisterial way, and having substituted mere conjectures to the words of the original. But it is only reading this version, to be satisfied of the contrary. The account Beza gives in his preface of the method he had followed, is far from those peremptory airs which he is charged withal. If he hath not always followed his own rules, this is a fault common to him with all translators. Dr. Mill hath kept no more moderation than Walton in the judgment he hath passed upon this version.

However, it cannot be denied but that Beza was best qualified for such an undertaking. He was a perfect master of both languages, and supposing he was not so thoroughly skilled in Hebrew, as some pretend, yet he tells us that in translating the Hebraisms he had the assistance of persons very well versed in that tongue. Besides, he had before him a greater number of Greek manuscripts, than any of those that had undertaken the same work before him. And accordingly he hath taken care to set down the *various readings* in his notes, and finds fault with others for not having done the same, and thereby given every one an opportunity of chusing the best. All that he can be blamed for, is his partiality in expressing a greater regard for the Latin than the Greek fathers. But, after all, his version must be allowed to be the best of all made in those times except the Zurich translation (*).

(*d*) John Boise in 1556.

(*e*) Lancelot.

(*f*) Walton Proleg. Diss. iv.

(*) I shall now subjoin a short account of our English translations.

Of the English translations. "We are told by "our English historians,

"that some part of the "bible was translated in the beginning of the 8th century into our "vulgar tongue, which was then the "Saxon. John de Trevisa assures us, that "venerable Bede, who flourished about "the year 701, translated the whole "bible into the English Saxon. There "are some who affirm that Adelm, "bishop of Sherborne, who was contemporary with Bede, translated the "psalms into that language; which "translation is by others attributed "to king Alfred, who lived near 200

"years after. There is now extant "a translation in the English Saxon, "done from the ancient vulgar, before it was revised by St. Jerom. "It was printed at London in the year "1571, by the care of John Fox, and "by the order and direction of archbishop Parker. A translation of the "psalms in the same language was "printed by Spelman in 1640.

"John Wickliffe, who flourished "about the year 1360, translated the "whole bible from the vulgar version "of St. Jerom, and finished it in the "year 1383. This translation was "never printed, but there are copies of it in several libraries, as "Cotton's, St. James's at Lambeth, &c.

"There

There is also a very fair copy of the New Testament, in this translation, in the university library at Cambridge.

John de Trevisa, who died in the year 1398, did also translate both the Old and New Testament, about the same time, or a little after Wicliffe; but whether there are any copies of it extant, I know not.

The first time the holy scripture was printed in English, was about the year 1526; and that was only the New Testament about that time translated by William Tindal, assisted by Joy and Constantine, and printed in some foreign parts. In the year 1532, Tindal and his companions finished the whole bible and printed it in foreign parts, all but the Apocrypha. Some time after this, whilst a second edition was preparing, William Tindal was taken up and burnt for heresy in Flanders: however, the work was carried on by John Rogers. He wholly translated the Apocrypha, and revised Tindal's translation, comparing it with the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. He added prefaces and notes out of Luther, and dedicated the whole to king Henry the Eighth, under the borrowed name of Thomas Matthews; for which reason this has been commonly called Matthews's bible. This was printed at Hamburgh, at the charges of Grafton and Whitchurch.

It was about this time resolved to print the bible in a large volume, and to procure an order to have it set up in all churches, for publick use. Miles Coverdale was therefore employed to revise Tindal's translation, which he did, comparing it with the Hebrew, and mending it in several places. But bishop Cranmer revised the whole after him; for which reason this was called Cranmer's bible.

Whilst some English exiles were at Geneva, during the reign of queen Mary, they thought fit to undertake a new translation of the bible into English in that place, and

to print it there; from whence it received the name of the Geneva bible. These were Miles Coverdale, Christopher Goodman, Anthony Gilby, Thomas Sampson, William Cole, William Wittingham and John Knox. It was first printed in 1560, and hath had several editions since.

But for the publick use of the church, the bishops resolved about this time to make a new translation. Archbishop Parker set forward and highly promoted this work, and got the Bishops and some other learned men to join together, and to take each his part and portion, to review, correct, and amend the translation of the holy scriptures in the vulgar tongue. This bible was published in the year 1568, in a large folio, and called The Great English Bible, and commonly also The Bishops' Bible, as being translated by several bishops.

In the year 1583, one Laurence Tomson pretended to make a new version of the New Testament from Beza's edition; together with a translation of Beza's notes. But he has very seldom varied so much as a word from the Geneva translation.

The Parists by this time finding it impossible to keep the people from having the scriptures in the vulgar tongue, thought convenient to make a translation of it themselves, and accordingly in the year 1584, published a new version of it printed at Rheims, and from thence called the Rhemish translation. It was refuted by Mr. Cartwright, and Dr. Fulke.

But the last and best translation of the bible into English, is that which was made towards the beginning of the last century by order of king James I. and is now in use among us. The chief hands concerned in this work, were bishop Andrews, Dr. Overall, Dr. Dupont, Dr. Abbot, &c."

For a fuller account of all these translations, see Bibliotheca Literaria, N^o IV.

TO THE
SOCIETY OF CHRISTIANS
IN THE
CITY OF *NORWICH*,

Whom I serve in the Gospel of our LORD *JESUS CHRIST*, Grace, Mercy and Peace from GOD, our FATHER, and from the LORD *JESUS CHRIST*.

B E L O V E D,

IT is my Honour and Pleasure, as well as Duty, to serve you in the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ: and your kind Acceptance, and due Improvement of my honest and well intended Labours is the greatest Encouragement I desire. Your Affections and friendly Regards are, in Effect, the whole World to me: And it is my Ambition to purchase them, only by such worthy Actions, and honourable Discharge of Duty, as deserve a just and solid Esteem.

Too many, I fear, have but imperfect uncertain Notions of Christianity: But I would gladly give you such a View of the Gospel Scheme, as may establish you in the Faith of Jesus Christ upon the most just and solid Grounds; and such a deep Sense of the Love of God in Him, as may form and fix every good principle in the Mind, productive of all Righteousness in the Conversation.

With this only View, the Book before you was written; and it was originally designed for your Service alone. For which Reason, and as it is the Work of One, whose Character and Conversation you are well acquainted with; who ardently desires your spiritual Improvement, in order to your eternal Felicity; and who, for a considerable Time, has laboured among you for your common Good, it is my very earnest and particular Request, that you would, and my Hope that you will, read and study it carefully.

We

DEDICATION.

We may not indulge our own Conceits in Matters of Revelation. Every Point advanced as Christian Doctrine, ought to be found in Scripture, and explained by Scripture, strictly regarding the Principles there taught, and the established Sense of Phrases there used. And it is the Design of this Essay, setting aside all human Schemes, and my own Imagination, to give you the true Scheme of Christianity, collected immediately from that pure Fountain, carefully comparing one Part with another; that your Faith, Hope, and Joy may stand, not upon the Wisdom of Man, but upon the firm and immoveable Foundation of the Word of God.

I can truly say, I have taken great Care to go every where upon good and sure Grounds. I have not affected Novelty, nor inserted any one single Sentiment, merely because new and plausible; but because I am persuaded it is the true and real, or the most probable Sense, of Revelation.

And yet I think it my Duty to advise you, to read what I have writ with proper Caution; for after all the Care and Pains I have taken to see and shew the Truth, I dare not pretend to be free from all Mistakes. The Apostles were inspired, and infallible Writers, but we are none of us either inspired, or infallible Interpreters. Nor is it necessary we should. In the Works of Creation, God has so clearly shewn his eternal Godhead, Wisdom, Goodness, and Power, that they, who do not see and acknowledge them, are inexcusable; and many able and ingenious Hands have been well and successfully employed in searching into, and explaining the various Appearances and Productions in the Natural World. But who ever pretended to penetrate into all the Recesses of Nature, or to give a perfect unerring Account of all her Appearances? Even so, the Holy Scriptures do give us such a true, clear, and full Account of the Divine Dispensations, and of the Way to eternal Life, that every one, who is willing to understand, may very clearly and certainly see what is sufficient to guide him to Salvation. And it is the Duty of such as have Knowledge and Learning, to dig in those sacred Mines; and to endeavour, as they are able, to bring into clearer Light the rich Treasures which may have been hidden through the Ignorance, Error, and Superstition of foregoing Ages. And several worthy and learned Pens have been happily employed in this useful and necessary Work. But who will presume to say, he has in *every* Instance brought forth the pure and precious Metal, without any Mixture of Dross? The Pretences of the Church of Rome to Infallibility, are proved by their own different Sects and Sentiments, and by many of their Tenets, which are either without any Ground in Scripture, or directly contrary to it, to be manifestly false and arrogant. Nor is the Perfection of Knowledge, or Infallibility of Sentiment, needful to our Salvation. For while we every one of us seriously endeavour to find the Truth, and to be governed by it, whatever the Quantity of Knowledge, or Certainty of Persuasion be, to which we attain, we do all that is in our Power, and all that God requires of us; nor can we be destitute of that Faith, which is necessary to Salvation. So far as we *truly* follow the Scriptures, we are infallibly sure we are in the Right: And so far as we *honestly* and *sincerely* endeavour to follow them, we are infallibly

DEDICATION.

sure of God's acceptance. But none of us have dominion over the faith of our fellow-christians and servants; nor must any one pretend to set up for Master in Christ's school. Christ alone is our Master and Lord; and we ought not, as indeed, justly, we cannot, substitute any supposed infallible guide in his place.

I only profess, to point at the light shining in revelation. It is to that light, and not to me, you are to turn your eyes. Indeed, I am persuaded, that in the principal parts and general scheme of the gospel, I am not mistaken. However, it is incumbent upon you, not implicitly to swallow every thing I advance; but to examine carefully, whether it be well grounded upon the word of God.

I have endeavoured to make every thing easy and intelligible. But he, who has been much in perusing the apostolic writings, is best prepared to apprehend what is here advanced. And when a person has digested, and made familiar, the phrases and sentiments here explained, he will reap but little fruit, if he doth not immediately apply himself to reading the Acts and Epistles. To give a clear understanding of them, in particular, is the design of what is here offered; and therefore the careful reading of them, should succeed the perusal of this. And if both were read alternately, first the one, and then the other, I am persuaded such an exercise would turn to good account. But a person little versed in the apostolic writings, can be no competent judge of what I have done; and he, who doth not apply what he here learns, to his assistance in studying them, will receive less benefit from it.

Above all, we should remember; that a vain wordly, sensual mind is in no condition to see, or relish the truth as it is in Jesus: nor can any explications force knowledge upon those that are not willing to understand. The love of truth, purity of mind, and patient application, are necessary on your part; and I am persuaded will render the principal things plain, and give you the pleasure of seeing the truth clearly in several points, hitherto reckoned very dark and abstruse.

You will not, indeed, be able to form a compleat judgment upon some of the criticisms. Yet you should not therefore forbear to read them; because you will meet with several useful observations, which lie within the reach of such as are not acquainted with the learned languages.

It should never be forgot, that to spend one's time even in commenting and speculating upon the Sacred Writings, if we do not imbibe the principles they teach, lay them to heart, and reduce them to practice, amounts to no more, than diverting one's self with any common amusement. St. Paul was ravished with the charms of the gospel; he felt its power and efficacy upon his own heart; it raised him, in the brightest views of glory, honour and immortality, far above all earthly things. And we then understand the gospel to purpose, when in the same manner it works upon every spring of action within us.

It is your honour and happiness, that you have always been a peaceable people. You scorn to practise the unchristian methods of some,

D E D I C A T I O N.

some, who, to support a favourite sentiment, foment heats, animosities, and divisions, and discourage men of probity and learning. You allow your ministers to read the Bible, and to speak what they find there. You profess universal charity and good-will to all your brethren in Christ, and to all mankind. These are noble principles; and I hope you will never relinquish them. Give your Catholicism its proper worth, by improving in sound knowledge; and guard it with resolution. Reject all slavish, narrow principles with disdain. Neither list yourselves, nor be prest into the service of any sect or party whatsoever. Be only Christians; and follow only God and truth.

You know, your congregation stands upon no other ground, but that Catholic one, which the apostle, in his epistle to the Romans, asserts, and demonstrates, to be the only, and the sufficient foundation of a right to a place in the church and kingdom of God, *Faith in Jesus Christ*. You may rest fully satisfied that you are a true church, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, whereof Christ Jesus is the chief corner stone. And you have, therefore, the best reason in the world for adhering steadily to the cause you have espoused, the cause of Christian Liberty, which at once settles your profession upon an infallible bottom, rejects all human impositions, and at the same time comprehends, and cordially receives, all who are of the faith of the Son of God.

I hope I need not warn you against Popery, that monstrous and most audacious corruption of the purest and brightest dispensation of Religion. Romish agents are busy amongst us, deluding, *with all deceiverableness of unrighteousness*, the weak and ignorant, who do not see the falshood of their assertions, presumptuously backed with the terror of eternal damnation. This astonishing apostacy is plainly foretold, 2 Thes. ii. 1—12. 1 Tim. iv. 1—5. also in the prophet Daniel, and at large in the Revelation. And this idolatrous church, the mother of harlots, we know, shall be “consumed by the spirit of the mouth of the Lord, and destroyed by the brightness of his coming.” And his voice to us, in the mean time, is, “Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues,” Rev. xviii. 4.

But you are not without danger from another quarter. Some, and not a few in our land, with unnatural eagerness and pleasure, set themselves openly to disparage and disprove the Christian Revelation. But where shall we find eternal life, but in that revelation? Will it be said, that the light of nature discovers it? That light doth discover, indeed, to those that attend to it, a future world: But doth it discover immortality, or eternal life? By no means. Doth it shew how we shall reach immortality? It may be said, in the practice of virtue. But who can say, he hath performed a virtue, that, in the estimate of his own reason, will entitle him to it? Who can pretend to have so behaved, as to deserve any one blessing from God's hands? Is it not evident, that the best virtue, any man performs, needs the relief of grace and mercy? And where is that grace and mercy revealed, but
in

DEDICATION.

in the gospel? The gospel alone discovers and insures immortality; or reveals the grace which expressly gives it, the ground upon which this grace stands, the end for which it is given, and the means by which we may obtain it. And can the full persuasion and view of immortal honour and glory be esteemed a trifle? A little light dust, to be blown away with every blast of ignorant and prophane breath? The gospel is good news from Heaven; pardon and eternal life promised to a sinful world. And can any be so infatuated as to wish its heavenly light and hopes at once extinguished, and the darkness of Paganism restored among the nations? Doth not nature itself teach us to be thankful for superior blessings, and to turn our eyes to the brightest views and clearest prospects of happiness? If the Universal Father is pleased to bestow upon us singular favours, is it not most unnatural and wicked to despise and reject them? Such is the glory and excellence, such the delightful prospects of the gospel, that, instead of cavilling and opposing, methinks the proper and only concern of every mind should be to seek out evidence, and all possible means to establish its truth.

Value the Word of God as your richest treasure, and the only fund of true and perfect religious knowledge, comfort, and joy. Read it over diligently, and treasure it up in your minds, as a rule of life; then you will experience its power and excellency. Forsake not the assembling of yourselves together; with readiness of mind embrace any opportunity of joining a society which worships God in spirit and truth, as part of his family, as the heirs of the grace of life, in hope of being joined in a little time to the blessed society of the angels above. Live in love and goodness to all men, and especially to one another. Be instant, and fervent in prayer; make conscience of family and closet devotion. Keep your hearts and views above this world; daily look, and prepare for, the coming of our Lord. *And that your love may abound yet more and more, in knowledge and in all judgment; that ye may approve those things which are excellent; that ye may be sincere and without offence till the day of Christ, being filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ, unto the glory and praise of God,* is the unfeigned wish of your faithful servant for the sake of Jesus,

JOHN TAYLOR.

A
K E Y

TO THE

APOSTOLIC WRITINGS,

OR AN

ESSAY to explain the GOSPEL SCHEME, and the
Principal *Words* and *Phrases* the *Apostles* have used
in describing it.

C H A P. I.

The Original and Nature of the Jewish Constitution of Religion.

1. **G**OD, the *Father* of the universe, who has exercised his boundless wisdom, power and goodness in producing various beings of different capacities; who created the earth, and appointed divers climates, soils and situations in it, hath from the beginning of the world introduced several schemes and dispensations, for promoting the virtue and happiness of his rational creatures, for curing their corruption, and preserving among them the knowledge and worship of himself, the true *God*, the possessor of all being, and the fountain of all good (*).

2. In

(*) We do not know how God can exercise his perfections towards his Creatures, when he has brought them into being, otherwise, than in placing them

2. In pursuance of this grand and gracious design, when, about four hundred years after the flood, (which seems in a good measure to have removed the violence and rapine that had raged among the antediluvians,) the generality of mankind were fallen into idolatry, (a vice which in those times made its first appearance in the world,) and served other gods, thereby renouncing allegiance to the one God, the maker and governor of heaven and earth, he, to counteract this new and prevailing corruption, was pleased, in his infinite wisdom, to select one family of the earth, to be a repository of true knowledge, and the pattern of obedience and reward among the nations. That as mankind were propagated, and idolatry took its rise, and was dispersed from one part of the world into various countries, so also the knowledge, worship, and obedience of the true *God* might be propagated and spread from nearly the same quarter; or however from those parts, which then were most famous and distinguished. To this family he particularly revealed himself, visited them with several public and remarkable dispensations of providence; and at last formed them into a nation, under his special protection, and governed them by laws delivered from himself, placing them in the open view of the world, first in Egypt, and afterwards in the land of Canaan.

3. The head, or root of this family, was Abraham, the son of Terah; who lived in Ur of the Chaldees, beyond Euphrates. His family was infected with the common contagion of idolatry; as appears from Joshua xxiv. 2, 3. "And Joshua said unto all the people, thus saith the Lord God of Israel, your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood [or river Euphrates] in old time, even Terah the father of Abraham, and the father of Nachor: and they served other gods. And I took your father Abraham from the other side of the flood, &c." Here Maimonides, the learned Jew (*), owns it is implied, that Abraham the son of an idolatrous father was bred up in idolatry. For having occasion to mention these words of Joshua, he makes this pathetic reflection upon them. "How great is the benefit we receive from these precepts, which have freed us from such a grand error, in which our father was educated; and converted us to the true belief of God; by teaching us that he created all things; and that he is to be worshipped, and loved, and feared, and he only, &c." And the apostle Paul intimates as much, Rom. iv. 3, 4, 5, "For what saith the Scripture? Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness. Now to him that worketh, is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt. But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the *ungodly*, his faith is counted for righteousness." Abraham is the person he is discoursing about, and he plainly hints, though he did not care to speak out, that even Abraham was chargeable with not paying due reverence

them in various relations and subordinations to each other, in devising and conducting proper dispensations, according to different and changing circumstances, in order to excite and increase the virtue of moral agents, and in providing suitable happiness for the worthy, and punishments for the wicked.

(*) Patrick's Commentary upon Josh. xxiv. 3,

reverence and worship to God ; as the word *ΑΣΕΒΗΣ*, which we render *ungodly*, properly imports.

4. But, though Abraham had been an idolater, God was pleased, in his infinite wisdom and goodness, to single him out to be the head, or root of that family and nation, which he intended to separate to himself from the rest of mankind, for the forementioned purposes. Accordingly he appeared to him in his native country, and ordered him to leave it, and his idolatrous kindred, and to remove into a distant land, to which he would direct and conduct him, declaring at the same time his covenant, or grant of mercy, to him, in these words, Gen. xii. 1, 2, 3, " I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great ; and thou shalt be a blessing. And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee : And in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." So certainly did God make himself known to Abraham, that he was satisfied this was a revelation from the one true God, and that it was his duty to pay an implicit obedience to it. Accordingly, upon the foot of this faith, he went out, though he did not know whither he was to go. The same covenant, or promise of blessings, God afterwards at sundry times repeated : Particularly, Gen. xv. 5. " And the Lord brought him forth abroad, and said, Look now towards heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them : And he said unto him, So shall thy seed be." Here again, he believed in the *Lord* ; and he counted it to him for *righteousness*. Also Gen. xvii. 1—8, he repeats and establisheth the same covenant " for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto him and his seed after him ;" promising them " the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession ;" and appointing circumcision, as a perpetual token of the certainty and perpetuity of this covenant. Thus Abraham was taken into God's covenant, and became intitled to the blessings it conveyed ; not because he was not chargeable before God with impiety, irreligion, and idolatry ; but because God, on his part, freely forgave his prior transgressions, and because Abraham, on his part, believed in the power and goodness of God : without which belief, or persuasion, that God was both true, and able to perform what he had promised, he could have paid no regard to the divine manifestations ; and consequently, must have been rejected, as a person altogether improper to be the head of that family, which God intended to set apart to himself.

5. And as Abraham, so likewise his seed, or posterity, were at the same time, and before they had a being, taken into God's covenant, and intitled to the blessings of it. (Gen. xvii. 7, " I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee, &c.") Not all his posterity, but only those whom God intended in the promise ; namely, first the nation of the Jews, who hereby became particularly related to God, and invested in sundry invaluable privileges ; and after them the believing Gentiles, who were reckoned the children of Abraham, as they should believe in God as Abraham did. But more of this hereafter.

6. For about 215 years, from the time God ordered Abraham to leave his native country, he and his son Isaac, and grand-son Jacob, sojourned in the land of Canaan, under the special protection of Heaven, till infinite Wisdom thought fit to send the family into Egypt, the
then

then head-quarters of idolatry, with a design they should there increase into a nation; and there, notwithstanding the cruel oppression they long groaned under, they multiplied to a surprising number. At length God delivered them from the servitude of Egypt, by the most dreadful displays of his almighty power; whereby he demonstrated himself to be the one true God, in a signal and compleat triumph over idols, even in their metropolis, and in a country of fame and eminence among all the nations round about. Thus freed from the vilest bondage, God formed them into a kingdom, of which he himself was king; gave them a revelation of his nature and will; instituted sundry ordinances of worship; taught them the way of truth and life; set before them various motives to duty, promising singular blessings to their obedience and fidelity, and threatening disobedience and apostacy, or revolt from his government, with very heavy judgments; especially that of being expelled from the land of Canaan, and “scattered among all people, from the one end of the earth unto the other,” in a wretched, persecuted state. Deut. xxviii. 63–68. Lev. xxvi. 3, 4, &c. 33. Having settled their constitution, he led them through the wilderness, where he disciplined them for forty years together; made all opposition fall before them; and at last brought them to the promised land.

7. Here I may observe, that God did not choose the Israelites out of any partial regard to that nation; nor because they were better than other people, (Deut. ix. 4, 5.) and would always observe his laws. It is plain he knew the contrary. (Deut. xxxi. 29. xxxii. 5, 6, 15.) It was indeed with great propriety, that among other advantages he gave them also that, of being descended from progenitors illustrious for piety and virtue; and that he grounded the extraordinary favours they enjoyed upon Abraham’s faith and obedience, Gen. xxii. 16, 17, 18. But it was not out of regard to the moral character of the Jewish nation that God chose them, [57] (*) any other nation would have served as well on that account; but as he thought fit to select one nation of the world, he selected them out of respect to the piety and virtue of their ancestors, Exod. iii. 15. vi. 3, 4, 5. Deut. iv. 37.

8. It should also be carefully observed; that God selected the Israelitish nation and manifested himself to them by various displays of his power and goodness, not principally for their own sakes, to make them a happy and flourishing people; but to be subservient to his own high and great designs with regard to all mankind. And we shall entertain a very wrong, low, and narrow idea of this select nation, and of the dispensations of God towards it, if we do not consider it as a beacon, or a light set upon a hill; as raised up to be a public voucher of the being and providence of God, and of the truth of the revelation delivered to them, in all ages, and in all parts of the world: and consequently, that the Divine scheme, in relation to the Jewish polity, had reference to other people, and even to us at this day, as well as to the

(*) Wherever any number is included in brackets, thus [57], it refers to the paragraph marked with the same number in this *KEY*; and to no other part of the book.

the Jews themselves. [75] And the situation of this nation, lying upon the borders of Asia, Europe, and Africa, was very convenient for such a general purpose.

9. It is further observable ; that this scheme was wisely calculated to answer great ends under all events. If this nation continued obedient, their visible prosperity, under the guardianship of an extraordinary Providence, would be a very proper and extensive instruction to the nations of the earth. And, no doubt, so far as they were obedient, and favoured with the signal interposals of the Divine Power, their case was very useful to their neighbours. On the other hand ; if they were disobedient, then their calamities, and especially their dispersions, would nearly answer the same purpose ; by spreading the knowledge of the true God, and of Revelation, in the countries, where before they were not known. And so wisely was this scheme laid at first, with regard to the laws of the nation, both civil and religious, and so carefully has it all along been conducted by the Divine Providence, that it still holds good, even at this day, full 3600 years from the time when it first took place, and is still of public use for confirming the truth of Revelation. I mean, not only as the Christian profession, spread over a great part of the world, has grown out of this scheme, but as the Jews themselves, in virtue thereof, after a dispersion of about 1700 years, over all the face of the earth, every where in a state of ignomy and contempt, have, notwithstanding, subsisted in great numbers, *distinct* and *separate* from all other nations. This seems to me a standing miracle : nor can I assign it to any other cause but the will and extraordinary interposals of Heaven, when I consider, that, of all the famous nations of the world, who might have been distinguished from others with great advantage, and the most illustrious mark of honour and renown ; as the Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians, Romans, who all in their turns held the empire of the world, and were, with great ambition, the lords of mankind, yet these, even in their own countries, the seat of their ancient glory, are quite dissolved, and sink into the body of mankind : nor is there a person upon earth can boast he is descended from those renowned, and imperial ancestors. Whereas a small nation, generally despised, and which was, both by Pagans and pretended Christians, for many ages, harassed, persecuted, butchered, and distressed, as the most detestable of all people upon the face of the earth (**); and which, therefore, one would imagine, every soul that belonged to it, should have gladly disowned, and have been willing the odious name should be entirely extinguished ; yet, I say, this hated nation has continued in a body quite distinct and separate from all other people ; even in a state of dispersion, and grievous persecution, for about 1700 years ; agreeably to the prediction, *Isai. xlvi. 28, I will make a full end of all the nations whither I have driven thee, but I will not make a full end of thee.* This demonstrates, that the Wisdom, which so formed them into a peculiar body, and the Providence, which has so preserved them, that they have, almost

(**) According to the prophecy of Moses, *Deut. xxviii. 63, &c.* See Dr. Patrick's Commentary upon that place.

most ever since the Deluge, subsisted in a state divided from the rest of mankind, and are still likely to do so, is not Human, but Divine. For no human wisdom or power could form, or, however, could execute, such a vast, extensive design. Thus the very being of the Jews, in their present circumstances, is a standing, public proof of the truth of Revelation; at least as far as the call of Abraham: and also is a fair and manifest pledge of the great event foretold in the Prophetic Writings; when Babylon shall fall, *the fulness of the Gentiles come*, and all Israel be saved, and, I suppose, return to their own land again. For their being so wonderfully preserved, in a distinct body, I make no question, points to their restoration predicted particularly by St. Paul, Rom. xi. 12, 15, 25, to 33 (*). But to return.

C H A P. II.

The particular Honours and Privileges of the Jewish Nation, while they were the peculiar People of God, and the Terms signifying those Honours, &c. explained.

10. **T**HE nature and dignity of the foregoing scheme, and the state and privileges of the Jewish nation, will be better understood, if we carefully observe the particular phrases by which their relation to God, and his favours to them, are expressed in Scripture. And,

11. I. As God, in his infinite wisdom and goodness, was pleased to prefer them before any other nation, and to single them out for the purposes of revelation, and preserving the knowledge, worship, and obedience of the true God, God is said to *choose* them, and they are represented as his *chosen*, or *elect* people: Deut. iv. 37. vii. 6. x. 15, "The Lord had a delight in thy fathers,—and he *chose* their seed after them, even you above all people." 1 Kings iii. 8, "Thy servant is in the midst of thy people which thou hast *chosen*, a great people that cannot be numbered." 1 Chron. xvi. 13, "O ye seed of Israel his servant, ye children of Jacob his *chosen* ones." Psal. cv. 6. xxxiii. 12, "Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord: and the people whom he hath *chosen* for his own inheritance." cv. 43. cvi. 5, "That I may see the good of thy *chosen*, or *elect*, that I may rejoice in the gladness of thy nation." cxxxv. 4. Isai. xli. 8, 9. xliii. 20. xlv. 1, 2. xlv. 4, "For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel mine *elect*, I have even called thee by thy name." Ezek. xx. 5, "Thus saith the Lord, in the day when I *chose* Israel, and lifted

(*) Since I wrote this there has been published three Discourses, under the title of "The Circumstances of the Jewish People an Argument for the Truth of the Christian Religion," by the learned and judicious Dr. N. Lardner, which I think well worth perusing.

lifted my Hand unto the Seed of the House of Jacob, and made myself known unto them in the Land of Egypt.”—Hence re-instituting them in their former Privileges is expressed by *choosing* them again, Isa. xiv. 1, “For the Lord will have Mercy on Jacob, and will yet *choose* Israel, and set them in their own Land.” Zech. i. 17. ii. 12.

12. II. The first Step he took, in Execution of his Purpose of *Election*, was, to rescue them from their wretched Situation in the Servitude and Idolatry of Egypt, and to carry them, through all Enemies and Dangers, to the Liberty and happy State, to which he intended to advance them. With regard to which the Language of Scripture is, 1. that he *Delivered*, 2. *Saved*, 3. *Bought*, or *Purchased*, 4. *Redeemed* them. Exod. iii. 8, “And I am come down to *deliver* them out of the Hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them unto a good Land.” So Exod. xviii. 8, 9, 10. Judg. vi. 8, 9.—Exod. vi. 6, “I am the Lord, and I will bring you from under the Burthens of the Egyptians, and I will rid [*deliver*] you out of their Bondage.” So Exod. v. 23: 1 Sam. x. 18.

13. Exod. xiv. 30, “Thus the Lord *saved* Israel that Day, out of the Hand of the Egyptians.” Deut. xxxiii. 29, “Happy art thou, O Israel: Who is like unto thee, O People *saved* by the Lord?” 1 Sam. x. 19, Thus God was their *Saviour* and *Salvation*.—Psal. cvi. 21, “They, [the Israelites,] forgot God their *Saviour*, which had done great Things in Egypt.” Isai. xliii. 3, “I am the Lord thy God, the Holy One of Israel, thy *Saviour*: I gave Egypt for thy Ransom,” lxiii. 8. Exod. xv. 2, “The Lord is my Strength and Song, and he is become my *Salvation*.” Deut. xxxii. 15.

14. Exod. xv. 16, “Fear and Dread shall fall upon them—till thy People pass over, O Lord, till thy People pass over, which thou hast *purchased*.” Deut. xxxii. 6, “Do ye thus requite the Lord, O foolish People and unwise?—Is he not thy Father, that has *bought* thee?” Psal. lxxiv. 2, “Remember thy Congregation which thou hast *purchased*, or *bought*, of old (*).”

15. Exod.

(*) In order to understand the Notion of *buying* and *purchasing*, as here applied, let it be observed; that *buying* is often used metaphorically in Scripture, where it is common to meet with buying without Money and without Price; or buying with a Price improperly so called. Isai. lv. 1, “Ho, every one that thirsteth,” that is desirous of Life and Salvation, “come ye to the Waters, and he that hath no Money, come ye; buy and eat, yea, come buy Wine and Milk without Money and without Price.” Which is explained, Ver. 3, “Incline your Ear and come unto me, hear,” be attentive to my instructions, “and your Soul shall live.” In this sense we *buy*, when we seriously apply our Minds to Study and receive the Precepts of Divine Wisdom, and the Promises of Divine Grace; and endeavour to have our Hearts and Lives conformed to them. Thus we *buy* the Truth, Prov. xxiii. 23. iv. 5, 7. “Get [buy] Wisdom, get [buy] Understanding,” so Chap. xv. 32. xvi. 16. xvii. 16. xix. 8. In all these Places the Word we render, *get*, might have been translated, *buy*, and so it is rendered, Deut. xxviii. 68. 2 Sam. xxiv. 21. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 11. Jer. xxxii. 7. Amos viii. 6. Gen. xlvii. 19. Ruth iv. 4, 8, and in several other Places. Thus we “buy” of Christ “Gold tried in the Fire, and white Raiment,” (Rev. iii. 18.) viz. the most valuable Endowments of Mind. Thus the wise Merchant Man (Mat. xiii. 45, 46.) having found “the Pearl of great Price,” the Virtue and Happiness of the Gospel, “went and sold all that he had, and *bought* it.” That

is,

15. Exod. vi. 6. xv. 13, "Thou in thy Mercy hast led forth thy People, which thou hast redeemed." Deut. vii. 8, "Because the Lord loved you,—hath he brought you out with a mighty Hand, and *redeemed* you out of the House of Bondmen," &c. ix. 26. xxiv. 18. 2 Sam. vii. 23, "And what one Nation in the Earth is like thy People, even like Israel, whom God went to *redeem* for a People to himself, and to make him a Name, and to do for you great Things and terrible for thy Land, before thy People, which thou *redeemedst* to Thee from Egypt, from the Nations and their Gods?"—Hence God is stiled their *Redeemer*. Psal. lxxviii. 35, "And they remembered that God was their Rock, and the high God their *Redeemer*." And in many other Places.

16. III. As God fetched them out of Egypt, invited them to the Honours and Happiness of his People, and by many exprefs Declarations, and Acts of Mercy, engaged them to adhere to him as their God, he is said to *call* them, and they were his *called*. Isai. xli. 8, 9, "But thou Israel art my servant,—thou whom I have taken from the Ends of the Earth, and *called* thee from the chief Men thereof." See Ver. 2. Chap. li. 2. Hos. xi. 1, "When Israel was a Child, then I loved him, and *called* my Son out of Egypt." Isa. lxxviii. 12, "Hearken unto me, O Jacob, and Israel my *called*."

17. IV. And as he brought them out of the most abject Slavery, and advanced them to a new and happy State of Being, attended with distinguishing Privileges, Enjoyments and Marks of Honour, he is said, 1. To *create*, *make* and *form* them, 2. To give them *life*, 3. To have *begotten* them. Isai. xliii. 1, "But thus saith the Lord that *created* thee, O Jacob, and he that *formed* thee, O Israel, fear not?" Ver. 5, "Fear

is, straitway in his Heart he renounced all temporal Enjoyments, that he might dispose himself for eternal Light. And, in this Sense, we *sell*, when, through Carelessness, we fall into a Course of Sin, or, through Obstinacy, continue in it. Thus we may *sell* the Truth instead of *buying* it, Prov. xxiii. 23. Thus Ahab did *sell* himself to work Wickedness, 1 Kings xxi. 25. And thus the Jew, in the Flesh, was "carnal, and *sold* under Sin," Rom. vii. 15. Thus we *buy*, when we diligently use proper Means to gain Knowledge, and good Habits; we *sell*, when we neglect and abandon ourselves to ignorance and Vice.

And the most High God is also in Scripture said to buy and sell, with respect to his Creatures. He *buyeth* a People when he interposes in their Favour, and employs all proper Means to free them from Suffering, or any Circumstances of Wretchedness, and to raise them to a happy and prosperous State. So he purchased, or *bought* the Children of Israel, by bringing them out of the Slavery of Egypt, to the Liberty and Privileges of Canaan by his mighty Power, Wisdom and Goodness; which may be considered as the Price, improperly so called, for which he bought them. On the other hand; he *sells* a People, when he withdraws his Favour and Blessing, suffers their Enemies to prevail, or Calamity and Ruin to fall upon them. Deut. xxxii. 30, "How should One chase a Thousand,—had not their Rock *sold* them, and the Lord shut them up." Judg. ii. 14. "The Anger of the Lord was hot against Israel, and he *sold* them into the Hands of their Enemies." And this Notion of Buying, or Purchasing, is in the New Testament very properly applied to our Salvation by Jesus Christ; and therefore should be well considered and understood.

"Fear not, for I am with thee: I will bring thy Seed from the East, and gather thee from the West." Ver. 7, "Even every one that is called by my Name: For I have *created* him for my Glory: I have *formed* him, yea, I have *made* him." Ver. 15, "I am the Lord, your holy One, the *Creator* of Israel, your King." Deut. xxxii. 6, "Do ye thus requite the Lord, O foolish People?—Hath he not *made* thee and established thee?" Ver. 15. Psal. cxlix. 2. Isai. xxvii. 11,—"It is a People of no Understanding: Therefore he that *made* them will have no Mercy on them, and he that *formed* them will shew them no favour." xliii. 21. xlv. 1, 2, "Yet hear now, O Jacob, my Servant, and Israel whom I have chosen, thus saith the Lord that *made* thee, and *formed* thee from the Womb." Ver. 21, 24, "Thus saith the Lord thy Redeemer, and he that *formed* thee from the Womb," &c.

18. Ezek. xvi. 3, "Thus saith the Lord unto Jerusalem, Thy Birth and thy Nativity is of the Land of Canaan." Ver. 6, "And when I passed by thee, and saw thee polluted in thy own Blood, I said unto thee, *live*; yea, I said unto thee, when thou wast in thy Blood, *live*." See Ezek. xxxvii. 1 to 15. Zech. x. 9.

19. Deut. xxxii. 18. "Of the Rock that *begat* thee thou art unmindful, and hast forgotten God that formed thee." Num. xi. 12, "Have I [Moses] conceived all this People? Have I *begotten* them?" Meaning, not I, but thou, O Lord, hast *begotten* them. Jer. ii. 26, 27, "As the Thief is ashamed when he is found: So is the House of Israel ashamed, —saying to a Stock, Thou art my Father; and to a Stone, Thou hast brought me forth," or *begotten* me; ascribing to Idols the National Advantages, which they received from God.

20. Thus, as God created the whole Body of the Jews, and made them to live, they received a Being or Existence. Isai. lxiii. 19, "We *are*; thou hast never ruled over them, [the Heathen;] they are not called by thy Name." Or rather thus: "We *are* of old; Thou hast not ruled over them; thy Name hath not been called upon them." It is in the Hebrew, *היינו מעולם לא משלת בם*, and are therefore called by the Apostle Things that *are*, in Opposition to the Gentiles, who, as they formerly were not created in the same Manner, were "the Things which *are not*." 1 Cor. i. 28, "God has chosen Things which *are not*, to bring to nought Things that *are*." Further,

21. V. As He made them live, and begat them, (1.) He sustains the Character of a *Father*, and (2.) They are his *Children*, his *Sons* and *Daughters*, which were *born* to him. Deut. xxxii. 6, "Do ye thus requite the Lord, O foolish People?—Is he not thy *Father*, that hath brought thee?" Isai. lxiii. 16, "Doubtless thou art our *Father* though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not: Thou, O Lord, art our *Father*, our Redeemer," &c. Jer. xxxi. 9,—"For I am a *Father* to Israel, and Ephraim is my First-born." Mal. ii. 10, "Have we not all one *Father*? hath not one God created us?" [17.]

22. Deut. xiv. 1, "Ye are the *Children* of the Lord your God. Isai. i. 2, "Hear, O Heavens, and give Ear, O Earth; for the Lord hath spoken, I have nourished and brought up *Children*, and they have rebelled against me."

23. Exod. iv. 22, 23, "Thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, Thus saith the Lord, Israel is my *Son*, even my First-born. And I say unto thee, Let my *Son* go,"

go," &c. Hof. xi. 1. Deut. i. 31. viii. 5. xxxii. 19, "And when the Lord saw it he abhorred them, because of the provoking of his *Sons*, and of his *Daughters*." Ifai. xliii. 6.

24. Ezek. xvi. 3, 4, 5, 6, "Thus saith the Lord God unto Jerusalem, Thy Birth and thy Nativity is of the Land of Canaan;—as for thy Nativity, in the Day thou wast *born*, thy Navel was not cut, &c. none Eye pitied thee, —but thou wast cast out in the open Field,—in the Day that thou wast *born*." Hof. ii. 2, 3, "Plead with your Mother, (the House of Israel, Chap. i. 6, 10, 11,) plead,—Lest I strip her naked, and set her as in the Day that she was *born*, and make her as a Wilderiness," &c (*). Hence their Original is represented under the Notion of a *Womb*. Ifai. xlv. 2, "The Lord—that formed thee from the *Womb*." Ver. 24. xlv. 3.

25. VI. And, as the whole Body of the Jews were the Children of one Father, even of God, this naturally established among themselves the mutual and endearing Relation of *Brethren* (including that of *Sisters*;) and they were obliged to consider, and to deal with each other accordingly. Lev. xxv. 46. Deut. i. 16. iii. 18. xv. 7, "If there be among you a poor Man of one of thy *Brethren*,—thou shalt not harden thy Heart, nor shut thy Hand against thy poor *Brother*," xvii. 15. xviii. 15. xix. 19. xxii. 1. xxiv. 14. Judg. xx. 13. 1 Kings xii. 24. [Acts xxiii. 1.] And in many other Places.

26. VII. And the Relation of God, as a Father, to the Jewish Nation, as his Children, will lead our Thoughts to a clear Idea of their Being, as they are frequently called the *House*, or *Family* of God. Num. xii. 7, "My Servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all my *House*." 1 Chron. xvii. 14, "I will settle him in my *House*, and in my Kingdom for ever." Jer. xii. 7, "I have forsaken my *House*, I have left my Heritage." Hof. ix. 15, "For the Wickedness of their [Ephraim's] Doings, I will drive them out of my *House*, I will love them no more: All their Princes are Revolters." Zech. ix. 8. Psal. xciii. 5. And in other Places, and, perhaps, frequently in the Psalms, as the xxiii. 6. xxvii. 4, &c.

27. VIII. Further; the Scripture directs us to consider the Land of Canaan as the Estate, or *Inheritance*, belonging to this House, or Family. Num. xxvi. 53, "Unto these [namely, all the Children of Israel] the Land shall be divided for an *Inheritance*." Deut. xxi. 23,—"That thy Land be not defiled, which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an *Inheritance*." And in many other Places.

28. Here it may not be improper to take Notice; that the Land of Canaan,

(*) In these Texts the whole Body of Israelites are manifestly spoken of; and God's forming them into a Nation or Society of People, invested in peculiar Privileges, and taken into a special Relation to himself, is evidently denoted by his begetting them, being their Father, and they his Children, born, by his Goodness and Power, out of Servitude and Misery, to a new State of Honour and Enjoyment. For, observe well; The Scriptural Notion of a *Father*, in a figurative Sense, is one that confers a happy State, or an exalted State of Existence, in Opposition to one low or wretched; *begetting* is conferring that State; being *born* is being raised to it; and a *Son*, *Daughter*, *Children*, is the Person or Persons, put into that State. These Terms have Relation to any Change of State for the better; but are commonly applied to the Jewish Nation, or Christian World, as taken into the Covenant and Kingdom of God.

Canaan, in reference to their Trials, Wandrings, and Fatigues in the Wilderness, is represented as their *Rest*. Exod. xxxiii. 14, "My Presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee *Rest*." Deut. iii. 20. xii. 9, "For ye are not yet come to the *Rest*, and to the Inheritance, which the Lord your God giveth you." Ver. 10. xxv. 19. Psal. xcv. 11, "Unto whom I swear in my Wrath, that they should not enter into my *Rest*."

29. IX. Thus the Israelites were the *House*, or Family, of God. Or, we may conceive them formed into a *Nation*, having the LORD, Jehovah, the true God, at their head; who, on this Account is stiled their *God*, Governor, Protector, or *King*; and they his *People*, Subjects or *Servants*. Exod. xix. 6, "Ye shall be unto me a Kingdom of Priests, and an Holy *Nation*." Deut. iv. 34, "Hath God assayed to go and take him a *Nation* from the Midst of another Nation?" Isai. li. 4, "Hearken unto me, my People, and give Ear unto me, my *Nation*."

30. Exod. vi. 7, "And I will take you to me for a People, and I will be to you a *God*." Lev. xxii. 33, "I am the Lord that brought you out of the Land of Egypt, to be your *God*." Psal. xxxiii. 12, "Blessed is the Nation whose *God* is the Lord." And in many other Places.

31. 1 Sam. xii. 12, "And ye [Israelites] said unto me, Nay, but a King shall reign over us; when the Lord your God was your *King*." Psal. lxxxix. 18. cxlix. 2, "Let Israel rejoice in him that made him, let the Children of Zion be joyful in their *King*." Isai. xxxiii. 22. lxi. 21. xliii. 15, "I am the Lord, your Holy One, the Creator of Israel, your *King*."

32. Exod. v. 1, "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Let my *People* go." Deut. xxxii. 36, 43. 2 Sam. vii. 24, "For thou hast confirmed unto thyself thy People Israel, to be a *People* unto thee for ever, and thou, Lord, art become their God," &c.

33. Lev. xxv. 55, "For unto me the Children of Israel are *Servants*, they are my *Servants*, whom I brought forth out of the Land of Egypt: I am the Lord your God." Psal. lxxix. 1, 2. cv. 25, "He turned their Heart to hate his People, to deal subtilly with his *Servants*." And in many other Places.

34. X. And it is in reference to their being a Society peculiarly appropriated to God, and under his special Protection and Government, that they are sometimes called *The City, the Holy City, the City of the Lord, of God*. Psal. xlvi. 4, "There is a River, the Streams whereof shall make glad the *City* of our God: The Holy Place of the Tabernacles of the most High." ci. 8, "I will early destroy all the Wicked of the Land, that I may cut off all wicked Doers from the *City* of the Lord." Isai. xlviii. 1, 2, "Hear ye this, O House of Jacob, which are called by the Name of Israel;—For they call themselves of the *Holy City*, and stay themselves upon the God of Israel."

35. Hence the whole Community, or Church, is denoted by the *City Jerusalem*, and sometimes by *Zion, Mount Zion*, the *City of David*. Isai. lxii. 1, 6, 7, "I have set Watchmen upon thy Walls, O *Jerusalem*, which shall never hold their Peace,—and give him no Rest, till he establish, and till he make *Jerusalem* a Praise in the Earth." lxv. 18, 19, "I will rejoice in *Jerusalem*, and joy in my People." lxvi. 10. Ezek. xvi. 3, 13. Joel iii. 17. Zech. i. 14. viii. 3, &c. xiii. 1. Isai. xxviii. 16,—"Thus saith the Lord God, Behold I lay in *Zion* for a Found-

dation," &c. lxi. 3. Joel. ii. 32. Obad. 17, "But upon Mount Zion shall be Deliverance," &c. Ver. 21.

36. Hence also they are said to be *written*, or inrolled in the *Book* of God, as being Citizens invested in the Privileges and Immunities of his Kingdom. Exod. xxxii. 32, "Yet now, if thou wilt, forgive their Sin; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of the *Book* thou hast written." Ver. 33, "And the Lord said,—whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my *Book*." Ezek. xiii. 9.

37. And it deserves our Notice; that as the other Nations of the World did not belong to this City, Commonwealth or Kingdom of God, and so were not his Subjects and People, in the same peculiar Sense as the Jews, for these Reasons are they frequently represented as *Strangers*, *Aliens*; and as being *not a People*. And as they served other Gods, and were generally corrupt in their Morals, they have the Character of *Enemies*. Exod. xx. 10. Lev. xxv. 47, "And if a Sojourner, or a *Stranger* wax rich by thee, and thy Brother sell himself to the *Stranger*." —Deut. xiv. 21, "Mayest sell it to an *Alien*." Isai. lxi. 5, "And *Strangers* shall stand and feed your Flocks, and the Sons of the *Alien* shall be your Plowmen." And in many other Places. Deut. xxxii. 21, "I will move them to Jealousy with those which are *not a People*." Isai. vii. 8. Hof. i. 10. ii. 23,—“I will say to them which were *not my People*, Thou art my People: And they shall say, Thou art *my God*.” Psal. lxxiv. 4, "Thine *Enemies* roar in the midst of thy *Congregation*." [52] lxxviii. 66. lxxxiii. 2. lxxxix. 10. Isai. xlii. 13. lix. 18. Rom. v. 10,—“When we were *Enemies*, we were reconciled to God.” Col. i. 21.

38. XI. The kind and particular Regards of God for the Israelites, and their special Relation to him, is also signified by that of a *Husband* and *Wife*; and his making a Covenant with them, to be their God, is called *Espousals*. Jer. xxxi. 32, "Not according to the Covenant that I made with their Fathers, in the Day that I took them by the Hand, to bring them out of the Land of Egypt (which my Covenant they broke, although I was an *Husband* unto them, saith the Lord)." iii. 20. Ezek. xvi. 31, 32. Hof. ii. 2, "Plead [ye Children of Judah, and Children of Israel, Chap. i. 11.] with your Mother, plead: For she is not my *Wife*, neither am I her *Husband*;" that is, for her Wickedness I have divorced her. [Isai. lxii. 4. 5.] Jer. ii. 2, "Go and cry in the Ear of Jerusalem, saying, Thus saith the Lord, I remember thee, the Kindness of thy Youth, the Love of thine *Espousals*, when thou wentest after me in the Wilderness, in the Land that was not sown." iii. 14, "Turn, O Backsliding Children, saith the Lord, for I am *married* unto you." Isai. xlii. 4, 5.

39. Hence it is, that the Jewish Church, or Community, is represented as a *Mother*; and particular Members as her *Children*. Isai. l. 1, "Thus saith the Lord, Where is the Bill of your *Mother's* Divorcement," &c? Hof. ii. 2. 5, "For their *Mother* hath played the Harlot," &c. Isai. xlix. 17, "Thy *Children*, (O Zion,) shall make haste," &c. Ver. 22, 25. Jer. 5. 7. Ezek. xvi. 35, 36. Hof. iv. 6, "My People are destroyed for Lack of Knowledge,—seeing thou hast forgotten the Law of God, I will also forget thy *Children*."

40. Hence also, from the Notion of the Jewish Church being a *Wife*

to God, her Husband, her Idolatry, or worshipping of strange Gods, comes under the Name of *Adultery*, and *Whoredom*, and she takes the Character of an *Harlot*. Jer. iii. 8, "And I saw, when for all the Causes whereby Backsliding Israel committed *Adultery*." Ver. 9, "And it came to pass through the Lightness of her *Whoredom*, that she defiled the Land and committed *Adultery* with Stones and with Stocks." xiii. 27. Ezek. xvi. 15. xxiii. 43. Jer. iii. 6, "Backsliding Israel is gone up upon every high Mountain, and under every green Tree, and there has played the *Harlot*." And in many other Places.

41. XII. As God exercised a singular Providence over them in supplying, guiding and protecting them, he was their *Shepherd*, and they his *Flock*, his *Sheep*. Psal. lxxvii. 20. lxxviii. 52. lxxx. 1, "Give Ear, O *Shepherd* of Israel." Isai. xl. 11, "He shall feed his *Flock* like a *Shepherd*." Psal. lxxiv. 1, "O God, why hast thou cast us off for ever? Why doth thine Anger smoke against the *Sheep* of thy Pasture?" lxxix. 13. xcv. 7. Jer. xiii. 17, "Mine Eye shall weep fore—because the Lord's *Flock* is carried Captive." Ezek. xxxiv. throughout. And in many other Places.

42. XIII. Upon nearly the same Account, as God established them, provided proper Means for their Happiness, and Improvement in Knowledge and Virtue, they are compared to a *Vine* and a *Vineyard*, and God to the *Husbandman*, who *planted* and dressed it; and particular Members of the Community are compared to *Branches*. Psal. lxxx. 8, "Thou hast brought a *Vine* out of Egypt: Thou hast cast out the Heathen, and *planted* it." Ver. 14, "Return, we beseech thee, O Lord of Hosts: Look down from Heaven, behold and visit thy *Vine*; and the *Vineyard* which thy Right Hand has *planted*." Isai. v. 1, "Now will I sing to my Well-beloved, a Song—touching his *Vineyard*: My Well-beloved has a *Vineyard* in a very fruitful Hill." Ver. 2, "And he fenced it," &c. Ver. 7, "For the *Vineyard* of the Lord—is the House of Israel." Exod. xv. 17. Jer. ii. 21. Psal. lxxx. 11, "She sent out her *Boughs* unto the Sea, and her *Branches* unto the River." Isai. xxvii. 9; 10, 11, "By this shall the Iniquity of Jacob be purged;—yet the defenced City shall be desolate,—there shall the Calf feed,—and consume the *Branches* thereof. When the *Boughs* thereof are withered, they shall be broken off: The Women come and set them on Fire: For it is a People of no Understanding; therefore he that made them will have no Mercy on them." Jer. xi. 16. "The Lord hath called thy Name, A green *Olive-tree*, fair and of goodly Fruit," &c. Ezek. xvii. 6. Hof. xiv. 5, 6. Nahum ii. 2. And in other Places. [Rom. xi. 17, "And if some of the *Branches* were broken off," &c. Ver. 18, 19, "Thou wilt say then, the *Branches* were broken off, that I might be grafted in."]

43. XIV. As they were, by the Will of God, set apart, and appropriated in a special Manner to his Honour and Obedience, and furnished with extraordinary Means and Motives to Holiness, so God is said to *sanctify*, or *hallow* them." Exod. xxxi. 13, "Speak unto the Children of Israel, saying, Verily my Sabbaths ye shall keep; for it is a Sign between me and you, throughout your Generations; that ye may know that I am the Lord that doth *sanctify* you." Ezek. xx. 12. Lev. xx. 8, "And

ye shall keep my Statutes and do them: For I am the Lord which *sanctify* you." xxi. 8. xxii. 9, 16, 32. Ezek. xxxvii. 28.

44. In the same Sense I conceive they are said to be *washed*. Ezek. xvi. 9, "Then, [when thou wast *born*, 21] *washed* I thee with Water: Yea, I thoroughly *washed* away thy Blood from thee," &c.

45. And, because other Nations did not enjoy the same extraordinary Means, and were generally involved in Vice and Idolatry, therefore they are represented as *unclean*. Isai. xxxv. 8, "And an Highway shall be there, and a Way; and it shall be called the Way of Holiness; the *Unclean* shall not pass over it," &c. Compare Joel iii. 17. Isai. lii. 1,— "Put on thy beautiful Garments, O Jerusalem, the Holy City: For henceforth there shall no more come into thee the Uncircumcised and the *Unclean*." Acts x. 28, "It is—unlawful for a—Jew—to come unto one of another Nation: But God has shewed me, that I shall call nothing common, or *unclean*."

46. XV. Hence it is, that they are stiled a *holy* Nation, or People, and *Saints*. Exod. xix. 6, "And ye shall be to me—an *holy* Nation." Deut. vii. 6, "For thou art a *holy* People unto the Lord thy God." xiv. 2. xxvi. 19. xxxiii. 3. 2 Chron. vi. 41, "Let thy Priests, O Lord God, be clothed with Salvation, and let thy *Saints* rejoice in Goodness." Psal. xxxiv. 9, "O fear the Lord, ye his *Saints*." l. 5, "Gather my *Saints* together unto me." Ver. 7, "Hear, O my People," &c. lxxix. 2. cxlviii. 14, "He also exalteth the Horn of his People, the Praise of his *Saints*; even of the Children of Israel," &c.

47. XVI. Further; by his Prefence among them, and their being consecrated to him, they were made his *House*, or Building, the *Sanctuary*, which he *built*. And this is implied by his *dwelling*, and *walking* amongst them. Psal. cxiv. 2, "Judah was his *Sanctuary*, and Israel his Dominion." Isai. lvi. 3, "Neither let the Son of the Stranger, that hath joined himself to the Lord, speak, saying, The Lord hath utterly separated me from his *People*:" Ver. 4, "For thus saith the Lord," Ver. 5, "Even unto them will I give in my *House*, and within my Walls, a Place and a Name." Jer. xxxiii. 7, "And I will cause the Captivity of Judah, and—of Israel to return, and will *build* them as at the first." Amos ix. 11, "I will raise up the Tabernacle of David,—I will raise up his Ruins, and I will *build* it as in the Days of Old." Exod. xxv. 8, "And let them, the Children of Israel, make me a Sanctuary; that I may *dwell* among them." xxix. 45, 46, "And I will *dwell* among the Children of Israel, and will be their God." &c. Lev. xxvi. 11, 12, "And I will set my Tabernacle among you:—And I will *walk* among you, and will be your God, and ye shall be my People." Num. xxxv. 34. 2 Sam. vii. 7. Ezek. xliii. 7, 9, "And he said unto me,—the Place of my Throne, and the Place of the Soles of my Feet, where I *dwell* in the Midst of the Children of Israel," &c. Hence we may gather, that *dwell*, in such Places, imports to *reign*; and may be applied figuratively to whatever governs in our Hearts. Rom. vii. 17, 20. viii. 9, 11.

48. XVII. And not only did God, as their King, dwell among them as in his House, Temple or Palace; but he also conferred upon them the Honour of *Kings*, as he redeemed them from Servitude, made them

Lords

Lords of themselves, and raised them *above* other Nations to *reign* over them: And of *Priests* too, as they were to attend upon God, from Time to Time continually, in the solemn Offices of Religion, which he had appointed. Exod. xix. 6, "And ye shall be unto me a *Kingdom of Priests* or a *Kingly Priesthood*." Deut. xxvi. 19, "And to make thee high *above* all Nations—in Praise, and in Name, and in Honour, and that thou mayest be an Holy People unto the Lord thy God." xxviii. 1. xv. 6, "For the Lord thy God blest thee,—and thou shalt *reign* over many nations. Isai. lxi. 6. "But ye [the Seed of Jacob] shall be named the *Priests* of the Lord; Men shall call you the *Ministers* of our God."——

49. XVIII. Thus the whole body of the Jewish Nation were *separated* unto God. And, as they were more nearly related to him than any other People, as they were joined to him in Covenant, had free Access to him in the Ordinances of Worship, and in Virtue of his Promise, had a particular Title to his Regards and Blessing, he is said to be *near* unto them, and they unto him. Exod. xxxiii. 16. Lev. xx. 24, "I am the Lord your God who have *separated* you from other People." Ver. 26. 1 Kings viii. 52, 53. Deut. iv. 7, "For what Nation is there so great that hath God so *near* unto them, as the Lord our God is in all Things that we call upon him for?" Psal. cxlviii. 14,—“The Children of Israel, a People *near* unto him.”

50. And here I may observe, that, as the Gentiles were not then taken into the same peculiar Covenant with the Jews, nor stood in the same special Relation to God, nor enjoyed their extraordinary religious Privileges; but lay out of the Commonwealth of Israel, they are on the other Hand, said to be *far off*. Isai. lvii. 19, "I create the Fruit of the Lips: Peace, peace to him that is *far off*, and to him that is *near*, saith the Lord, and I will heal him." Zech. vi. 15, "And they that are *far off* shall come and build in the Temple." Eph. ii. 17, "And came and preached to you [Gentiles] which were *afar off*, and to them that were *nigh*," [the Jews.]

51. XIX. And, as God had, in all these Respects, distinguished them from all other Nations, and sequestred them unto himself, they are stiled his *peculiar people*. Deut. vii. 6, "The Lord has chosen thee to be a special, [or *peculiar*] *People* unto himself." xiv. 2, "The Lord hath chosen thee to be a *peculiar People unto himself*, above all the Nations that are upon the Earth." xxvi. 18.

52. XX. As they were a Body of Men particularly related to God, instructed by him in the Rules of Wisdom, devoted to his Service, and employed in his true Worship, they are called his *Congregation*, or *Church*. Num. xvi. 3. xxvii. 17. Josh. xxii. 17. 1 Chron. xxviii. 8, "Now therefore, in the Sight of all Israel, the *Congregation*, the *Church*, of the Lord." Psal. lxxiv. 2.

53. XXI. For the same Reason, they are considered as God's Possession, *Inheritance* or *Heritage*. Deut. ix. 26, "O Lord, destroy not thy People, and thine *Inheritance*." Ver. 29. Psal. xxxiii. 12. cxvi. 40. Jer. x. 16. xii. 7, "I have forsaken my House, I have left my *Heritage*. I have given the dearly Beloved of my Soul into the Hands of her Enemies." And in many other Places.

C H A P. III.

Reflections upon the foregoing Privileges, Honours and Relations. The Jewish Constitution a Scheme for promoting true Religion and Virtue.

54. **F**ROM all this it appears; that the Jews, or the Israelites, were happy and highly exalted in Civil, but especially in Spiritual Privileges, above all other People. And those of them, who best understand the Nature of their Constitution, were deeply sensible of this. Deut. iv. 7. 8, "For what Nation is there so great, who has God so nigh unto them, &c? And what Nation is there so great, that has Statutes and Judgments so righteous," &c? Ver. 32, "For ask now of the Days that are past, which were before thee, since the Day that God created Man upon the Earth; and ask from the one Side of Heaven unto the other, whether there has been any such Thing as this great Thing is, or hath been heard like it? Did ever People hear the Voice of God speaking out of the Midst of the Fire, as thou hast heard, and live? Or has God assayed to take him a Nation from the Midst of another Nation," &c. xxxiii. 29, "Happy art thou, O Israel: Who is like unto thee, O People saved by the Lord, the Shield of thy Help, and who is the Sword of thine Excellency!" Psal. lxxxix. 15, 16, 17, "Blessed is the People that know the joyful Sound: They shall walk, O Lord, in the Light of thy Countenance. In thy Name shall they rejoice all the Day: And in thy Righteousness shall they be exalted. For thou art the Glory of their Strength, and in thy Favour our Horn shall be exalted. For the Lord is our Defence, and the Holy One of Israel is our King." cxliv. 15, "Happy is that People whose God is the Lord." cxlvii. 19, 20, "He sheweth his Word unto Jacob, his Statutes and his Judgments unto Israel. He hath not dealt so with any Nation, and as for his Judgments they have not known them."

55. And it was the Duty of the whole Body of this People to rejoice in the Goodness of God, to *thank*, and *praise*, and *bless* him for all the Benefits bestowed upon them. Deut. xii. 7. xxvi. 11, "And thou shalt rejoice in every good Thing, which the Lord thy God [29] hath given unto thee." Psal. cxlix. 2, "Let Israel rejoice in him that made [17] him: Let the Children of Zion be joyful in their King." [35, 29.] Psal. l. 14, "Offer unto God *thanksgiving*."—xcv. 2, "Let us come before his Presence with *thanksgiving*."—xcii. 1, "It is a good Thing to give *thanks* unto the Lord, and to sing *praises* unto thy Name, O most High." cv. 1, "O give *thanks* unto the Lord," &c. Ver. 45, "*Praise* ye the Lord," &c. lxvi. 8, "O *bless* our God, ye People," &c. cxxxv. 19, "*Bless* the Lord, O House of Israel," &c.

56. Whether I have ranged the foregoing Particulars in proper Order, or given an exact Account of each, let the Studious of Scripture Knowledge consider. What ought to be specially observed is this; that all the forementioned Privileges, Benefits, Relations and Honours did belong to *all* the Children of Israel without Exception. The Lord *Jehovah*, was the *God*, *King*, *Saviour*, *Father*, *Husband*, *Shepherd*, &c. to them all. He *saved*, *bought*, *redeemed*; he *created*, he

begot,

begot, he made, he planted, &c. them all. And they were *all* his People, Nation, Heritage, his Children, Spouse, Flock, Vineyard, &c. They *all* had a right to the Ordinances of Worship, to the Promises of God's Blessing, and especially to the Promise of the Land of Canaan. *All* enjoyed the Protection and special Favours of God in the Wilderness, till they had forfeited them: *All* eat of the Manna, and *all* drank of the Water out of the Rock, &c. That these Privileges and Benefits belonged to the whole Body of the Israelitish Nation, is evident from all the Texts I have already quoted; which he, who observes carefully, will find do all of them speak of the whole Nation, the whole Community, without Exception.

57. And that all these Privileges, Honours and Advantages were common to the whole Nation, is confirmed by this further Consideration; that they were the Effects of God's free Grace, without Regard to any prior *Righteousness* of theirs; and therefore they are assigned to God's *Love*, as the Spring from whence they flowed, and the Donation of those Benefits is expressed by God's *loving* them; they are also assigned to God's *Mercy*, and the bestowing of them is expressed by his *showing* them *Mercy*. Deut. ix. 4, 5, 6, "Speak not thou in thy Heart, after that the Lord has cast them out before thee, saying, for my *Righteousness* the Lord hath brought me in to possess this Land,—Not for thy *Righteousness*, or the Uprightness of thy Heart dost thou go to possess their Land, &c. Understand therefore, that the Lord thy God giveth thee not this good Land to possess it, for thy *Righteousness*; for thou art a stiff-necked People."

58. Deut. vii. 7, "The Lord did not set his *love* upon you, nor choose you, because you were more in Number than any People."—Ver. 8, "But because the Lord *loved* you, and because he would keep the Oath which he had sworn unto your Fathers, hath the Lord brought you out [of Egypt]." xxxiii. 3, "He *loved* the People." Isai. xliii. 3, 4. Jer. xxxi. 3. Hos. iii. 1. ix. 15,—"I will drive them out of my *House* [26] I will *love* them no more."—xi. 1, "When Israel was a Child, then I *loved* him." Mal. i. 2, "I have *loved* you, saith the Lord (speaking to the whole Body of the Israelites) yet ye say, wherein hast thou loved us? Was not Esau Jacob's Brother? saith the Lord; yet I *loved* Jacob."—Ezek. xvi. 3—15, "Thus saith the Lord God unto Jerusalem, thy Birth and thy Nativity is of the Land of Canaan, thy Father was an Amorite, and thy Mother an Hittite. And as for thy Nativity, in the Day thou was born, [21] thy Navel was not cut, &c. None eye pitied thee,—but thou wast cast out in the open Field, &c. And when I passed by thee, and saw thee polluted in thine own Blood," or trodden under Foot, "I said unto thee, Live, [17] &c. And I have caused thee to multiply as the Bud of the Field, and thou hast increased and waxen great, &c. Now when I passed by thee, and looked upon thee, behold thy Time was the Time of *Love*; and I spread my Skirt over thee, and covered thy Nakedness, &c. Then I washed thee with Water: I clothed thee also with brodered Work,—I decked thee with Ornaments, &c. And thou didst prosper into a Kingdom. And thy Renown went forth among the Heathen for thy Beauty, for it was perfect through my Comeliness which I had put upon thee."

59. It is on Account of this general Love to the Israelites, that they are honoured with the Title of *Beloved*. Psal. lx. 5, "That thy *Beloved* may be delivered, save with thy Right Hand, and hear me." Psal. cviii. 6. Jer. xi. 15, "What hath my *Beloved* to do in my House, seeing she has wrought Lewdness with many?"—xii. 7, "I have forsaken my House, I have given the dearly *Beloved* of my Soul into the Hands of my Enemies." [And in their present Condition at this Day the Jews still are in a Sense *Beloved*, Rom. xi. 28.]

60. Exod. xv. 13, "Thou in thy *Mercy* hast led forth the People, which thou hast redeemed," &c. Psal. xcvi. 3. Isai. liv. 10. Mich. vii. 20, "Thou shalt perform the Truth to Jacob, and the *Mercy* to Abraham, which thou hast sworn unto our Fathers from the Days of Old." Luke i. 54, 55, "He hath holpen his Servant Israel, in Remembrance of his *Mercy*, as he spake to our Fathers, to Abraham and his Seed for ever." Agreeable to this, he shewed them *Mercy* as he continued them to be his People, when he might have cut them off. Exod. xxxiii. 19,—"I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and I will *show Mercy* on whom I will *show Mercy*." And when, after their present State of Rejection, they shall again be taken into the Church, this too is exprest by their *obtaining Mercy*, Rom. xi. 31.

61. In these Texts, and others of the same Kind, it is evident the *Love* and *Mercy* of God hath Respect not to particular Persons among the Jews, but to the whole Nation; and therefore is to be understood of that general *Love* and *Mercy* whereby he singled them out to be a peculiar Nation to himself, favoured with extraordinary Blessings.

62. And it is with Regard to this Sentiment and Manner of Speech, that the Gentiles, who were not distinguished in the same Manner, are said *not* to have *obtained Mercy*. Hof. ii. 23, "And I will sow her unto me in the Earth, and I will have *Mercy* upon her that had *not obtained Mercy*, and I will say to them which were not my People, [29] Thou art my People; and they shall say, Thou art my God."

63. Further; it should be noted, as a very material and important Circumstance, that all this *Mercy* and *Love* was granted and confirmed to the Israelites under the Sanction of a *Covenant*, the most solemn Declaration and Assurance, *sworn* to, and ratified by the *Oath* of God. Gen. xvii. 7, 8, "And I will establish my *Covenant* between me and thee, and thy Seed after thee, in their Generations, for an everlasting *Covenant*; to be a God unto thee, and to thy Seed after thee. And I will give unto thee, and to thy Seed after thee, the Land wherein thou art a Stranger, all the Land of Canaan, for an everlasting Possession; and I will be their God." Gen. xxii. 16, 17, 18, "By myself have I *sworn*, saith the Lord, for because thou hast done this Thing,—that in Blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy Seed, as the Stars of the Heaven, and as the Sand which is upon the Sea-shore; and thy Seed shall possess the Gate of his Enemies; and in thy Seed shall all the Nations of the Earth be blessed: Because thou hast obeyed my Voice." This *Covenant* with Abraham was the Magna Charta, the Basis of the Jewish Constitution, which was renewed afterwards with the whole Nation; and is frequently referred to as the Ground and Security of all their Blessings. Exod. vi.

3—7, “I appeared unto Abraham, Isaac, &c. And I have also established my *Covenant* with them, to give them the Land of Canaan.—I have also heard the Groaning of the Children of Israel,—and I have remembered my *Covenant*,—and will take you to me for a People, and I will be to you a God.” Deut. vii. 8. Psal. cv. 8, 9, 10, “He hath remembered his *Covenant* for ever, the Word which he commanded to a thousand Generations. Which *Covenant* he made with Abraham, and his *Oath* unto Isaac: And confirmed the same unto Jacob for a Law, and to Israel for an everlasting *Covenant*.” Jer. xi. 5. Ezek. xvi. 8. xx. 5.

64. But what most of all deserves our Attention is this; that the Jewish Constitution was a *Scheme for promoting Virtue*, true Religion, or a good and pious Life. In all the forementioned Instances they were very happy: But were they to rest in them? Because these Blessings were the Gift of *Love* and *Mercy*, without Respect to their *Righteousness*, or Obedience, was it therefore needless for them to be obedient? Or were they, purely on Account of Benefits already received, secure of the Favour and Blessing of God for ever? By no Means. And, that I may explain this important Point more clearly, I shall distinguish their Blessings into *antecedent* and *consequent*, and shew, from the Scriptures, how both stand in Relation to their *Duty*.

65. *Antecedent* Blessings are all the Benefits hitherto mentioned, which were given by the mere *Grace* of God, *antecedently* to their Obedience, and without Respect to it: But yet so, that they were intended to be *Motives* to Obedience. Which Effect if they produced, then their Election, Redemption and Calling were confirmed; and they were entitled to all the Blessings promised in the *Covenant*; which Blessings I therefore call *consequent*, because they were given only in consequence of their Obedience. But, on the other Hand, if the Antecedent Blessings did not produce Obedience to the Will of God; if his Chosen People, his Children did not obey his Voice, then they forfeited all their Privileges, all their Honours and Relations to God, all his Favours and Promises, and fell under the severest *Threatnings* of his Wrath and Displeasure (*).

66. And that this was the very End and Design of the Dispensation of God's extraordinary Favours to the Jews; namely, to engage them to Duty and Obedience; or that it was a Scheme for promoting Virtue, is clear beyond all Dispute from every Part of the Old Testament. *Note*, I shall make *Ant.* stand for Antecedent Love, or Motives; *Conf.* for Consequent Love, or Reward; and *Thr.* for Threatning.

[*Ant.*] Gen. xvii. 1, “I am God All-sufficient, [*Duty*] Walk thou before me, and be thou perfect.” Ver. 4—8, [*Ant.*] “I will be a God unto thee, and thy Seed after thee. And I will give unto thee, and unto thy Seed—the Land—of Canaan,—and I will be their God.” Ver. 9, [*Duty*] “Thou

(*) Thus Life itself may be distinguished into I. *Antecedent*; which God gives freely to all his Creatures, of his mere Good-will and Liberality, before they can have done any thing to deserve it. II. *Consequent* Life; which is the Continuance of Life in happy Circumstances, and has Relation to the good Conduct of a rational Creature. As he improves Life Antecedent, so he shall, through the Favour of God, enjoy Life Consequent.

"Thou shalt keep my Covenant therefore, thou and thy Seed after thee." Gen. xxii. 16, 18, [*Duty*]—"Because thou hast done this Thing; and hast not withheld thy Son, thine only Son; because thou hast obeyed my Voice," Ver. 16, 17, [*Conf.*] "By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, that in Blessing I will bless thee, and in Multiplying, I will multiply thy Seed, as the Stars of Heaven; and thy Seed shall possess the Gate of his Enemies, and in thy Seed shall all the Nations of the Earth be blessed."

67. [Here let it be noted; that the same Blessings may be both Consequent and Antecedent with Regard to different Persons. With Regard to Abraham the Blessings promised in this Place (Gen. xxii. 16, 17, 18.) are Consequent, as they were the Reward of his Obedience. "Because thou hast obeyed my Voice." But with Regard to his Posterity these same Blessings were of the Antecedent Kind; because, though they had Respect to Abraham's Obedience, yet, with Regard to the Jews, they were given freely, or antecedently to any Obedience they had performed. So the Blessings of Redemption, with Regard to our Lord's Obedience, are Consequent; but with Regard to us, they are of free Grace, and Antecedent; not owing to any Obedience of ours, though granted in Consequence of Christ's Obedience. Phil. ii. 8, 9, &c. Eph. i. 7. Heb. v. 8, 9. Nor doth the Donation of Blessings upon many, in Consequence of the Obedience of one, at all diminish the Grace, but very much recommends the *Wisdom*, that bestows them.

68. Isai. xliii. 7, 21, [*Ant.*] "This People have I *made* [17] for myself, [*Duty*] they shall shew forth my Praise." Jer. xiii. 11. Lev. xx. 7, 8, [*Ant.*] "I am the Lord your God. I am the Lord which sanctify [43] you. [*Duty*] Sanctify yourselves therefore, and be ye Holy. And ye shall keep my Statutes and do them." Deut. iv. 7, 8, [*Ant.*] "What Nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh them, as the Lord our God is?—And what Nation is there so great, that hath Statutes and Judgments so righteous," &c. Ver. 9, [*Duty*] "Only take heed to thyself, and keep thy Soul diligently, lest thou forget the Things which thine Eyes have seen." Ver. 20, [*Ant.*] "The Lord hath taken you forth out of the Iron Furnace, even out of Egypt, to be unto him a People of Inheritance, [53] as ye are at this Day." Ver. 23, [*Duty*] "Take heed unto yourselves, lest ye forget the Covenant of the Lord your God."—Ver. 24, [*Thr.*] "For the Lord thy God is a consuming fire." Ver. 25, "When ye shall corrupt yourselves,—and shall do Evil in the Sight of the Lord thy God."—Ver. 26. "I call Heaven and Earth to witness, that ye shall soon utterly perish from off the Land."—Ver. 34, [*Ant.*] "Hath God essayed to go, and take him a Nation from the Midst of another Nation, by Signs and Wonders," &c. &c. Ver. 39, [*Duty*] "Know therefore this Day, and consider it in thy Heart, that the Lord he is God in Heaven above, &c. Thou shalt keep therefore his Statutes, and his Commandments,—[*Conf.*]—that it may go well with thee, and with thy Children after thee," &c. Deut. v. 6, [*Ant.*] "I am the Lord thy God, [29] which brought thee out of the Land of Egypt, from the House of Bondage." Ver. 7, [*Duty*] "Thou shalt have no other Gods before me," &c. Ver. 29, "O that there were such an Heart in them, that they would fear me and keep all my Commandments, always—[*Conf.*]—that it might be well with them and with their Children for ever." Ver. 33, [*Duty*]

[*Duty*] "You shall walk in all the Ways which the Lord your God hath commanded you,—[*Conf.*]—that ye may live, and that it may be well with you," &c. Chap. vi. 21, [*Ant.*]—"We were Pharaoh's Bondmen, and the Lord brought us out of Egypt," &c. Ver. 24, [*Duty*] "And the Lord commanded us to do all these Statutes, to fear the Lord our God,—[*Conf.*]—for our Good always, that he might preserve us alive," &c. Chap. vii. 6, 7, 8, [*Ant.*] "Thou art a Holy [46] People unto the Lord thy God: the Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be a special People [51] unto himself,—the Lord loved you,—and redeemed you out of the House of Bondmen." Ver. 9, [*Duty*] "Know therefore that the Lord thy God, he is God," &c. Ver. 11, "Thou shalt therefore keep the Commandments, and the Statutes, and the Judgments, which I command thee this Day, to do them." Ver. 12, 13, &c. [*Conf.*] "Wherefore it shall come to pass, if ye hearken to these Judgments, and keep, and do them; that the Lord thy God shall keep unto thee the Covenant and the Mercy which he swore unto thy Fathers. And he will love thee, and bless thee, and multiply thee," &c. Chap. viii. 2, [*Ant.*] "Thou shalt remember all the Way which the Lord thy God led thee," &c. Ver. 5, "Thou shalt also consider in thy Heart, that as a Man chasteneth his Son, so the Lord thy God chasteneth thee." Ver. 6, [*Duty*] "Therefore thou shalt keep the Commandments of the Lord thy God, to walk in his Ways, and to fear him." Ver. 11, "Beware that thou forget not the Lord thy God," &c. Ver. 19, [*Thr.*] "And it shall be, if thou do at all forget the Lord thy God, and walk after other Gods,—I testify against you this Day, that ye shall surely perish." Chap. x. 15, [*Ant.*] "The Lord hath a Delight in thy Fathers to love them, [57] and he chose [11] their Seed after them, even you above all People." Ver. 12, 16, [*Duty*] "Circumcise therefore the Foreskin of your Heart," &c. Ver. 22, [*Ant.*] "Thy Fathers went down into Egypt, with threescore and ten Persons; and now the Lord thy God hath made thee as the Stars of Heaven for Multitude." Chap. xi. 1, [*Duty*] "Therefore shalt thou love the Lord thy God, and keep his Charge," &c. Ver. 13, "And it shall come to pass, if ye shall hearken diligently unto my Commandments," &c. Ver. 14, [*Conf.*] "That I will give you the Rain of your Land," &c. Ver. 26. "Behold, I set before you this Day a Blessing and a Curse. A Blessing if you obey the Commandments of the Lord, and a Curse if ye will not obey," &c. Chap. xii. 28, [*Duty*] "Observe and hear all these Words which I command thee,—[*Conf.*]—that it may go well with thee and thy Children after thee for ever, when thou hast done that which is Good and Right in the Sight of the Lord thy God." Chap. xiii. 17, 18. xv. 4, 5. xxvii. 9, [*Ant.*]—"Take heed, and hearken, O Israel, this Day thou art become the People [29] of the Lord thy God." Ver. 10, [*Duty*] "Thou shalt therefore obey the Voice of the Lord thy God, and do his Commandments," &c. Chap. xxviii. 1, "And it shall come to pass, if thou hearken diligently unto the Voice of the Lord thy God, to observe and to do his Commandments,—[*Conf.*]—that the Lord will set thee on High above all Nations of the Earth. And all these Blessings shall come on thee, and overtake thee, if thou shalt hearken unto the Voice of the Lord thy God. Blessed shalt thou be in the city," &c. Ver. 15, [*Thr.*] "But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken unto the Voice of the Lord thy God, to observe and to do all his Commandments, and his

Statutes,—that all these Curses shall come upon thee and overtake thee,” &c. Ver. 45, “Moreover, all these Curses shall come upon thee,—till thou be destroyed; because thou hearkenest not unto the Voice of the Lord thy God.” Chap. xxix. 2. to 10. xxx. 15—18, [*Duty*] “See I have set before you this Day Life and Good, and Death and Evil: In that I command thee this Day to love the Lord thy God, to walk in his Ways, and to keep his Commandments and his Statutes, and his Judgments, [*Conf.*] that thou mayest live and multiply: And the Lord thy God shall bless thee in the Land whither thou goest to possess it. [*Thr.*] But if thine Heart turn away, so that thou wilt not hear, but shalt be drawn away, and worship other Gods, and serve them; I denounce unto you this Day, that ye shall surely perish.”—

69. Whoever peruses the first sixteen, and the 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, and 32d Chapters of Deuteronomy will most clearly see, that all the Privileges, Honours, Instructions, Protections, &c. which were given them as a select Body of Men, were intended as Motives to Obedience; which, if thus wisely improved, would bring upon them still further Blessings. Thus God drew them to Duty and Virtue by his Loving-kindness, Jer. xxxi. 3. He “drew them with Cords of a Man,” such Considerations as are apt to influence the rational Nature, “and with the Bands of Love,” Hos. xi. 4. But if they were disobedient, and did not make a right Use of God’s Benefits and Favours, then they were subjected to a Curse, and should perish. And this is so evident, from this single Book, that I shall not need to heap together the numerous Quotations, which might be collected from other Parts of Scripture, particularly the Prophetic Writings. Only I may further establish this Point by observing; that, in Fact, though all the Israelites in the Wilderness were the People, Children, and the Chosen of God; all intitled to the Divine Blessing, and Partakers of the several Instances of his Goodness; yet, notwithstanding all their Advantages and Honours, when they were disobedient to his Will, distrustful of his Power and Providence, or revolted to the Worship of Idol-Gods, great Numbers of them fell under the Divine Vengeance, Exod. xxxii. 8, 27, 28. Num. xi. 4, 5, 6, 33. xvi. 2, 3, 32, 35, 41, 49. xxi. 5, 6. And, though they had all a Promise of entering into the Land of Canaan, yet the then Generation, from twenty Years old and upwards, for their Unbelief, were, by the righteous Judgment of God, excluded from the Benefit of that Promise; they forfeited their Inheritance, and died in the Wilderness, Num. xiv. 28—36. Heb. iii. 7, &c.

70. From all this it appears; that all the High Privileges of the Jews, before-mentioned, and all the singular Relations, in which they stood to God, as they were *saved, bought, redeemed* by him; as they were *his called and elect*; as they were *his Children*, whom he *begot, created, made, and formed*, his *Sons and Daughters* born to him; his *Heritage, Church, House, and Kingdom*; his *Saints*, whom he *sanctified*; his *Vine or Vineyard*, which he *planted*; his *Sheep and Flock*: I say, these, and such like Honours, Advantages and Relations, as they are assigned to the whole Body do not import an absolute final State of Happiness and Favour of any Kind; but are to be considered as Displays, Instances and Descriptions of God’s Love and Goodness to them, which were to operate as a Mean, a moral Mean, upon their Hearts. They were in Truth *Motives* to oblige and

and excite to Obedience; and only, when so improved, became final and permanent Blessings: but neglected, or misimproved they were enjoyed in vain, they vanished and came to nothing; and wicked Israelites were no more the Objects of God's Favour, than wicked Heathens. Amos ix. 7, speaking of corrupt Jews, "Are ye not as Children of the Ethiopians unto me, O Children of Israel? saith the Lord."

71. And, upon the whole, we may from the clearest Evidence conclude; that the selecting the Jewish Nation from the rest of the World, and taking them into a peculiar Relation to God, was a *Scheme for promoting true Religion and Virtue* in all its Principles and Branches, upon Motives adapted to rational Nature: Which Principles and Branches of true Religion are particularly specified in their Law. And to this End, no doubt, every Part of their Constitution, even the Ceremonial, was wisely adapted, considering their Circumstances, and the then State of the World.

72. And observe; the *Motives* did not run thus; ye are still in Egypt, still in Bondage and Slavery, still in a wretched, miserable Condition, under the Wrath and Displeasure of God; therefore believe, and reform, and love God, that ye may be redeemed and saved; that the Lord may become your God and Father, and that you may be of the Number of his Children, his Elect, and taken into his Covenant. But plainly thus; you are actually delivered, saved, redeemed; God is already your Father, who has elected, begotten and created you; who has loved you, established his Covenant with you, and has given you Promises of further and continued Happiness; therefore be induced by his Goodness to love and obey him. The Love of God, as it was the Foundation and Original of this Scheme, so it was the prime Motive in it. God begun the Work of Salvation among them, antecedently to any thing which they might do, on their Part, to engage his Goodness. They did not first love God; but God first loved them: Their Obedience did not first advance towards God; but his Mercy first advanced towards them, and saved, bought, redeemed them, took them for his People, and gave them a Part in the Blessings of his Covenant. And as for his Displeasure, they were under that, only consequentially; or after they had neglected his Goodness, and abused the Mercy and Means, the Privileges and Honours which they enjoyed. This, I think, must appear very evident to any one, who closely and maturely deliberates upon the true State of the Jewish Church.

Thus, and for those Ends, not excluding others before or afterwards mentioned, the Jewish Constitution was erected.

C H A P. IV.

The Jewish Peculiarity not prejudicial to the Rest of Mankind. God was still the God and Father of all; and the Israelites were obliged to exercise all Benevolence to Men of other Nations: Yea, the Constitution was, in Fact, erected for the Good of all the World.

73. **B**UT though the *Father* of Mankind was pleased, in his wisdom, to erect the foregoing scheme, for promoting virtue, and preserving true religion in one nation of the world, upon whom he conferred particular blessings and privileges, this was no injury nor prejudice to the rest of mankind. For, as to original favours, or external advantages, God, who may do what he pleases with his own, bestows them in any kind or degree, as he thinks fit. Thus he makes a variety of creatures; some angels in a higher sphere of being, some men in a lower. And among men, he distributes different faculties, stations and opportunities in life. To one he gives ten talents, to another five, to another two, to another one, severally as he pleases; without any impeachment of his justice, and to the glorious display and illustration of his wisdom. And so he may bestow different advantages, and favours upon different nations, with as much justice and wisdom, as he has placed them in different climates, or vouchsafed them various accommodations and conveniencies of life. But, whatever advantages some nations may enjoy above others, still God is the *God and Father* of all; and his extraordinary blessings to some are not intended to diminish his regards to others. He erected a scheme of polity and religion for promoting the knowledge of God, and the practice of virtue in one nation; but not with a design to withdraw his goodness or providential regards from the rest. God has made a variety of soils, and situations; yet he cares for every part of the globe; and the inhabitants of the North Cape, where they conflict a good part of the year with night and extreme cold, are no more neglected by the universal Lord, than those who enjoy the perpetual summer and pleasures of the Canary Isles. At the same time God chose the children of Israel to be his peculiar people, in a special covenant, he was the God of the rest of mankind, and regarded them as the objects of his care and benevolence. *Exod. xix. 5.* "Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all People: **כִּי לִי בְלִדָּה אֶתְּ** *although* all the earth is mine." So it should be rendered. *Deut. x. 14, 15,* "Behold the heaven, and the heaven of heavens is the Lord's thy God, the *earth* with *all* that therein are. Only the Lord had a delight in thy fathers to love them, and he chose their seed after them, even you above all people, as it is this day." *Ver. 17, 18,* "For the Lord your God is God of gods, and Lord of lords, a great God, a mighty, and a terrible, which *regardeth not persons*, [*or, "is no respecter of persons,"* (*Acts x. 34.*) through partiality to one person, or one nation

more

more than another] nor taketh reward. He doth execute the judgment of the fatherless and widow, and *loveth the stranger*, in giving him food and raiment." [A stranger was one, who was of any other nation beside the Jewish. [37] Psal. cxlvi. 9, "The Lord preserveth the strangers." viii. 1. xix. 1, 2, 3, 4. xxiv. 1. xxxiii. 5, "The earth is full of the goodness of the Lord." Ver. 8, "Let *all* the earth fear the Lord; let *all* the inhabitants of the world stand in awe of him." Ver. 12, "Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord, [29] and the people whom he has chosen for his own inheritance." [53] Ver. 13, "The Lord looketh from Heaven: he beholdeth *all* the sons of men. From the place of his habitation he looketh upon *all* the inhabitants of the earth. He fashioneth their hearts alike: he considereth all their works." xlvii. 2, 8, "The Lord most high is a great King over *all* the earth. God reigneth over the heathen." lxvi. 7. cvii. 8, 15, 21. cxlv. 9, "The Lord is good to *all*, and his tender mercies are over *all* his *works*."—Many more passages might be brought out of the Scriptures of the Old Testament to shew, that all the nations of the earth were the objects of the divine care and goodness, at the same time, that he vouchsafed a particular and extraordinary providence towards the Jewish nation.

74. And agreeably to this, the Israelites were required to exercise all benevolence and good-will to the Gentiles, or strangers, to abstain from all injurious treatment, to permit them to dwell peaceably and comfortably among them, to partake of their blessings, to incorporate into the same happy body, if they thought fit, and to join in their religious solemnities. Exod. xxii. 21, "Thou shalt neither vex a stranger, nor oppress him." xxiii. 9, 12. Lev. xix. 10, "Thou shalt not glean thy vineyard, neither shalt thou gather every grape of thy vineyard; thou shalt leave them for the poor and stranger; I am the Lord your God." xxiii. 22. xix. 33, 34, "And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him. But the stranger, that dwelleth with you, shall be unto you as one born amongst you, and thou shalt love him as thyself." xxv. 35, "And if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee; then thou shalt relieve him: yea though he be a stranger, or a sojourner; that he may live with thee." Num. xv. 14, 15, "And if a stranger sojourn with you, or whosoever be among you in your generations, and will offer an offering made by fire of a sweet savour unto the Lord: as ye do, so he shall do. One ordinance shall be both for you, of the congregation, [52] and also for the stranger that sojourneth with you, an ordinance for ever in your generations: as ye are, so shall the stranger be before the Lord." Deut. xxvi. 11, 12, "And thou shalt rejoice in every good thing, which the Lord thy God has given unto thee, and unto thy house, thou and the Levite, and the stranger that is among you," Ezek. xxii. 7, 29.

75. And not only were they required to treat strangers, or men of other nations, with kindness and humanity; but it appears, from several parts of Scripture, that the whole Jewish dispensation had respect to the nations of the world: not indeed to bring them all into the Jewish church, (that would have been impracticable, as to the greatest part of the world) but to spread the knowledge and obedience of God in the earth. Or, it was a scheme which was intended to have its good effects beyond the pale of

the Jewish inclosure, and was established for the benefit of all mankind. Gen. xii. 3, "And in thee [Abraham] shall all families of the earth be blessed." xxii. 18, "And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." Exod. vii. 5, "And the Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord, when I stretch forth my hand upon Egypt, and bring out the children of Israel."—ix. 16, "And indeed for this very cause have I raised thee," Pharaoh, "up, for to shew in thee my power; and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth." xv. 14. Lev. xxvi. 45. Num. xiv. 13, 14, 15, "And Moses said unto the Lord, then the Egyptians shall hear it, (for thou broughtest up this people in thy might from among them) and they will tell it to the inhabitants of this land: for they have heard that thou Lord art among this people, that thou Lord art seen face to face, and that thy cloud standeth over them, and that thou goest before them, by day-time in a pillar of a cloud, and in a pillar of fire by night. Now if thou shalt kill all this people as one man, then the nations, which have heard the fame of thee will speak, saying," &c. Deut. iv. 6, "Keep [these statutes and judgments] therefore and do them, for this is your wisdom, and your understanding in the sight of the nations, which shall hear all those statutes, and say, Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people." 1 Sam. xvii. 46, "I will give the carcases of the Philistines to the fowls of the air,—that all the earth may know that there is a God in Israel." 1 Kings viii. 41, 42, 43, "Moreover concerning a stranger, that is not of thy people Israel, but comes out of a far country for thy name's sake; (for they shall hear of thy great name, and of thy strong hand, and of thy stretched out arm) when he shall come, and pray towards this house: hear thou in heaven thy dwelling place, and do according to all that the stranger calleth to thee for: that all people of the earth may know thy name, to fear thee, as do thy people Israel," &c. Psal. lxxvii. 1, 2, 3, &c. xcvi. 1, 2, 3, Jer. xxxiii. 9, "And it shall be to me a name of joy, a praise, and an honour before all the nations of the earth, which shall hear all the good that I do unto them: and they shall fear and tremble for all the goodness, and for all the prosperity that I procure for it." Hos. ii. 23, "I will sow her unto me in the earth." Zeph. iii. 20,—“I will make you a name and praise among all the people of the earth, when I turn back your captivity,” &c.

C H A P. V.

The Jewish Peculiarity was to receive its Perfection from the Gospel Dispensation, under the SON OF GOD. The Gospel is the Jewish Scheme enlarged and improved.

76. **B**UT though the Jewish Peculiarity did not exclude the rest of the world from the care and beneficence of the Universal Father; and though the Jews were commanded to exercise benevolence towards persons of other nations; yet, about the time

time when the gospel was promulged, the Jews were greatly elevated on account of their distinguishing privileges, and looked upon themselves as the only favourites of Heaven, and regarded the rest of mankind with a sovereign contempt, as nothing, as abandoned of God, and without a possibility of salvation, unless they should incorporate, in some degree or other, with their nation. Their constitution, they supposed, was established for ever, never to be altered, or in any respect abolished. They were the true and only church, out of which no man could be accepted of God: and consequently, unless a man submitted to the law of Moses, how virtuous or good soever he were, it was their belief, he could not be saved. He had no right to a place in the church, nor could hereafter obtain life.

77. But the Jewish dispensation, as peculiar to that people, though superior to the mere light of nature, which it supposed and included, was but of a temporary duration, and of an inferior and imperfect kind, in comparison of that which was to follow; and which God from the beginning, (when he entered into covenant with Abraham, and made the promise to him) intended to erect; and which he made several declarations under the Old Testament, that he would erect, in the proper time, as successive to the Jewish dispensation, and, as a superstructure, perfective of it. And as the Jewish dispensation was erected by the ministry of Moses, this was to be built by the ministry of a much nobler hand; even that of the *Son of God*, the Messiah, fore-ordained before the world was made, promised to Abraham, foretold by the prophets, and even expected by the Jews themselves, though under no just conceptions of the end of his coming into the world. He was to assume, and live in a human body, to declare the truth and grace of God more clearly and expressly to the Jews, to exhibit a pattern of the most perfect obedience, to be obedient even unto death in compliance with the will of God, and in firm adherence to the truth he taught. And, in consequence of this, he was also to be a pattern of reward, by being raised from the dead, exalted to the right hand of God, invested with universal power, and by having a commission given him to raise all mankind from the dead, and to put all, in all ages and places of the world, into the possession of eternal life, who shall at the last day be found virtuous and holy. When Christ came into the world, the Jews were ripe for destruction; but he published a general indemnity for the transgressions of the former covenant, upon their repentance; and openly revealed a future state, as the true Land of Promise, even eternal life in heaven. Thus he confirmed the former covenant with the Jews, as to the favour and blessing of God, and enlarged, or more clearly explained it, as to the blessings therein bestowed; instead of an earthly Canaan, revealing the resurrection from the dead, and everlasting happiness and glory in the world to come.

78. His personal ministry indeed was confined to the Jewish nation, Mat. xv. 24, "I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Rom. xv. 8, "Now, I say, that Jesus Christ was a minister of the circumcision, for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the fathers." But not only did he improve upon the foregoing dispensation, more

clearly explaining the Abrahamic covenant; but further, whereas for many ages, we Gentiles, considered in a body, were in a state of revolt from God, aliens and enemies, [37] serving dumb idols; while the Jews were his peculiar people, church and heritage, he threw the kingdom of God into a new form, by taking down the partition wall, the wall of the Jewish inclosure, and admitting into his church and kingdom, as his people and subjects, all in every nation, who should acknowledge the truth of his mission and doctrine, and profess subjection to him, as their king and governour. In pursuance of this now scheme, his apostles, but especially St. Paul, published a general indemnity, and free pardon to the Gentile world, which then was very corrupt, and obnoxious to the wrath and just condemnation of God; and declared, that all, who believed in him, were intitled to all the privileges, blessings and promises of his church and kingdom, according to the most extensive sense of the Abrahamic covenant; and at the same time exempted from the incumbrance of the ceremonial law. Thus the Jewish peculiarity was happily overthrown; not, properly speaking, by being totally annulled, but by being enlarged to the extent of the whole globe, and by admitting all mankind, who accepted the gospel, not only to the same spiritual advantages, but even to much greater; even into their covenant explained and enlarged.

79. That the gospel is the Jewish scheme, enlarged and improved, will evidently appear, if we consider; that we Gentiles believing in Christ are said to be incorporated into the same body with the Jews; and that believing Jews and Gentiles are now become *one, one flock, one body* in Christ. John x. 16, "And other sheep I have which are not of this [the Jewish] fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be *one flock* (*), [41] and *one Shepherd*." 1 Cor. xii. 13, "By one spirit we are all baptized in *one body*, whether we be Jews or Gentiles." Gal. iii. 28, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all *one* in Christ Jesus;" that is, under the gospel dispensation. Ephes. ii. 14, 15, 16, "For he is our peace, who has made both [Jews and Gentiles] *one*, and has broken down the middle wall of partition between us, [Jews and Gentiles.] Having abolished by his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments, contained in ordinances, for to make in himself, of twain, *one new man*, so making peace; and that he might reconcile both unto God in *one body* by the cross, having slain the enmity thereby."

80. And that this union or coalition, between believing Jews and Gentiles, is to be understood of the believing Gentiles being taken into that church and covenant, in which the Jews were before the gospel dispensation was erected, and out of which the unbelieving Jews were cast, is evident from the following considerations.

81. *First*. That Abraham, the head, or root of the Jewish nation,

(*) So the word *ποιμν* signifies; and so our translators have rendered it in all the other places, where it is used in the New Testament. See Mat. xxvi.

31. Luke ii. 8. 1 Cor. ix. 7. And here also it should have been translated *flock*, not *fold*.

tion, is the *father of us all*. Rom. iv. 16, 17, "Therefore it is of faith, that it might be by grace; to the end that the promise might be sure to all the seed; not to that only which is of the law, [the Jews] but to that also which is of the faith of Abraham, [the believing Gentiles] who is the *father of us all*, (as it is written, I have made thee a father of many nations) before him whom he believed,"—that is to say, in the account and purpose of God, whom he believed, he is the *father of us all*. Abraham, when he stood before God and received the promise, did not, in the account of God, appear as a private person, but as the father of us all; as the head and father of the whole future church of God, from whom we were all, believing Jews and Gentiles, to descend, as we were to be accepted, and interested in the divine blessing and covenant after the same manner as he was; namely, by faith, Gal. iii. 6, &c. "Even as Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness. Know ye therefore, that they which are of faith, the same are the children of Abraham. For the Scripture foreseeing that God would justify," would take into his church and covenant, "the Heathen through faith, preached before the gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations be blessed. So then they which be of faith [of what country soever they are, Heathens as well as Jews] are blessed [justified, taken into the kingdom and covenant of God] together with believing Abraham" [and into that very covenant which was made with him and his seed.] In this covenant were the Jews during the whole period of their dispensation, from Abraham to Moses, and from Moses to Christ. For the covenant with Abraham was with him, and with his "seed after him," Gen. xvii. 7. "To Abraham and his seed were the promises made," Gal. iii. 16. And the Apostle in the next verse tells us, that [the promises or] "the covenant, that was confirmed before of God in Christ, the law, which was [given by Moses] four hundred and thirty years after, could not disannul, that it should make the promise (or covenant with Abraham) of none effect." Consequently, the Jews, during the whole period of the law, or Mosaical dispensation, were under the covenant with Abraham: and into that same covenant the apostle argues, Rom. iv. and Gal. iii, that the believing Gentiles are taken. For which reason he affirms, that they are "no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints," that is, the patriarchs, &c. And that the great mystery not understood in other ages, was this; "that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body" with his church and children the Jews, Eph. ii. 19. iii. 5, 6.

82. *Secondly*. Agreeably to this sentiment, the believing Gentiles are said to partake of all the spiritual privileges which the Jews enjoyed, and from which the unbelieving Jews fell; and to be taken into that kingdom and church of God out of which they were cast.

83. Mat. xx. 1—16. In this parable the *vineyard* is the kingdom of heaven, into which God, the householder, hired the Jews early in the morning; and into the same *vineyard* he hired the Gentiles at the eleventh hour, or an hour before sun-set.

84. Matt. xxi. 33—34. The husbandman, to whom the *vineyard* was first let, were the Jews; to whom God first sent his servants,

the prophets, Ver. 34—36. And at last he sent his *Son*, whom they slew, Ver. 37—39. And then the *vineyard* was let out to other husbandmen. Which our Saviour clearly explains, Ver. 43, “Therefore I say unto you, [Jews] the kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation [the believing Gentiles] bringing forth the fruits thereof.”—Hence it appears; that the very same kingdom of God, which the Jews once possessed, and in which the ancient prophets exercised their ministry one after another, is now in our possession: for it was taken from them and given to us.

85. Rom. xi. 17—24. The church or kingdom of God, is compared to an olive-tree, and the members of it to the branches. [42] “And if some of the branches, [the unbelieving Jews] be broken off, and thou,” Gentile Christian, “wert grafted in among them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive-tree;” that is, the Jewish church and covenant. Ver. 24, “For if thou,” Gentile Christian, “were cut out of the olive-tree, which is wild by nature, and were grafted, contrary to nature, into the good olive-tree;” &c.

86. 1 Pet. ii. 7, 8, 9, 10, “Unto *you*, Gentiles, who believe, he [Christ] is an honour: but unto *them* which be disobedient, [the unbelieving Jews] the stone which the builders disallowed, the same is made the head of the corner, and also a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence (*). *They* stumble at the word being disobedient, whereunto also they were appointed: [they are fallen from their privileges and honour, as God appointed they should, in case of their unbelief:] but *ye*, [Gentiles, are raised to the high degree from which they are fallen, and so] are a chosen generation, [11] a royal priesthood, [48] an holy nation, [46] a peculiar people [51]; that ye should shew forth the praises of him who hath called you out of heathenish darkness into his marvellous light.”

87. *Thirdly*. The Jews vehemently opposed the admission of the uncircumcised Gentiles into the kingdom and covenant of God, at the first preaching of the gospel. But if the Gentiles were not taken into the same church and covenant, in which the Jewish nation had so long gloried, why should they so zealously oppose their being admitted into it? or why so strenuously insist, that they ought to be circumcised in order to their being admitted? For what was it to them, if the Gentiles

(*) We render this passage thus,—“a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence, even to them which stumble at the word, being disobedient,” &c. as if it were one continued sentence. But thus violence is done to the text, and the apostle’s sense is thrown into obscurity and disorder, which is restored by putting a period after, offence, and beginning a new sentence, thus; “they stumble at the word,” &c. For observe; the apostle runs a double antithesis between the unbelieving Jews, and believing Gentiles. Ver. 7, ΤΜΗΝ ΕΝ Η ΤΗΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΟΥΣΙΝ ΑΠΕΙΘΟΥΣΙ ΔΕ, λίδον ον, &c. Ver. 8, ΟΙ ΠΡΟΣΚΛΗΘΕΝΤΙ ΤΩ ΛΟΓΩ, &c. Ver. 9, ΤΜΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΓΕΝΘΕ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ, &c. The particles δ and δε are frequently put for *he* and *they*, and are so translated. Take a few instances out of the many too numerous to be quoted Matt. xii. 3, 11, 39, &c. xiii. 20, 22. xiv. 17, 18. xvi. 7, 14. xviii. 30. xx. 5, 31. xxi. 25. xxii. 5, 19. xxvi. 15, 70. xxvii. 21, 66. xxviii. 15, 17. Mark viii. 28. ix. 32. x. 26. xii. 16. xiv. 46. Luke xxiii. 21, 22. Acts v. 33. viii. 25. xii. 15. xv. 3, 30. xvii. 18. xxiii. 18. xxviii. 5, 6. Heb. xi. 14. xii. 10. And in the last line of the Iliad. Ως ει γ’ αμφιπονταφιν Εκτορος υποδαμνα.

Gentiles were called, and taken into another kingdom and covenant, distinct, and quite different from that which they would have confined wholly to themselves, or to such only as were circumcised? It is plain the Gentiles might have been admitted into another kingdom and covenant, without any offence to the Jews, as they would still have been left in the sole possession of their ancient privileges. And the apostles could not have failed of using this as an argument to pacify their incensed brethren, had they so understood it. But seeing they never give the least intimation of this, it shews they understood the affair as the unbelieving Jews did; namely, that the Gentiles, without being circumcised, were taken into that kingdom of God, in which they and their forefathers had so long stood. And,

88. *Fourthly.* It is upon this foundation, (namely, that the believing Gentiles are taken into that church and kingdom in which the Jews once stood) that the apostles draw parallels, for caution and instruction, between the state of the ancient Jews, and that of the Christians. 1 Cor. x. 1—13, “Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant, how that all *our* fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized into Moses,—and did all eat of the same spiritual meat, and did all drink of the same spiritual drink.—But with many of them God was not well pleased: for they were overthrown in the wilderness. Now those things were *our examples*, to the intent we should not lust after evil things as *they* also lusted. Neither be ye idolaters, as were some of *them*,—neither let *us* provoke Christ as some of *them* provoked,” &c. Heb. iii. 7, to the end, “Wherefore as the Holy Ghost saith, To-day (*), when,” or while, “you hear his voice, harden not your hearts, as in—the day of temptation in the wilderness; when your fathers tempted me,—Wherefore I was grieved with that generation, and—swore in my wrath, they shall not enter into my rest. Take heed, brethren, lest there be in any of *you* an evil heart of unbelief.” Chap. iv. 1, “Let *us* therefore fear, lest a promise being left *us* of entering into his rest, any of *you* should seem to come short of it.” Ver. 2, “For unto *us* hath the gospel been preached as well as to *them*,” that is, we have the joyful promise of a happy state, or of entering into rest, as well as the Jews of old. Ver. 11, “Let *us* labour therefore to enter into that rest, lest any man fall after the same example of unbelief.”

89. *Fifthly.* Hence also the Scriptures of the Old Testament are represented as being written for *our* use and instruction, and to explain our dispensation as well as theirs. Mat. v. 17, “Think not that I am come to destroy the *law* and the *prophets*: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill.” And when our Saviour taught his disciples the things pertaining to his kingdom, he “opened to them the Scriptures,” which were then no other than the Old Testament, Luke iv. 17—22. xviii. 31.

xxiv.

(*) Σημερον ΕΑΝ της φωνης αυτης ακουσητε. ΕΑΝ [*if*] should here have been rendered *when*; as it is rendered 1 John iii. 2; and as it should have been rendered John xii. 32. xiv. 3. xvi. 7. 2 Cor. v. 1. In like manner the particle **ΟΤΑΝ** Psal. xcvi. 7, (whence the place is quoted) should have been translated *when* or *while*. For it is translated *when*, 1 Sam. xv. 17. Prov. iii. 24. iv. 12. Job vii. 4. xvii. 16. Psal. l. 18; and might have been so translated in other places.

xxiv. 27, "And beginning at Moses, and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning *himself*." Ver. 45, "Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures." Thus the apostles were instructed in the things pertaining to the gospel dispensation. And always in their sermons in the Acts, they confirm their doctrine from the Scriptures of the Old Testament. And in their Epistles they not only do the same, but also expressly declare, that those Scriptures were written as well for the benefit of the Christian as the Jewish church. Rom. xv. 4. After a quotation out of the Old Testament the apostle adds; "For whatsoever things were written *aforetime* were written for *our* learning; that *we* through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope." 1 Cor. ix. 9, "It is written in the law of Moses, thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn."—Ver. 10,—“For our sakes no doubt this is written.” 1 Cor. x. 11, "Now all these things, [namely, the before-mentioned privileges, sins, and punishments of the ancient Jews] happened unto *them* for ensamples; and they are written for *our* admonition, upon whom the ends of the earth are come." 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17, "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."

90. *Sixthly*. Agreeably to this notion, that the believing Gentiles are taken into that church or kingdom, out of which the unbelieving Jews are cast, the Christian church, considered in a body, is called by the same general names, as the church under the Old Testament,—*Israel* was the general name of the Jewish church; so also of the Christian; Gal. vi. 16, "As many as walk according to this rule peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the *Israel* of God." Rev. vii. 3, 4, speaking of the Christian church the angel said, "Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the *servants* of our God in their foreheads. And I heard the number of them that were sealed: and there were sealed an hundred and forty-four thousand, of all the tribes of the children of *Israel*." Rev. xxi. 10—13, "He shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, [the Christian church, 115] having the glory of God;—and had a wall great and high, and had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of *Israel*," [as comprehending the whole church.] Ver. 14, "And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve *apostles* of the *Lamb*."—*Jews*, was another running title of the church in our Saviour's time; and this also is applied to Christians. Rev. ii. 8, 9, "And unto the angel of the [Christian] church in Smyrna, write,—I know thy works and tribulation, and poverty; and I know the blasphemy of them who say they are *Jews* [members of the church of Christ] and are not, but, are the synagogue of Satan." And again, Chap. iii. 9.

C H A P. VI.

The particular Honours and Privileges of Christians, or of those in any Nation, who profess Faith in the Son of God, and the Terms signifying those Honours explained.

91. **SEVENTHLY.** In conformity to this sentiment, (namely, that the believing Gentiles are taken into that church, covenant and kingdom, out of which the unbelieving Jews were cast) the state, membership, privileges, honours and relations of professed Christians, particularly of believing Gentiles, are expressed by the same phrases with those of the ancient Jewish church; and therefore, unless we admit a very strange abuse of words, must convey the same general ideas of our present state, membership, privileges, honours and relations to God, as we are professed Christians. For instance;

92. I. As God *chose* his ancient people the Jews, and they were his *chosen* and *elect*; so now the whole body of Christians, Gentiles as well as Jews, are admitted to the same honour; as they are selected from the rest of the world, and taken into the kingdom of God, for the knowledge, worship and obedience of God, in hopes of eternal life. [11] Rom. viii. 33, "Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's *elect*?" &c. Eph. i. 4, "According as he hath *chosen* us [Gentiles, Chap. ii. 11.] in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy, and without blame before him in love." Col. iii. 12, "Put on therefore (as the *elect* of God, holy and beloved) bowels of mercies," &c. 2 Thes. ii. 13, "But we are bound to give thanks to God always for you, brethren, beloved of the Lord, because God hath from the beginning *chosen* you to salvation; through sanctification of the spirit, and belief of the truth." Tit. i. 1, "Paul a servant of God, and an apostle of Jesus Christ, according to the faith of God's *elect*, and the acknowledging of the truth, which is after godliness." 2 Tim. ii. 10, "Therefore I endure all things for the *elect*'s sake, that they also may obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus, with eternal glory." 1 Pet. i. 1, 2, "Peter—to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia, *elect* according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience." ii. 9, "Ye [Gentiles] are a *chosen* generation," &c. v. 13, "The church that is at Babylon, *elect*ed together with you, saluteth you."

93. II. The first step the goodness of God took in execution of his purpose of *election*, with regard to the Gentile world, was to rescue them from their wretched situation in the sin and idolatry of their Heathen state, and to bring them into the light and privileges of the gospel. With regard to which the language of Scripture is, 1. That he *delivered*, 2. *saved*, 3. *bought*, or *purchased*, 4. *redeemed* them. [12] Gal. i. 4, "Who gave himself for our sins, that he might *deliver* us from this present evil world," the vices and lusts in which the world is involved. Col. i. 12, 13, "Giving thanks to the Father,

ther,—who has (*) *delivered* us from the Power of [Heathenish] Darknes, [Acts xxvi. 18. 1 Pet. ii. 9. Eph. iv. 18. v. 8.] and translated us into the Kingdom of his dear Son." And thus, consequentially, are "*delivered* from the Wrath to come," 1 Thes. i. 10.

94. 1 Cor. i. 18, "For the Preaching of the Cross is to them that perish, Foolishness, but unto us which are *saved*, it is the Power of God." vii. 16, "What knowest thou, O Wife, whether thou shalt *save* thy Husband? or how knowest thou, O Man, whether thou shalt *save* thy Wife?" That is, convert her to the Christian Faith. x. 33, "Even as I please all Men in all Things, not seeking mine own Profit, but the Profit of many that they may be *saved*." Eph. ii. 8, "For by Grace are ye *saved* through Faith." 1 Thes. ii. 16, The Jews "forbid us to speak to the Gentiles that they might be *saved*." 1 Tim. ii. 4, "Who will have all Men to be *saved*, and to come unto the Knowledge of the Truth." 2 Tim. i. 9, "Who hath *saved* us, and called us with an holy Calling, not according to our Works, but according to his own Purpose and Grace." In this general sense *saved* is in other Places applied to both Jews and Gentiles; particularly to the Jews, Rom. ix. 27. x. 1. xi. 26.—Hence God is stiled our *Saviour*, Tit. iii. 4, 5. "But after that the Kindness and Love of God our *Saviour* toward

(*) "Who hath delivered us," saith the Apostle, ranking himself among the Gentile Christians. For as he was the Apostle of the Gentiles, he might, as he frequently doth, well consider himself as one of their Body. See Note on Rom. v. 1. "Who hath delivered us," may we also properly say, as being the Posterity of Heathenish Ancestors, whose vain Conversation we also should have received by Tradition, had not the Grace of God appeared and redeemed us from it, 1 Pet. i. 18. Though but one Generation of the Jewish Nation were, in Fact, delivered from Egyptian Bondage; yet as that Deliverance was attended with great and happy Consequences to all succeeding Generations, so all succeeding Generations were instructed to say, (Deut. xxvi. 6, &c.) "The Egyptians evil intreated *us*, and afflicted *us*,—but the Lord brought *us* forth out of Egypt with a mighty hand,—and he hath brought *us* into this Place, and hath given *us* this Land."—In like manner, though but one Generation of our Ancestors were, in Fact, converted from Heathenism, by the Light of the Gospel, yet, as all the happy Effects of that great Event are handed down to us, we may with the strictest Propriety say, "he hath delivered *us* from Heathenish Darknes, and translated *us* into the Kingdom of the Son of his Love." A Nation, in all Ages, is reckoned the same People.

And here it may be further observed; that the Church, in all Ages, is in Scripture considered but as one Body, Mat. xxii. 31, "Have ye not read what was spoken unto *you* by God;" though spoken to their Ancestors about 1500 Years before they were born. See also Mark x. 3. John vi. 32.—vi. 19, 22. So 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52, "Behold I shew you a Mystery; *we* shall not all sleep [die,] but we shall all be changed, in a Moment,—at the last Trump," &c. 1 Thes. iv. 15—17, "*We*," or those of us, "who are alive, and remain unto the Coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them which are asleep. For—the Dead in Christ shall rise first: then *we* who are alive and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the Clouds," &c. The Apostle doth not here intimate, (as some learned Men have fancied) that the Coming of our Lord would be in the then present Generation; but he considers all Christians, in all Generations to the End of the World, as one Body. And therefore, he might properly enough say, in relation to those Christians who should be alive at the Coming of our Lord, *We*, or those of us, *who are then alive*.

toward man appeared, not by works of righteousness we have done, but according to his mercy he *saved* us. 1 Tim. i. 1, "Paul an apostle of Jesus Christ by the commandment of God our *Saviour*." ii. 3. Tit. i. 3. Rom. xi. 11, "Through their [the Jews] fall, *salvation* is come to the Gentiles." And as this salvation is by Jesus Christ, he also is frequently called our *Saviour*.

95. Acts xx. 28, "Feed the church of God, which he has *purchased* with his own blood." 1 Cor. vi. 20, "And ye are not your own; for ye are *bought* (*) with a price." vii. 23, "Ye are *bought* with a price." 2 Pet. ii. 1,—"*False prophets*—shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that *bought* them." Rev. v. 9, "Thou wast slain and hast redeemed [*bought*] us to God by thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people and nation."

96. Tit. iii. 14, "Who gave himself for us, that he might *redeem* us from all iniquity."—1 Pet. i. 18, "Ye were not *redeemed* with corruptible things as silver and gold, from your vain [Heathenish] conversation, received by tradition from your fathers; but with the precious blood of Christ."—And at the same time he *redeemed* or bought us from death, or "the curse of the law," Gal. iii. 13. And the Jews, in particular, from the law, and the condemnation to which it subjected them, Gal. iv. 5.—Hence frequent mention is made of "the *redemption* which is in Jesus Christ," Rom. iii. 24. 1 Cor. i. 30. Eph. i. 7. Col. i. 14. Heb. ix. 12, 15. Hence also Christ is said to give himself a *ransom* for us, Mat. xx. 28. Mark x. 45. 1 Tim. ii. 6, "Who gave himself a *ransom* for all."

97. III. As God sent the gospel to bring Gentile Christians out of Heathenism, and invited, and made them welcome to the honours and privileges of his people, he is said to *call* them, and they are his *called*. [16] Rom. i. 6. 7, "Among whom are ye also *called* of Jesus Christ. To all that are at Rome *called* saints." viii. 28. 1 Cor. i. 9, "God is faithful, by whom ye were *called* into the fellowship of his Son." vii. 20. Gal. i. 6, "I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that *called* you." v. 13. Eph. iv. 1, "I—beseech you, that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are *called*." iv. 4. 1 Thes. ii. 12, "That ye walk worthy of God who has *called* you unto his kingdom and glory." iv. 7, "God has not *called* us unto uncleanness, but unto holiness." 2 Tim. i. 9, "Who hath *saved* us, and *called* us with an holy calling; not according to our works," &c. 1 Pet. i. 15, "But as he which hath *called* you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation." ii. 9, "Ye [Gentile Christians] are a chosen generation,—to shew forth the praises of him who hath *called* you out of darkness into his marvellous light."

98. Note; the Jews also were called, Rom. ix. 24, "Even us whom he has *called*, not of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles." 1 Cor. i. 24. vii. 18, "Is any Man *called* being circumcised." Heb. ix. 15. But the Calling

or

(*) How buying is to be understood in a moral figurative sense, see the note [14]. Christ bought us, as he did with much labour and suffering, what was in its own nature proper to free us from ignorance and sin, and to purify us into a peculiar people fitted for eternal happiness: and as what he did was, with respect to God, the lawgiver and judge, a proper ground and reason for pardoning sin, and conferring all other blessings. See more [145, &c.]

of the Jews must be different from that of the Gentiles. The Gentiles were called into the Kingdom of God as Strangers and Foreigners, who had never been in it before. But the Jews then were Subjects of God's Kingdom under the old Form; and therefore could be called only to submit to it, as it was new modelled under the Messiah. Or they were called to Repentance, to the Faith, Allegiance and Obedience of the Son of God, and to the Hope of eternal Life through him; whom rejecting, they were cast out of God's peculiar Kingdom.

99. IV. As God formed believing Jews and Gentiles into one Body; and as he brought the Gentiles out of Darkness and Idolatry into a new and happy State of Existence, he is said, 1. to *create* and *make* them, and they are his *Work* and *Workmanship*, 2. to *quicken* them, or to give them *Life*, 3. to have *begotten*, or *regenerated* them. [17] Eph. ii. 10, "We are his *Workmanship*, *created* in Christ Jesus unto good Works." Col. iii. 10, "And have put on the new Man, [the Christian State] which is renewed in Knowledge after the Image of him that *created* him." Ver. 11, "Where [in which new Man] there is neither Greek nor Jew," &c. Eph. ii. 15, "To *make* [or *create*] in himself of twain one new Man." iv. 24, "And that he put on the new Man, which after God is *created* in Righteousness and true Holiness." Jam. i. 18, "Of his own Will begat he us with the Word of Truth, that we [Christian Jews] should be a Kind of First-fruits of his *Creatures*." [The Jews were first converted by the Preaching of the Gospel, that they might be, like the First-fruits under the Law, the best of the Kind, and the most exemplary Christians.] Rom. xiv. 20, "For Meat destroy not the *Work* of God." [The Work of God here is a Christian; and destroying him is, in the Sense of the Apostle, giving him Occasion to renounce his Christian Profession.]

100. Eph. ii. 5, "When we were dead in Sins God hath quickened us [Gr. made us to *live*] together with Christ, (by Grace ye are saved)." Col. ii. 13. Rom. vi. 13, "Yield yourselves unto God, as those that are *alive* from the Dead," [the Heathen World, who are represented as *dead*, Eph. v. 14. 1 Pet. iv. 6. Hence corrupt Christians, who live like Heathens, are said to be *dead* while they *live*, or, by their Profession have a Name to live, 1. Tim. v. 6. Rev. iii. 1.]

101. Jam. i. 18, "Of his own will *begat* he us with the Word of Truth, that we should be a Kind of First-fruits of his *Creatures*." 1 Pet. i. 3, "Blessed be the God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who—hath *begotten* us again [*ἀναγεννησας* regenerated us] to a lively Hope." Ver. 23, "Being born," begotten, "again [*ἀναγεννηθημεν* regenerated,] not of corruptible Seed, but of incorruptible, by the Word of God." Tit. iii. 5, "Not by Works of Righteousness we have done, but according to his Mercy he *saved* [93] us, by the *Washing* [125] of *Regeneration*, and Renewing of the Holy Ghost." 1 John v. 1,—“Every one that loveth him that *begat*, loveth him also that is *begotten* of him.” Ver. 18,—“He that is *begotten* of God keepeth himself [is obliged, [274] is furnished with Means proper to enable him, to keep himself] and [keeping himself] that wicked One toucheth him not.”

102. Thus as God has created us Christians, and made us live, we have received a new being or existence, [20]. 1 Cor. i. 30, "Of him *are* ye"

ye] [Gentiles, who once were "the things which *are not*," Ver. 28.] 2 Cor. v. 17, "If any man be in Christ, he is a *new creature*: old things are past away, behold, all things are become new." Further,

103. V. Hence, as he made Christians live and begat them, especially the believing Gentiles, by bringing them into a new and happy state of being, (1.) He sustains the character of a *Father*, and (2.) They are his *children*, his *sons* and *daughters*, which were *born* to him. [21] Rom. i. 7, "To all [Christians] that be at Rome,—Grace to you, and peace from God our *Father*." 1 Cor. i. 3. 2 Cor. i. 2. Gal. i. 4. Eph. i. 2. Phil. i. 2. iv. 20. Col. i. 2. 1 Thes. i. 1, 3. iii. 11, 13. 2 Thes. i. 2. ii. 16, "God, even our *Father*, which hath loved us, and given us everlasting consolation, and good hope through grace." 1 Tim. i. 2. Philem. 3. Rom. viii. 15, "Ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby ye cry *Abba, Father*." Gal. iv. 6. 2 Cor. vi. 17,—"*Be ye separate [from the Gentile world] and I will receive you, and will be a Father unto you.*"

104. Rom. viii. 16, 17, "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the *children* of God. And if *children*, then heirs," &c. John i. 12, "As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons [Gr. *children*] of God,—which were born, not of blood, &c. but of God." 1 John iii. 1, "Behold what manner of love the *Father* hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons [Gr. *children*] of God." Rom. ix. 26, "And it shall come to pass, that in the place where it was said unto them, ye [Gentiles] are not my people, there shall they be called the children [Gr. *sons*] of the living God." 2 Cor. vi. 17,—"*I will be a Father unto you, and ye [believing Gentiles] shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.*" Gal. iii. 26, "For ye are all [Jews and Gentiles] the children [Gr. *sons*] of God by faith in Jesus Christ." Eph. i. 5.

105. 1 Pet. i. 22, 23, "Seeing ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth through the Spirit, unto unfeigned love of the brethren, see ye love one another with a pure heart fervently. Being *born* [begotten] again [regenerated] not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which lives and abides for ever." ii. 1, 2, "Whereof laying aside all malice, and all guile, and hypocrisies, and envies, and evil-speaking; as new-born babes desire the sincere milk of the world, that ye may grow thereby." 1 John v. 4, "For whatsoever is *born* of God overcometh the world: and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." [Psal. xxii. 31, "They shall come and shall declare his righteousness unto a people that shall be *born*, that he has done this."] "

106. VI. And, as the whole body of Christians are the children of one Father, even of God, this naturally establisheth among themselves the mutual and endearing relation of *brethren* and *sisters*, and they are obliged to regard and love each other accordingly. [25] Acts ix. 30. xv. 36, "Let us go and visit our *brethren* in every city." 1 Cor. v. 11. vi. 5, 8. vii. 12, 15. Col. i. 2, "To the faithful *brethren* in Christ." 2 Thes. iii. 6. Philem. 16. Rom. xii. 10. 1 Pet. i. 22. iii. 8, "Love as *brethren*." Rom. xvi. 1, "I commend—Phebe our *sister*." Jam. ii. 15, "If a *brother* or *sister* be naked," &c.

And, as we stand in the relation of children to the God and Father
of

of our Lord Jesus Christ, hence it is that we are his *Brethren*, and he is considered as the *First-born* among us." Mat. xxviii. 10. John xx. 17, "Jesus saith,—Go to my *Brethren*, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father, and to my God, and your God." Heb. ii. 11, 17. Rom. viii. 29,—“That he might be the *First-born* among many *Brethren*.”

107. VII. And the Relation of God, as a Father, to us Christians, who are his Children, will lead our Thoughts to a clear Idea of our being, as we are called, the *House* or *Family*, of God, or of Christ. [26] 1 Tim. iii. 15, “But if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how to behave thyself in the *House* of God, which is the Church of the living God.” Heb. iii. 6, “But Christ as a Son over his own *House*; whose *House* are we, [Christians,] if we hold fast the Confidence and Rejoicing of the Hope firm unto the End.” Heb. x. 21, “And having a great High-priest over the *House* of God,” &c. 1 Pet. ix. 17, “For the Time is come that Judgment must begin at the *House* of God; [that is, when the Christian Church shall undergo sharp Trials and Sufferings;] and if it first begin at us [Christians, who are the House or Family of God,] what shall the End be of them that obey not the Gospel?” [that is, of the infidel World, who lie out of the Church. See Rom. i. 5. xv. 18. 1 Pet. i. 22.] Eph. ii. 19,—“We are of the *Household* [Domestics] of God.”—iii. 14, 15,—“I bow my Knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole Family in Heaven and Earth is named,” &c.

108. VIII. Further; as the Land of Canaan was the Estate, or Inheritance, belonging to the Jewish Family or House, so the Heavenly Country is given to the Christian House, or Family for their *Inheritance*. [27] Acts xx. 32, “And now, Brethren, I commend you to God, and to the Word of his Grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an *Inheritance* among all them which are sanctified.” Col. ii. 24, “Knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the Reward of the *Inheritance*.” Heb. ix. 15, —“He is the Mediator of the New Testament,—that they which are called might receive the Promise of eternal *Inheritance*.” 1 Pet. i. 4, “God has begotten us again,—to an *Inheritance* incorruptible, undefiled, and that passeth not away, reserved in Heaven for us (*). Hence we have the title

(*) As the Share, which any particular Jews had in the Land of Canaan, is frequently considered as their Lot and Inheritance [*κληρος* κ; *κληρονομία*] among God's People, so some judicious Persons suppose, that the Apostles consider that Share and Interest, which any Part of the Christian Church have in the present Privileges of the Kingdom of God, as their *Inheritance*, or the Part of their Lot. Acts xxvi. 18,—“To turn the Gentiles from Darkness to Light, and from the Power of Satan unto God, that they may receive Forgiveness of Sins, and an *Inheritance* [or Lot, *κληρον*] among them which are sanctified by Faith that is in me.” So we may understand Eph. i. 11, 14, 18. [See Locke on these Verses] Col. i. 12, “Giving thanks to the Father who has made us meet to be Partakers [or rather, to be taken into a Part] of the *Inheritance* [or Lot] of the Saints in Light;” that is, who has vouchsafed you a Share in the Light of the Gospel, which he now affords to his *Saints*, [127] having freed you from your former Gentile Darkness, and “translated you into the Kingdom of the Son of his Love;” as it follows in the next Verse, Ver. 13. It is thus, perhaps, that the Gentiles are said to be Fellow-*Heirs* with the Jews, Eph. iii. 6. “That the Gentiles should be Fellow-*Heirs*, and of the same Body, and Partakers of his Promise in Christ, by the Gospel.”

title of *heirs*. Tit. iii. 7, "That being justified by his grace, we should be made *heirs* according to the hope of eternal life." Jam. ii. 5,—“Hath not God chosen the poor of this world, rich in faith, and *heirs* of the kingdom, which he has promised to them that love him.” Rom. viii. 17. 1 Pet. iii. 7.

109. And as Canaan was considered as the rest of the Jews, so in reference to our trials and afflictions in this world, Heaven is considered as the *rest* of Christians. [28] 2 Thes. i. 7, “And to you who are troubled, *rest* with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from Heaven.” Heb. iv. 1, “Let us therefore fear, lest a promise being left us of entering into his *rest*, any of you should seem to come short of it. For unto us hath the gospel been preached as well as to them;” that is, we have the joyful promise of entering into rest, as well as the Jews of old. Ver. 9, “There remains therefore a *rest* for the people of God;” that is, for Christians now in this world, as well as for the Jews formerly in the wilderness. Which is the point the apostle is proving from Ver. 3, to 10.

110. IX. Thus Christians, as well as the ancient Jews, are the house or family of God: or, we may conceive the whole body of Christians formed into a *nation*, having God at their head; who on this account is stiled *our God*, governor, protector, or king; and we his *people*, subjects or *servants*. [29] 1 Pet. ii. 9, “Ye are—an holy *nation*.” Rom. v. 11, “And not only so, but we [Gentile Christians] joy [Gr. glory] in *God*,” as well as the Jews, who gloried in God as their God. Chap. ii. 17. Heb. xii. 23, “Ye are come [by your Christian profession and privileges] to *God*, the judge of all.” Ver. 29, “*Our God* is a consuming fire.” 1 Cor. vi. 11. 2 Cor. vi. 16,—“As God hath said,—I will be their *God*, and they shall be my *people*.” Heb. viii. 10, “For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, faith the Lord; I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts; and I will be to them a *God*, and they shall be my *people*. Rom. vi. 22,—“Being made free from sin, and become the *servants* of God.” 1 Pet. ii. 16, “As free, and not using your liberty as a cloak of maliciousness, but as the *servants* of God.”

111. Hence conversion from Heathenism to Christianity is “turning from Satan, vanities, idols unto God, to *serve* the living and true God,” Acts xiv. 15. xxvi. 18, 20. 1 Thes. i. 9.

112. Hence also the end of our redemption by Christ is described by “bringing us to God,” by “redeeming us to God,” 1 Pet. iii. 18. Rev. v. 9.—And apostacy from the Christian profession is expressed by “departing from the living God,” Heb. iii. 12.

113. And, as God has constituted Jesus Christ, the head, king, and governour of the church, so he is frequently stiled *our Lord*, and we his *servants*. Rom. i. 3, “Concerning his son Jesus Christ *our Lord*,”—&c. Eph. vi. 6, “As the *servants* of Christ.” Col. iii. 24. Rev. i. 1, —“To shew unto his *servants* things which must shortly come to pass; and

But observe; *Inheritance*, thus understood, must include the *Heavenly* and *Eternal Inheritance*, the promise of which is a principal part of our present privileges.

and he sent and signified it unto his *servant* John.—ii. 20, “calls herself a prophetess—to seduce *my servants*.”

114. X. And it is in reference to our being a society peculiarly appropriated to God, and under his special protection and government, that we are called the *city* of God, the *holy city*. [34] Heb. xii. 22,—“Ye are come unto—the *city* of the living God.” Rev. xi. 2,—“And the *holy city* shall they tread under foot forty and two months.” This city is described in some future happy state, Rev. 21st, and 22d chapters.

115. Hence the whole Christian community, or church, is denoted by the city *Jerusalem*, and sometimes by *Mount Zion*. [35] Gal. iv. 26, “But *Jerusalem*, which is above, is free, which is the mother of us all.”—In her reformed, or future happy state, she is the *New Jerusalem*, Rev. iii. 12. xxi. 2. Heb. xii. 22, “Ye are come unto *Mount Zion*,” &c. Rev. xiv. 1.

116. Hence also we are said to be *written*, or enrolled, in the *book* of God, or, which comes to the same thing, of the Lamb, the Son of God. [36] Rev. iii. 5, “He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the *book* of life.” xxii. 19, “And if any man take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the *book* of life, and out of the *holy city*,” &c. which shews the names of such are in the book of life as may be blotted out; consequently, that it is the privilege of all professed Christians.

117. And, whereas the believing Gentiles were once strangers, aliens, not a people, *enemies*; now (Eph. ii. 19.) they “are no more *strangers*, and *foreigners*, but *fellow-citizens* with the saints.” [37] 1 Pet. ii. 10, “Which in time past were *not a people*, but are now the *people of God*.” Now we are at *peace* with God, Rom. v. 1. Now we are *reconciled*, and become the servants of God, the subjects of his kingdom, Rom. v. 10. 1 Thes. i. 9. 2 Cor. v. 18, 19.

118. On the other hand; the body of the Jewish nation, (having through unbelief rejected the Messiah, and the gospel, and being, therefore, cast out of the city and kingdom of God) are, in their turn, at present, represented under the name and notion of *enemies*; Rom. xi. 28, “As concerning the gospel, they are *enemies* for your sake.”

119. XI. The kind and particular regards of God to the converted Gentiles, and their relation to Jesus Christ, is also signified by that of a *husband* and *wife*; and his taking them into his covenant is represented by his *espousing* them. [38] 2 Cor. xi. 2, “For I am jealous over you with godly jealousy: for I have *espoused* you to one *husband*, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ.” Eph. v. 22—32, “Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church: and he is the saviour of the body. Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be unto their own husbands in every thing. Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it that he might sanctify and cleanse it, &c. So ought men

men to love their wives as their own bodies,——even as the Lord the church: for we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery: but I speak concerning Christ and his church.”

120. Hence the Christian church, or community, is represented as a *mother*, and particular members as her *children*. [39] Gal. iv. 26, “But Jerusalem, which is above, is free, which is the *mother* of us all.” Ver. 27, “For it is written, Rejoice thou barren that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not: for the desolate hath many more *children*, than she which hath an husband.” Ver. 28, “Now we, brethren, as Isaac was, are the *children* of Promise.”——Ver. 31, “So then, brethren, we are not *children* of the bond woman, but of the free.”

121. Hence also, from the notion of the Christian church being the spouse of God in Christ, her corruption and idolatry come under the name of *fornication* and *adultery*; and she takes the character of a *whore*. [40] Rev. ii. 20,——“Thou sufferest that woman Jezebel——to teach and to seduce my servants to commit *fornication*, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols. And I gave her space to repent of her *fornication*, and she repented not. Behold, I will cast her into a bed, and them that commit *adultery* with her into great tribulation, except they repent.” Rev. xvii. 1,——“Come hither, I will shew thee the judgment of the great *whore*,——with whom the kings of the earth have committed *fornication*.” Ver. 15, 16. chap. xix. 2.

122. XII. As God, by Christ, exercises a particular providence over the Christian church, in supplying them with all spiritual blessings, guiding them through all difficulties, and guarding them in all spiritual dangers, he is their *shepherd*, and they his *flock*, his *sheep*. [41] John x. 11, “I am the good *shepherd*.” Ver. 16, “And other *sheep* I have, which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one *flock* and one *shepherd*.” Acts xx. 28, 29. Heb. xiii. 20. 1 Pet. ii. 25, “For ye were as *sheep* going astray; but are now returned to the *shepherd* and overseer of your souls.” v. 2, 3, 4, “Feed the *flock* of God,” &c.

123. XIII. Nearly on the same account, as God, by Christ, has established the Christian church, and provided all means for our happiness and improvement in knowledge and virtue, we are compared to a *vine*, and a *vineyard*, and God to the *husbandman*, who *planted* and *dresseth* it; and particular members of the community are compared to *branches*. [42] John xv. 1, 2, “I am the true *vine*, and my father is the *husbandman*. Every *branch* in me that beareth not fruit, he taketh away; and every branch that beareth fruit, he purgeth it,” &c. Ver. 5, “I am the *vine*, ye are the *branches*.” Mat. xv. 13, “Every plant which my heavenly father hath not *planted*, shall be rooted up.” Rom. vi. 5, “If we have been *planted* together in the likeness of his death: we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection.” Mat. xx. 1. The *vineyard* into which labourers were hired is the Christian as well as Jewish church; and so chap. xxi. 33. Mark xii. 1. Luke xx. 9. 1 Cor. iii. 9, “Ye are God’s *husbandry*.” Rom. xi. 17, “And if some of the branches [Jews] be broken off, and thou being a wild olive-tree,

were grafted in among them, and with them partake of the root and fatness of the *olive-tree*;" &c. See also Ver. 24.

124. XIV. As Christians are, by the will of God, set apart, and appropriated in a special manner to his honour, service and obedience, and furnished with extraordinary means and motives to holiness, so they are said to be *sanctified*. [43] 1 Cor. i. 2, "Unto the church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are *sanctified* (*) in Christ Jesus." vi. 11, "And such were some of you: but ye are washed, but ye are *sanctified*, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the spirit of our God." Heb. ii. 11, "For both he that sanctifieth, and they who are *sanctified*, are all of one." x. 29, "Of how much sorer punishment, shall he be thought worthy, who has trodden under foot the son of God, who hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was *sanctified*, an unholy thing, and has done despite unto the spirit of grace." Jude 1, "Jude the servant of Jesus Christ,—to them that are *sanctified* by God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ, and called."

125. In the same sense, I apprehend, Christians are said to be *washed*. [44] 1 Cor. vi. 11,—“Such were some of you: but ye are *washed*.” Tit. iii. 5, “Not by works of righteousness, which we have done, but according to his mercy he *saved* [93] us, by the *washing* of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost” [poured out in its miraculous gifts.] 2 Pet. ii. 22,—“The sow that was *washed*, [the apostate Christian] is returned to her wallowing in the mire.”

126. And as the believing Gentiles, before they were thus washed, were accounted unclean, it is for this reason, the children of Christians are declared not to be *unclean*. [45] 1 Cor. vii. 14, “For the unbelieving husband is *sanctified* by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is *sanctified* by the husband: else were your children *unclean*, [in the state of Heathens;] but now are they holy,” [that is to say, in the state of all other Christians, as it is represented in the following paragraph].

127. XV. Hence it is, that Christians are stiled *holy*, *holy* brethren, a *holy* nation, and *saints*. [46] Col. iii. 12, “Put on therefore (as the elect of God, *holy* and beloved, bowels of mercies,” &c. 1 Thes. v. 27, “I charge that this epistle be read to all the *holy* brethren.” Heb. iii. 1, “Wherefore, *holy* brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling,” &c. 1 Pet. ii. 9. “But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a *holy* nation.” Acts ix. 32, “As Peter passed through all quarters, he came down also to the *saints* which dwelt at Lydda.” Ver. 41, “And when he had called the *saints* and widows.” Acts xxvi. 10. Rom. i. 7, “To all that be in Rome beloved of God, called *saints*.” xii. 13. xv. 25, 26. xvi. 15. 1 Cor. i. 2. 2 Cor. i. 1, “Paul unto the church of God at Corinth, with all the *saints* which are in Achaia.” 2 Cor. xiii. 13. Phil. iv. 22, “All the *saints* salute you.” Eph. i. 1. Phil. i. 1. Col. i. 2, “To the *saints* at Ephesus, Philippi, Colossie.”

128. XVI. Further; by the presence of God in the Christian church, and our being by profession consecrated to him, we, as well as

(*) ΗΓΙΑΣΜΕΝΟΙΣ; as Deut. xxxiii. 3. כל קדשיו בידך. πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγιασμένοις ὑπο τῆς χάριτος. Septuag.

as the ancient Jews, are made his *house*, or *temple*, which God has *built*, and in which he *dwells*, or *walks*. [47] 1 Pet. ii. 5, "Ye also as lively stones are built up a spiritual *house*," &c. 1 Cor. iii. 9,—"Ye are God's *building*." Ver. 16, 17, "Know ye not that ye," Christians, "are the *temple* of God, and that the spirit of God *dwelleth* in you? If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy: for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are." 2 Cor. vi. 16, "And what agreement hath the *temple* of God," the Christian church, "with Idols? For ye are the *temple* of the living God; as God hath said, I will *dwell* in them, and *walk* in them." Eph. ii. 20, 21, 22, "And are *built* upon the foundation of the Apostles, &c. Christ Jesus being the chief corner stone; in whom all the building fitly framed together, groweth into an holy *temple* in the Lord: in whom you also are *builded* together, for an habitation of God, through the spirit." 2 Thess. ii. 4,—"So that he as God sitteth in the *temple* of God, shewing himself that he is God."

129. Note; here God is the supreme builder. Heb. iii. 3, "Every house is built by some one, but he that built all things is God." As if he had said; in erecting every dispensation subordinate builders are employed, but God is the supreme builder, who directs and establishes every constitution (*). And Christ, in the gospel church, is the builder next to him. Heb. iii. 3, "For this man was counted worthy of more glory than Moses, in as much as he, [Christ Jesus,] who hath builded the *house*, [the more honourable house,] hath the greater honour of the house;" that, is, resulting from the house. The more honourable the house, the more honourable the builder of it. Christ administered and built a more honourable constitution than Moses; and therefore is most justly intitled to an honour superior to his. Mat. xvi. 18, "Upon this rock will I build my church."—And, under Christ, the Apostles and Ministers are also builders. Rom. xv. 20. 1 Cor. iii. 10, 11, 12.

130. XVII. And, not only doth God, as our king, dwell in the Christian

(*) When he saith, "Every house is built by some person, but he who built all things is God," he evidently distinguishes between a *subordinate*, and *supreme* builder. But this distinction he needed not to have mentioned, had he not spoke of a *subordinate* builder before. For, if in the case under consideration, there be no *subordinate* builder at all, this distinction is nothing to his purpose. Then his argument would have been; Christ must build the house; because no one could build it but he; seeing no house is built by any but God. Whereas, contrariwise, he asserts a *subordinate* builder, and tells us such a one is consistent with God's being the *supreme*, original Builder. Christ therefore, whom alone they had mentioned before as a builder, must be a *subordinate* builder, distinct from God, the *supreme* builder; and this Verse must not be a part of his argument, but an explication of it; as 1 Cor. xi. 3, 12. xv. 27. He was aware it might be objected: "But do not you teach that we Christians are God's building?" 1 Cor. iii. 9. It is true, saith the Apostle; nor is my affirming, that Christ built the Christian church, at all inconsistent with it: for it must always be remembered, that in such cases God is the supreme and original workman. Whatever subordinate agents he may employ, he is notwithstanding the principal author of every constitution. This is one instance of the accuracy of the apostolic writings.

Christian church, as in his house, or temple; but he has also conferred on Christians the honours of *kings*, as he has redeemed us from the servitude of sin, made us lords of ourselves, and raised us *above* others, to sit on *thrones*, and to *judge*, and *reign* over them. And he has made us *priests* too, as we are peculiarly consecrated to God, and obliged to attend upon him, from time to time continually, in the solemn offices of religion, which he has appointed. [48] 1 Pet. ii. 5, "Ye also as lively stones are built up a spiritual house, an holy *priesthood*." Ver. 9, "But ye [Gentile Christians] are a chosen generation, a royal [or *kingly*] *priesthood*." Rev. i. 5, 6, "Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us *kings* and *priests* unto God and his Father," &c. v. 10, "And hath made us unto our God, *kings* and *priests*: and we shall *reign* on the earth." iii. 21, "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my *throne*, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne." ii. 26, 27, "And he that overcometh and keeps my words unto the end, to him will I give th power *over* the nations: (and he shall *rule* them with a rod of iron—) even as I received of my Father." 2 Tim. ii. 12, "If we suffer with him we shall also *reign* with him." 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3, "Do ye not know that the saints shall *judge* the world? Know ye not that we shall *judge* angels?"

131. XVIII. Thus the whole body of the Christian church is *separated* unto God from the rest of the world. And, whereas before the Gentile believers were *afar off*, lying out of the commonwealth of Israel; now they are *nigh*, as they are joined to God in covenant, have free access to him in the ordinances of worship, and, in virtue of his promise, a particular title to his regards and blessing. 2 Cor. vi. 17, "Wherefore come out from among them, and be *separate*, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you." Eph. ii. 13, "But now in Christ Jesus ye, who sometimes were *afar off*, are made *nigh* by the blood of Christ." [49, 50]

132. XIX. And, as God, in all these respects, has distinguished the Christian church, and sequestered them unto himself, they are stiled his *peculiar people*. Tit. ii. 14, "Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a *peculiar people*, zealous of good works." 1 Pet. ii. 9, "But ye are a chosen generation, a royal *priesthood*, an holy nation, a *peculiar people*," &c. [51]

133. XX. As Christians are a body of men particularly related to God, instructed by him in the rules of wisdom, devoted to his service, and employed in his true worship, they are called his *church* or congregation. [52] Acts xx. 28, "Feed the *church* of God." 1 Cor. x. 32, "Giving none offence to the *church* of God." xv. 9. Gal. i. 13, and elsewhere. Eph. i. 22, "Head over all things to the *church*: so frequently."—And particular societies are *churches*. Rom. xvi. 16, "The *churches* of Christ salute you." And so in several other places.

134. XXI. For the same reason, they are considered as God's possession, or *heritage*. 1 Pet. v. 3, "Neither as being lords over God's *heritage*, but being ensamples to the flock." [53] (*)

C H A P.

(*) The reader cannot well avoid observing, that the words and phrases,

C H A P. VII.

Reflections upon the foregoing Honours, Privileges and Relations of Christians.

FROM all this it appears,

135. (1.) That the believing Gentiles are taken into that kingdom and covenant, in which the Jews once stood, and out of which they were cast for their unbelief, and rejection of the Son of God; [91, 79] and that we Christians ought to have the same general ideas of our present religious state, membership, privileges, honours and relations to God, as the Jews had, while they were in possession of the kingdom. Only in some things the kingdom of God, under the gospel dispensation, differs much from the kingdom of God, under the Mosaical. As 1. In that it is now so constituted, that it admits, and is adapted to, men of all nations upon the earth, who believe in Christ. 2. That the law, as a ministration of condemnation, which was an appendage to the Jewish dispensation, is removed and annulled under the gospel. 3. And so is the polity, or civil state of the Jews, which was interwoven with their religion, but had no connection with the Christian religion. 4. The ceremonial part of the Jewish constitution is likewise abolished: for we are taught the spirit and duties of religion, not by figures and symbols, as sacrifices, offerings, washings, &c. but by express and clear precepts. 5. The kingdom of God is now put under the special government of the Son of God, who is the head and king of the church, to whom we owe faith and allegiance.

136. (2.) From the above-recited particulars it appears; That the Christian church is happy, and highly honoured with *privileges* of the most

by which our Christian privileges are express in the New Testament, are the very same with the words and phrases by which the privileges of the Jewish church are express in the Old Testament. Which makes good what St. Paul saith concerning the language in which the apostles declared "the things that are freely given to us of God;" 1 Cor. ii. 12, 13. "We," Apostles, "have received, not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God, that we might know the things which are freely given to us of God;" namely, the fore recited privileges and blessings. "Which things we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth," not in philosophic terms of human invention, "but which the holy spirit teacheth" in the writings of the Old Testament, the only scriptures from which they took their ideas and arguments, "comparing spiritual things" under that dispensation "with spiritual things" under the gospel.

Whence we may conclude, 1. That the holy Scriptures are admirably calculated to be understood in those things, which we are most of all concerned to understand. Seeing the same language runs through the whole, and is set in such a variety of lights, that one part is well adapted to illustrate another. An advantage I reckon peculiar to the sacred writings above all others. 2. It follows, That to understand the sense of the Spirit in the New, it is essentially necessary that we understand it's sense in the Old Testament.

most excellent nature. Which the apostles, who well understood this new constitution, were deeply sensible of. [54] Rom. i. 16, "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believes." v. 1, 2, 3, &c. "Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. By whom also we have access, by faith, into his grace wherein we stand, and rejoice [glory] in the hope and glory of God. And not only so, but we glory in tribulation also," &c. Ver. 11, "And not only so, but we also joy [glory] in God, through our Lord Jesus Christ," &c. Chap. viii. 31, &c. "What shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect?—Who is he that condemns?—Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?" Chap. ix. 23, 24, He has "made known the riches of his glory on the vessels of mercy, which he had afore prepared unto glory, even on us whom he has called, not of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles." 2 Cor. iii. 18, "But we all with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the spirit of the Lord." Eph. i. 3, 4, &c. "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ. According as he has chosen us in him," &c. &c.

137. And it is the duty of the whole body of Christians to *rejoice* in the goodness of God, to *thank* and *praise* him for all the benefits conferred upon them in the gospel." [55] Rom. xv. 10, "*Rejoice, ye Gentiles, with his people.*" Phil. iii. 1, "My brethren, *rejoice* in the Lord." iv. 4, "*Rejoice* in the Lord alway: again I say, *rejoice.*" 1. Thes. v. 16, "*Rejoice* evermore." Jam. i. 9. 1 Pet. i. 6, 8. Col. i. 12, "Giving *thanks* unto the Father, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light." ii. 7, "Rooted and built up in him, and established in the faith,—abounding therein with *thanksgiving.*" 1 Thes. v. 18. Heb. xiii. 15, "By him therefore let us offer the sacrifice of *praise* to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips, giving *thanks* to his name." Eph. i. 6, "To the *praise* of the glory of his grace, wherein he has made us accepted in the beloved." Ver. 12, 14.

138. (3.) Further, it is to be observed; that all the foregoing privileges, benefits, relations, and honours belong to *all* professed Christians without exception. [56] *God is the God, King, Saviour, Father, Husband, Shepherd, &c.* to them all. He *created, saved, bought, redeemed, he begot, he made, he planted, &c.* them all. And they are *all*, as created, redeemed, and begotten by him, his *people, nation, heritage; his children, spouse, flock, vineyard, &c.* We are all enriched with the blessings of the gospel, Rom. xi. 12, 13, 14; all reconciled to God, Ver. 15; all "the seed of Abraham, and heirs according to the promise," Gal. iii. 29; all partake of the "root and fatness of the good olive," the Jewish church; all the brethren of Christ, and members of his body; all are under grace; all have a right to the ordinances of worship; all are golden candlesticks in the temple of God, Rev. i. 12, 13, 20; even

even those who by reason of their misimprovement of their privileges are threatened with having the candlestick removed out of its place, ii. 5. Either every professed Christian is not in the church, or all the fore-mentioned privileges belong to every professed Christian. Which will appear more evidently if we consider,

139. That all the fore-mentioned privileges, honours and advantages are the effect of God's free grace, without regard to any prior righteousness, which deserved or procured the donation of them. [57] It was not for any goodness or worthiness, which God found in the heathen world, when the gospel was first preached to them; not for any works of obedience, or righteousness, which we in our Gentile state had performed, whereby we had rendered ourselves deserving of the blessings of the gospel; namely, to be taken into the family, kingdom, or church of God: By no means. It was not thus *of ourselves* that we are *saved, justified, &c.* So far from that, that the gospel, when first preached to us Gentiles, found us *sinners, dead in trespasses and sins, enemies* through wicked works, *disobedient*. Therefore, I say, all the fore-mentioned privileges, blessings, honours, &c. are the effects of God's free grace, or favour, without regard to any prior *works, or righteousness*, in the Gentile world, which procured the donation of them. Accordingly, they are always in scripture assigned to the *love, grace and mercy* of God, as the sole spring from whence they flow. John iii. 16, "For God so *loved* the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have everlasting life." Rom. v. 8, "But God commendeth his *love* to us, in that while we were sinners Christ died for us." Eph. ii. 4—9, 10, "But God, who is rich in *mercy*, for his great *love* wherewith he has loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ (by *grace* ye are saved) and hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus. That in ages to come he might shew the exceeding riches of his *grace*, in his *kindness* towards us, through Jesus Christ. For by *grace* are ye saved, through faith, and that [salvation is] not of yourselves, it is the the *gift* of God; not of *works*; so that (*) no man [nor Gentile, nor Jew] can boast. For we [Christians converted from Heathenism] are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained, that we should walk

(*) *ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν καυχῆσθαι*, *lest any man should boast*. So we render it; as if the Gospel Salvation were appointed to be not of works, to prevent our boasting; which supposes, we might have boasted, had not God taken this method to preclude it. Whereas, in truth, we had nothing to boast of. Neither Jew nor Gentile could pretend to any prior righteousness, which might make them worthy to be taken into the house and kingdom of God under his Son. Therefore, the Apostle's meaning is, "We are not saved from Heathenism, and translated into the church and kingdom of Christ, for any prior goodness, obedience, or righteousness we had performed. For which reason, no man can boast, as if he had merited the blessing," &c. This is the Apostle's sense; and the place should have been translated, *so that no man can boast*: for *οὐκ* signifies, *so that*. See Rom. iii. 19. 1 Cor. vii. 29. 2 Cor. i. 17. vii. 9. Gal. v. 17. Heb. ii. 17. vi. 18. Mark iv. 12.

walk in them. Wherefore remember, that ye being in time passed *Gentiles*," &c. 2 Thes. ii. 16. 1 John iii. 1, "Behold what manner of *love* the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God." iv. 9, "In this was manifested the *love* of God towards us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him." Ver. 10, "Herein is *love*; not that we loved God, but he *loved* us, [Ver. 19, He first *loved* us,] and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins." Ver. 11, "Beloved, if God so *loved* us, we ought also to love one another." Ver. 16. Tit. iii. 3—7, "For we ourselves were sometimes foolish, disobedient,—but after that the kindness and *love* of God our Saviour towards man appeared; not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his *mercy* he saved us,—that being justified by his *grace*, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life."

140. It is on account of this general love that Christians are honoured with the title of *beloved*. [59] Rom. i. 7, "To all that are in Rome *beloved* of God, called Saints." ix. 25, "I will call her [the Gentile church] *beloved*, which was not beloved." Col. iii. 12, "Put on therefore as the elect of God, holy and *beloved*, bowels of mercies," &c.

141. Rom. iii. 23, 24, "For all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God; being justified freely by his *grace*, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus." v. 2. 1 Cor. i. 4, "I thank my God—for the *grace* of God which is given you by Jesus Christ." Eph. i. 6, 7, "To the praise of the glory of his *grace*, whereby he has made us accepted in the beloved: in whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his *grace*." Col. i. 6. 2 Thes. i. 12. 2 Tim. i. 9, "Who has saved us, and called us with an holy calling, not according to our *works*, but according to his own purpose and *grace*, which was given us in Jesus Christ before the world began." Tit. ii. 11. Heb. xii. 15. [Hence grace, and the grace of God, is sometimes put for the whole Gospel, and all its blessings; as Acts xiii. 43, "Paul and Barnabas—persuaded them to continue in the *grace* of God." 2 Cor. vi. 1. 1 Pet. v. 12, "Testifying that this is the true *grace* of God in which we stand." 1 Cor. i. 4. Rom. v. 2. 2 Cor. vi. 1. Tit. ii. 11. Jude 4.] Rom. xii. 1, "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the *mercies* of God, that ye present your bodies," &c. xv. 9, "And that the Gentiles might glorify God for his *mercy*." 1 Pet. i. 3, "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according to his abundant *mercy* hath begotten us again to a lively hope."

142. In these texts, and others of the same kind, it is evident the *love*, *grace*, and *mercy* of God hath respect, not to particular persons in the Christian Church, but to the whole body, or whole societies; and therefore, are to be understood of that general *love*, *grace* and *mercy*, whereby the whole body of Christians is separated unto God, to be his peculiar people, favoured with extraordinary blessings. [61]

143. And it is with regard to this sentiment, and mode of speech, that the Gentiles, who before lay out of the church, and had not obtained mercy, are said, now to have *obtained mercy*. [62] Rom. xi. 30, "For as ye in times past," that is, in your heathen state,

state, "have not believed God, yet now have *obtained mercy*," &c. 1 Pet. ii. 10, "Which in time past were not a people, but are now the people of God : which had *not obtained mercy*, but now have *obtained mercy*."

144. Hence also we may conclude; that all the privileges and blessings of the gospel, even the whole of our redemption and salvation, are the effect of God's pure, free, original love and grace; to which he was inclined of his own motion, without any other motive besides his own goodness, (that is, without being persuaded, induced, or prevailed with to grant it by any other being or person) in mere kindness and goodwill to a sinful perishing world. These are "the things that are *freely given to us of God*," 1 Cor. ii. 12.

C H A P. VIII.

All the Grace of the Gospel dispensed to us in, by or through the Son of God. How this is to be understood, &c.

145. **N**EVERTHELESS, all the fore-mentioned Love, Grace and Mercy, is dispensed, or conveyed to us in, by or through the Son of God, *Jesus Christ*, our Lord. To quote all the places to this purpose would be to transcribe a great part of the New Testament. But it may suffice, at present, to review the texts under the numbers [139, 141]: from which texts it is evident; that "the grace," or favour, "of God is given unto us by Jesus Christ:" that he "has shewn the exceeding riches of his grace in his kindness to us, through Jesus Christ:" that he "has sent his Son into the world that we might live through him;—to be the propitiation [or mercy-seat] for our sins:" that "he died for us: that we who were afar off are made nigh by his blood: that God has made us accepted in the Beloved, [in his beloved Son] in whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins:" that "we are his workmanship created in Christ Jesus:" that "before the world began the purpose and grace of God," relating to our calling and salvation, "was given us in Christ Jesus: before the foundation of the world God chose us in Christ," Eph. i. 4. "We have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom also we have access into this grace wherein we stand," Rom. v. 1, 2. "God hath given to us eternal life: and this life is in his Son," 1 John v. 11.—Nothing is clearer from the whole current of Scripture, than that all the mercy and love of God, and all the blessings of the gospel, from first to last, from the original purpose and grace of God, to our final salvation in the possession of eternal life, is in, by or through Christ; and particularly, *by his Blood*, by the redemption which is in him, as "he is the propitiation," or atonement, "for the sins of the whole world," 1 John ii. 2. This can bear no dispute among Christians. The only difference that can

can be, must relate to the manner how these blessings are conveyed to us in, by or through *Christ*. Doubtless they are conveyed through his hands, as he is the minister, or agent, appointed of God to put us in possession of them. But his blood, death, cross, could be no ministering cause of blessings assigned to his blood, &c. before we were put in possession of them. See Rom. v. 6, 8, 10, 19. Eph. ii. 13, 16. Col. i. 20, 21, 22. Nor truly can his blood be possibly considered as a ministering, or instrumental cause in any sense at all; for it is not an agent, but an object; and therefore, though it may be a moving cause, or a reason for bestowing blessings, yet it can be no active, or instrumental cause in conferring them. His blood and death is indeed to us an assurance of pardon: but it is evidently something more; for it is also considered as an offering and sacrifice to God, highly pleasing to him, to put away our sin, and to obtain eternal redemption, Heb. ix. 12, 14, 26. Eph. v. 2.

146. *How* then is this to be understood? Ans. The *blood* of Christ is the perfect *obedience* and *goodness* of Christ. For his blood is not to be considered only with regard to the matter of it. For so it is a mere corporeal substance, of no more value in the sight of God, than any other thing of the same kind. Nor is the blood of Christ to be considered only in relation to our Lord's death and sufferings; as if mere death or suffering were in itself of such a nature, as to be pleasing and acceptable to God. But his blood implies a *character*; and it is his blood, as he is a "Lamb without spot and blemish," (1 Pet. i. 19.) that is, as he is perfectly holy, which is of so great value in the sight of God. His blood is the same as his "offering himself without spot to God," Heb. ix. 14. The end of his coming into the world was "to do the will of God," Heb. x. 7. (John v. 30. vi. 38.) not to offer figurative, ceremonial sacrifices, but to perform solid and substantial obedience, in all acts of usefulness and beneficence to mankind, by which he became a high-priest after the order of Melchizedek, the "King of Righteousness, and the King of Peace," or Happiness, Heb. vii. 2. And he abode in his Father's love, or continued to be the object of his complacency and delight, because he kept his commandments. And the reason of his eminence and high distinction is assigned to the perfection and excellence of his moral character, Heb. i. 9, "Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows." Heb. v. 8, 9, "Though he were a Son, yet learned he, [yet he was disciplined in] *obedience* by the things which he suffered: and, being thus made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation to all them that obey him." Isai. liii. 5, "The chastisement," or discipline, "of our peace," which procured our happiness, "was upon him." [מִסֵּר Castigatio, Eruditio.] And the apostle, in another place, (Phil. ii. 7, 8, 9.) shews us the true ground of our Lord's being exalted and made head over all things, as our Redeemer; namely, because "he emptied himself and took upon him the form of a Servant," that he might serve mankind in their most important interests; and because in this way, in serving us, he "became *obedient* to death, even the death of the cross;" which was the highest instance of obedience, love and goodness he could possibly exhibit,

exhibit. For, as he himself justly observes, (John xv. 13.) "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for [or to serve] his friends." And upon this account it was, that the Father loved, and highly exalted him, and blessed us with all the grace of the gospel. Thus "Christ gave his life a ransom," or atonement, "for many." Or, in other words, (Eph. v. 2.) "Christ hath loved us," to such a degree, that he "hath given himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God, for a sweet smelling favour." And to put the matter out of all doubt, the apostle (Rom. v.) expressly affirms, that the grace of God, and his gift to a sinful world, Ver. 15; even that free gift, which relates to justification, not only from the consequence of Adam's one offence, but to the many offences which men have committed, Ver. 16; that grace and gift, which has reference to our reigning in eternal life, Ver. 17; he affirms, I say, that this gift and grace is in, by or through the *grace* of one man, Jesus Christ, [*ἐν χάριτι τῇ τε ἐν αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ*, Ver. 15.] that is to say, through his goodness, love and benevolence to mankind. And he directs us to conceive, that, as Adam's *offence* and *disobedience* was the reason or foundation of death's passing upon all mankind: so Christ's *righteousness* and *obedience* is the reason, or foundation, not only of the general restoration to life, but of all other gospel blessings. He considers the offence of the one, and righteousness of the other, as moral causes of different and opposite effects. For, saith he, Ver. 18, 19, "As by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation: even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. For as by one man's disobedience the many were made sinners; so by the obedience of one shall the many be made righteous." 2 Cor. viii. 9, "Ye know the grace [the goodness and love] of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich."

147. From all this it appears, that the blood of Christ, or that by which he has bought, or redeemed us, is his love and goodness to men, and his obedience to God; exercised indeed through the whole of his state of humiliation in this world, but most eminently exhibited in his death. His blood is precious, (1 Pet. i. 19.); and it is precious not in the sense in which silver and gold, or any other material thing, is precious, but as it is the "blood of a lamb without spot and blemish:" that is to say, it is his compleat and spotless righteousness, his humility, goodness and obedience unto death, which makes his *blood* precious, in the best and highest sense, and gives his *cross* all its worth and efficacy.

148. This being rightly understood, our redemption by Christ, I conceive, will stand in a very clear and rational light. For thus *obedience*, or "doing the will of God," (Heb. x. 6, 7, 10, 11, 12.) was the *sacrifice* of sweet smelling favour which he offered unto God for us. It was his righteousness, or righteous, kind and benevolent action, his obedient death, or the sacrifice of his love and obedience, which made *atonement* for the sin of the world; so far, and in this sense, that God on account of his goodness and perfect obedience, so highly pleasing to him, thought fit to grant unto mankind, whom he

might

might in strict justice have destroyed for their general corruption and wickedness, (John iii. 17,) the forgiveness of sin, not "imputing unto them their trespasses," (2 Cor. v. 19.) or those "sins which were past," or which they had already committed, (Rom. iii. 25.) and for which they deserved to fall under the dreadful effects of God's wrath. And not only did he forgive former trespasses (to all the living, and to all the penitent and obedient dead;) but further, he erected a glorious and perfect dispensation of grace, exceeding any which had gone before it in means, promises, and prospects; at the head of which he set his Son, our Lord, Jesus Christ, invested with universal power in heaven and in earth, constituting him King and Governour over the new body, which he designed to form, the Captain of our salvation, the High-priest of our profession, the Mediator and Surety of the new covenant, to negotiate and manage all affairs relating to our present instruction and sanctification, to raise all the dead out of their graves, and to put the obedient and faithful into possession of eternal life. In this new constitution the Redeemer was commissioned to enlarge the bounds of the kingdom of God, before limited to the Jews, and to take into it the idolatrous Gentiles also, upon their profession of faith in Christ, and of subjection to his government; accounting them his children and chosen people, and conferring upon them all the privileges and blessings of the gospel. Accordingly, he sent forth his Apostles and other subordinate ministers, to *reconcile* or change the heathen world unto God (2 Cor. v. 18, 19.) by the preaching of the gospel, having poured out his Spirit upon them, and furnished them with various gifts and powers, to qualify them for their work, and to make them successful in it. Thus the whole of gospel-grace is *in, by* or *through* Christ. Thus we are redeemed, or bought with his blood. [95] (*)

149. But how are the blessings of the gospel the result of pure grace and mercy, if they have respect to the obedience and worthiness of Christ? Answ. The blessings of the gospel are the gift of God to the obedience of Christ. And though the gift is by the obedience of Christ, yet it is a *free gift*, Rom. v. 16, 18. See [67]. Indeed, if we are redeemed by satisfying law or justice, then our redemption could not be of grace, because it would be of law, or justice; or rather, it would then be impracticable. For law and justice allow no equivalent or substitution, nor can be satisfied any other way than by the legal punishment of the offender. But the scripture saith nothing of Christ's satisfying justice: nor is it any ways necessary to suppose it. For it is the prerogative of every lawgiver to soften the rigour of law, and to extend mercy, to the penitent or impenitent, as he sees fit (†). And God was of himself inclined to mercy and kindness, out of his own pure goodness. Therefore what Christ did, was neither to incline God to be gracious, nor to disengage him from any counter-obligations arising

(*) See the connection between Christ's *worthiness*, and our redemption further established and explained, Scrip. Doc. of Orig. Sin. *Part* I. in the Appendix.

(†) See the Note on Rom. v. 20, at the paragraph beginning with these words, "Law never doth, nor can pardon."

arising from law, or justice, or what the sinner's case might deserve. But (1.) What Christ did and suffered was a proper and wise *expedient*, a *fit ground* and *method* of granting mercy to the world. Rom. iii. 24, We are "justified *freely* by the *grace* of God; *through* the redemption that is in Jesus Christ." We are justified freely by grace. But truth requires that grace be dispensed in a manner the most proper and probable to produce reformation and holiness. Otherwise, the chief design of it will be defeated. Now this is what our Lord has done. He has bought us by his blood, and procured the remission of sins, as what he did and suffered was a proper reason for granting, and a fit way of conveying, and rendering effectual the grace of God; which, according to the rules of wisdom and goodness, could not have been communicated, but in a way proper to secure the end and intention of it. The end and intention of it was to "redeem us from a vain," heathenish "conversation," 1 Pet. i. 18, 19; "to deliver us from all iniquity, and to purify us into a peculiar people, zealous of good works," Tit. ii. 14. Now this could be done no otherwise than by means of a moral kind, or such as are apt to influence our minds, and engage us to forsake what is evil, and to choose that which is good and holy and pleasing to God. And what means of this sort could be more effectual, than the heavenly and most illustrious example of the son of God, shewing us the most perfect obedience to God, and the most generous goodness and love to men, recommended to our imitation by all possible endearing and engaging considerations? God, of his essential goodness, will do every thing that is fit and right; but it appears from all his constitutions, as well as this, that he will do it in a way that is fit and right. Accordingly we read Heb. ii. 10, that "it *became* him [it was agreeable to his wisdom and goodness] for whom [for the display of whose glorious perfections] are all things, and by whom are all things [who is the end and author of all dispensations] in bringing many sons to glory, to make the captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings." His honour and glory, or righteousness, goodness and truth, required that his grace should be planted upon such a ground, and exhibited and conferred in such a manner as this. Thus grace and redemption are not only perfectly reconciled; but thus the grace of God is greatly magnified, as he has vouchsafed his mercy in a method the most conducive to promote our truest happiness and excellency. (2.) All that Christ did, or suffered, was by the will and appointment of God: and was conducive to our redemption only in virtue of his will and appointment. Heb. x. 7, "Lo, I come to do thy will, O God." Christ executed what God ordered and commanded. Therefore all that Christ did and suffered must be assigned to the grace of God, as its original cause. And thus grace and redemption are not only consistent; but thus by redemption grace is multiplied; as the grace of our Lord concurred with the love of God for our salvation.

150. But why should God choose to communicate his grace in this mediate way, by the interposition, obedience and agency of his son; who again employs subordinate agents and instruments under him? I answer; For the display of the glory of his nature and perfections. The sovereign

sovereign disposer of all things may communicate his blessings by what means, and in any way, he thinks fit. But whatever he effects by the interposition of means, and a train of intermediate causes, he could produce by his own immediate power. He wants not clouds to distil rain, nor rain, nor human industry to make the earth fruitful, nor the fruitfulness of the earth to supply food, nor food to sustain our life. He could do this by his own immediate power: but he chooses to manifest his providence, power, wisdom and goodness in a variety of instances and dispositions, and yet his power and goodness are not only as much concerned and exercised in this way, as if he produced the end without the intervention of means, but even much more. Because his power, wisdom and goodness are as much exerted and illustrated in every single intermediate step, as if he had done the thing at once, without any intermediate step at all. There is as much power and wisdom exercised in producing rain, or in making the earth fruitful, or in adapting food to the nourishment of our bodies; I say, there is as much power and wisdom exercised in any one of these steps, as there would be in nourishing our bodies by one immediate act, without those intermediate means. Therefore, in this method of procedure, the displays of the divine providence and perfections are multiplied, and beautifully diversified, to arrest our attention, exercise our contemplation, and excite our admiration and thankfulness: for thus we see God in a surprising variety of instances. Nor, indeed, can we turn our eyes to any part of the visible creation, but we see his power, wisdom and goodness in perpetual exercise, every where. In like manner, in the moral world, he chooses to work by means, the mediation of his Son, the influences of his Spirit, the teachings of his Word, the endeavours of apostles and ministers; not to supply any defects of his power, wisdom, or goodness, but to multiply the instances of them; to shew himself to us in a various display of his glorious dispensations, to exercise the moral powers and virtues of all the subordinate agents employed in carrying on his great designs, and to set before our thoughts the most engaging subjects of meditation, and the most powerful motives of action. And this method in the moral world is still more necessary; because, without the attention of our minds, the end proposed, our sanctification, cannot be attained.

151. But if the agency, or ministry, of Christ, in executing the gracious purposes of God's goodness, be a right appointment, how comes his love and obedience to be a just foundation of divine grace (*); or a proper expedient

(*) When I say, Christ's love and obedience is a just foundation of the divine grace, I know not how to explain myself better than by the following instance. There have been masters willing, now and then, to grant a relaxation from study, or even to remit deserved punishment, in case any one boy, in behalf of the whole school, or of the offender, would compose and present a distich or copy of Latin verses. This at once shewed the master's love and lenity, and was a very proper expedient for promoting learning and benevolence in the society of little men training up for future usefulness, and, under due regulations, very becoming a good and wise Tutor. And

expedient to communicate it to us? Answ. The Love and Obedience of Christ will appear a very just Foundation of the Divine Grace, and the most proper Expedient to communicate it, and our Redemption by Christ will stand in a just, clear and beautiful Light, if we duly consider; that Truth, Virtue, Righteousness, being useful and doing good, or, which is the same Thing, Obedience to God, is the chief Perfection of the intellectual Nature. Intelligent Beings are of all others the most excellent; and the right Use of the Power of Intelligence is the very highest Glory and Excellence of intelligent Beings. Consequently, Righteousness, Goodness and Obedience must be of the highest Esteem and Value with the Father of the Universe, a most pure and perfect Spirit; the only Power, if I may so say, that can prevail with him, and the only acceptable Price, for purchasing [95] any Favours, or Blessings at his Hands. And it must be the most sublime and perfect Display of his Wisdom and Goodness to devise Methods, and erect Schemes for promoting Righteousness, Virtue, Goodness and Obedience; because this is the most effectual Way of promoting the truest Excellency, Honour and Happiness of his rational Creatures. For which Reason, he cannot, possibly, in any other Way exercise his Perfections among the Works of his Hands more nobly and worthily.

152. God graciously intended the future State of the Church should be revealed, for the Benefit and Comfort of his People in succeeding Ages: But then, some superior Worth must be honoured with this Favour; and an heavenly Herald is ordered to proclaim to the whole rational Creation, "Who is worthy?" Who can produce an Eminence of Character, which God shall esteem proportionable to the Favour? Rev. v. 2. But none could answer the Challenge, but the Son of God. He had Merit sufficient; "he prevailed," Ver. 5, or excelled so far in real Worth, as to deserve the Benefit. Which moral Eminence is represented by the Emblem of "a Lamb as it had been slain," Ver. 6; denoting his perfect Innocence and Purity, his Goodness and Benevolence, Meekness and Humility, his Submission and Obedience to God, and his steadfast Adherence to Truth and Duty under all Trials, and even in the very Terrors of Death. This is the Worthiness by which he prevailed to open the Book. And the same Worthiness, in the same Manner, is declared to be the Foundation of our Redemption, Ver. 9; "Thou art worthy to take and open the Book; for [thy Worthiness is equal to a much greater Effect] thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy Blood."

153. And that the Removal of Evils, or the Donation of Benefits in Favour of some, should have respect to some signal Instance of Righteousness and Obedience performed by another, must be acknowledged a very just and proper Method of promoting the moral Good. For, that Happiness should be consequent to Righteousness, Goodness, and Obedience, is perfectly consonant with the Nature of Things. That all Beings, without Exception, should practise Righteousness is also true;

one may say, that the kind Verse-maker purchased the Favour in both Cases; or that his Learning, Ingenuity, Industry, Goodness, and Compliance with the Governour's Will and Pleasure, was a just Ground, or Foundation of the Pardon and Refreshment, or a proper Reason of granting them.

true; because this is the chief Perfection of their Nature. And that the Righteousness of some should redound to the Good of others, is a fit and proper Constitution, so far as the Quantity of Virtue or Righteousness may thereby be probably increased. [For an unactive, unobedient Reliance upon the Merit of another is absurd: Or, it is not true or right, that I should be finally benefited by the Righteousness of another, while I live wickedly myself.] And the Quantity of Virtue may probably be increased several Ways. 1. As this Method will excite the Wise and Benevolent to Acts of Righteousness and Obedience, by the Prospect of being useful, and procuring Good to others. 2. Hereby illustrious Examples will be proposed for Imitation. 3. Which will be strongly enforced and recommended by the Benefits and Blessings, which are thereby derived to us.

154. Agreeably to this Scheme, Abraham is proposed as a bright Example of Obedience and Reward; and his Obedience is given as the Reason of conferring Blessings upon his Posterity, and particularly of having the Messiah, the Redeemer and greatest Blessing of Mankind, descend from him; Gen. xxii. 16, 17, 18, "By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, for because thou hast done this Thing, and hast not withheld thy Son, thine only Son: That in Blessing I will bless thee, and in Multiplying I will multiply thy Seed as the Stars of Heaven, and as the Sand which is upon the Sea-shore; and thy Seed shall possess the Gate of his Enemies; and in thy Seed shall all the Nations of the Earth be blessed: Because thou hast *obeyed* my Voice. Gen. xxvi. 2—5, "The Lord said unto Isaac,——I will be with thee and bless thee: And in thy Seed shall all the Nations of the Earth be blessed: Because that Abraham *obeyed* my Voice, and kept my Charge, my Commandments, my Statutes and my Laws." Gen. xviii. 26—32, Had but ten righteous Persons been found in Sodom, God, upon Abraham's Intercession, would have spared the City for the Sake of those Ten; probably as they might have proved the Seed and Means of Reformation. Moses also, by his Intercession (in which he performed an Act of Virtue; namely, Faith in the Goodness of God, and Kindness and Compassion for the Israelites) made Atonement for their Sin, in the Affair of the golden Calf, and prevented their Destruction, Exod. xxxii. 30, 31, 32. See also Num. xiv. 20. Phineas likewise, by being zealous for his God, and executing an Act of Justice upon two notorious Criminals, "turned away the Wrath of God from the Children of Israel; made Atonement for them," and gained the honourable Entail of the Priesthood on his Posterity, Num. xxv. 11, 12, 13. Deut. iv. 37, "And because he loved thy Fathers," for their Piety and Virtue, "therefore he chose their Seed after them, and brought thee out— with his mighty Power out of Egypt," &c. 1 Sam. vii. 8, 9, 10. Job xlii. 7, 8, "The Lord said to Eliphaz, My Wrath is kindled against thee and thy two Friends;—Therefore go to my Servant Job, and offer up for yourselves a Burnt-offering, and my Servant Job shall pray for you; for him will I accept: Lest I deal with you after your Folly," &c. Psal. cv. 41, 42, 43, "He opened the Rock, and the Waters gushed out, they ran in dry Places like a River. For he remembered his holy Promise, and Abraham his Servant. And he brought forth his People with Joy, and his Chosen with Gladness." Jer. xv. 1, "Then said the Lord unto me, Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my Mind could not be

be towards this People." Ezek. xiv. 13—21, "Son of Man, when the Land sinneth against me by trespassing grievously,—though these three Men, Noah, Daniel and Job were in it, they should deliver neither Sons nor Daughters, they should deliver only their own Souls by their *Righteousness*." That Virtue, Righteousness, Goodness and Obedience should be the Price of Happiness, and procure Blessings to ourselves and others, is a very just and noble Constitution; and may not only be seen in such Examples as I have just now mentioned; but, I make no doubt, takes place throughout the whole rational Universe. Christ, indeed, is a Person of the highest Eminence; and the Effects of his Righteousness are proportionable to his personal Worth and Excellency; and amazingly extensive: But I reckon the Rule, Scheme, and Reason of his Work, and its Effects, is general, and reaches to all rational Beings. For it is consonant to all Reason, that a diligent, humble, and kind Subserviency to the well being of others, should be honoured with Favours from the Fountain of all Good. It is perfectly fit, that illustrious Virtue and Righteousness should be crowned with an extensive Influence; and that the good Effects thereof should reach to many, and be the Occasion and Means of their Happiness. And in our World here we find, in Fact, that it is by Virtue, Self-denial, Integrity, Love and Kindness, studying and labouring to do Good, that we are any of us useful, and a Blessing to ourselves and others. We ourselves bless the Good and Benevolent; and by so doing, judge it is fit and right God should bless them, and make them Blessings. Gen. xii. 2.

155. Nor is this Comparison lessening of the Dignity of our Lord, or any Disparagement of his glorious Work. For it is no Disparagement to the High-priest of our Profession, that we also are "a royal Priesthood;" that we are "Priests to God." It is no ways derogatory even to the most perfect Excellence of the Divine Nature, that Wisdom, Goodness, Justice and Holiness are in Men the same in Kind, though not in Degree, as they are in God. Or, should I account for our Lord's universal Dominion, and his being constituted Judge of the whole World at the last Day, by alledging; that, although all Authority and Judgment belong to God, yet it is the general Method of his Wisdom, to employ Delegates in the Exercise of his Authority. For we see in our World, he doth not immediately judge, and punish the Criminals who make themselves obnoxious to the Censures of the Society, but has every where appointed Kings and Governours, Magistrates, superior and subordinate, to administer and execute Judgment among Mankind in Affairs relating to Society. What Wonder then, if he has appointed his well-beloved Son, a Being of so transcendent Excellence, to be the Judge of all, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. This Way of arguing would not lessen our Lord's Authority, but would very justly account for it. Even so it is no Disparagement to the Dignity of our blessed Lord, or to the glorious Work of Redemption, that among Men are found Actions similar to his, both in Nature and Effect.

156. But that which puts the Matter out of Dispute, is our being required, not only to imitate our Lord in other Instances of his Love and Obedience, but in those very Acts whereby he has ransomed, or

redeemed us. Mat. xx. 26, 27, 28, "Whosoever will be great among you," my Disciples, "let him be your Minister. And whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your Servant;" let him deserve his Honour by Usefulness, by assisting and doing Good to all. "Even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his Life a Ransom for many." Our Lord came to serve and assist, to be useful, and do Good to all, with all Humility, Meekness and Gentleness; and even humbled himself, and condescended so far, for promoting the Happiness of Mankind, as to lay down his Life to redeem them from Sin and Misery. And he is most honourable and eminent in Christ's Kingdom, who comes nearest to his Example. John xv. 12, 13,—"Love one another as I have loved you. Greater Love hath no Man than this, that he lay down his Life for his Friends." 2 Cor. viii. 7, 9, "Abound in this Grace," this Act of Kindness to your distressed Brethren; "for ye know the Grace," the great Love and Goodness, "of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was Rich, yet for your Sakes he became Poor," &c. Eph. v. 2, "Walk in Love, as Christ also has loved us, and given himself for us an Offering, and Sacrifice to God." All this is still more clearly and strongly expressed. 1 John iii. 16, "Hereby perceive we the Love of God, because he (that is, Jesus Christ) laid down his Life (*υπερ ημων*) for us: And we ought to lay down our Lives (*υπερ των αδελφων*) for the Brethren," to promote their Happiness. It is, therefore, so far from diminishing the Dignity of our Lord, or the Glory of his Work, to produce similar Instances among us; that it is made our Duty, by an inspired Apostle, to copy after his Example, even in his Dying for us. Indeed there is no Comparison between the Value and Importance of Christ's Work, and any we can perform. Yet ours, in a much lower Degree, may produce similar Effects; and will not fail of being attended with a proportionable Measure of the Divine Blessing.

157. But here I must put in a Caveat; namely, that it cannot belong to us to set a Value upon the Obedience and Goodness of supposed Saints, and then determine how much it shall redound to the Benefit of ourselves, or others. By no Means. In so doing corrupt Christians have taken a very presumptuous, and unwarrantable Liberty. For this is manifestly to invade the Divine Prerogative, and to take out of his Hands a Work, which, in the Nature of Things, is peculiar to himself alone; and can belong to none, but to the Judge of all the Earth, who only knows the Hearts of all Men, and who alone can truly adjust Rewards and Punishments. He alone can settle the Value of any Virtue or Righteousness; and he alone must appoint and bestow the Benefits proper to honour it with: Nor has he given any Man either Capacity or Authority to rate, or estimate the Goodness of other Beings, whether Men or Angels, and then to assign the Benefits proper to be bestowed on others on Account thereof: Nor is our Faith and Dependence in Revelation directed to any other Worthiness (besides the Goodness of God) but that of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

158. And as the Justness and Truth of Redemption clearly appears in this Light; so the Propriety of it is no less evident. Had our Redemption been of a Civil Kind, it might have been effected only by Power

Power, or such corruptible Things as Silver and Gold : But it is of the Moral Kind ; and therefore is most properly effected by Moral Means, Goodness and Obedience ; both with respect to God and ourselves.— With respect to God ; this is most suitable to his perfect Goodness, who delights in doing Good, and multiplying Goodness and Beneficence among his Creatures ; whose Wisdom turns even the Sinfulness of Men into an Occasion of displaying the most perfect Holiness, and of furnishing the most powerful Motives to Piety and Obedience.— With respect to Us ; Redemption, in this Way, is most properly adapted to our Case, and to the designed End, our eternal Salvation. For thus we are taught the absolute Necessity and infinite Importance of Obedience, and engaged to it, in the most effectual Manner ; being redeemed by Goodness and Love, we have the most perfect Example of Goodness and Love, and the most powerful Inducement to exercise them towards others. And by Obedience, Goodness and Love, we are most properly prepared for the Usefulness, Honours and Happiness of the heavenly State. Thus this noble Cause is, in every Respect, properly adapted to the best and noblest Effects. And upon the whole, it must surely be allowed, that it was perfectly congruous to the Nature of Things, to found the Pardon of Sin, and the Gift of eternal Life, upon that in another, which in ourselves is the only due Improvement of God's Mercy, and our only Qualification for Happiness.

159. But how is it agreeable to the infinite Distance there is between the most high God, and Creatures so low and imperfect, who are of no Consideration when compared to the Immensity of his Nature, that he should so greatly concern himself about our Redemption ? Answ. He who is all-present, all-knowing, all-powerful, attends to all the minutest Affairs in the whole Universe, without the least Confusion or Difficulty. And if it was not below his infinite Greatness to make Mankind, it cannot be so to take Care of them, when created. For Kind, he can produce no Beings more excellent than the rational and intelligent ; consequently, those must be most worthy of his Regard. And when they are corrupted, as thereby the End of their Being is frustrated, it must be as agreeable to his Greatness to endeavour (when he sees fit) their Reformation, or to restore them to the true Ends for which they were created, as it was originally to create them.

160. But still, why should a Being so transcendently glorious as the Son of God, the Heir of all Things, by whom he made the Worlds, the Brightness of his Glory, and the express Image of his Person, be employed in this Work ? Why must the Task of a very difficult and painful *Obedience* be imposed upon him, a Being transcendently glorious, in Favour of a Part of the Creation, so inconsiderable as our World ? Might not an inferior Hand have been more proportionable to Creatures of a Rank so mean and inferior ? Answ. Righteousness, Virtue, Obedience to God, and Beneficence to his Creation, can be below the Dignity of none, but must be the real Glory and Excellence of any ; and, indeed, is the *only* Thing which can give Excellence and Distinction to any Being whatsoever. Moral Perfection, exercised and diffused through universal Nature, in Acts of Love, Goodness, and Righteousness, is the Glory

of the Supreme Being Himself. And the Father of all, would have all Beings conformable to his own moral Excellency. For this Reason, it is, not only his Wisdom, but also his Goodness to exercise them all, without Exception, in Truth, Virtue, Goodness, and every moral Perfection; in order to raise their Worth, and advance their Honour and Felicity. For those Powers, which rest and terminate in themselves, are solitary and barren; those only are excellent, valuable, and deserving of Praise and Blessing, which are well employed, eminently useful, and productive of Good.

161. And as for Mankind's being a mean and inconsiderable Part of the Creation, it may not be so easy to demonstrate, as we imagine. The Sin that is, or hath been, in the World will not do it. For then the Beings, which we know stand in a much higher, and, perhaps, in a very high Rank of natural Perfection, will be proved to be as mean, and inconsiderable as ourselves; seeing they in great Numbers have sinned. Neither will our natural Weakness and Imperfection prove, that we are a mean and inconsiderable Part of God's Creation: For the Son of God, when clothed in our Flesh, and incompassed with all our Infirmities and Temptations, lost nothing of the real Excellency and Worth he possessed, when in a State of Glory with the Father, before the World was. Still he was the beloved Son of God, in whom he was well pleased. Besides, since God may bestow Honours and Privileges as he pleases, who will tell me what Preheminence, in the Purpose of God, this World may possibly have above any other Part of the Universe? Or what relation it bears to the rest of the Creation? We know that even Angels have been ministring Spirits to some Part, at least, of Mankind. Who will determine how far the Scheme of Redemption may exceed any Schemes of Divine Wisdom, in other Parts of the Universe? Or how far it may effect the Improvement and Happiness of other Beings, in the remotest Regions? Eph. iii. 10, "To the Intent that now unto the Principalities and Powers in heavenly Places, might be known by the Church the manifold Wisdom of God, according to the eternal Purpose, which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord." 1 Pet. i. 12, "Which Things, that are reported by them that have preached the Gospel, the Angels desire to look into." It is, therefore, the Sense of Revelation, that the heavenly Principalities and Powers study the Wisdom and Grace of Redemption; and even increase their stock of Wisdom, from the Displays of the divine Love in the Gospel. Who can say, how much our Virtue is more, or less, severely proved, than in other Worlds? Or, how far our Virtue may excel that of other Beings, who are not subjected to our long and heavy Trials? May not a Virtue, firm and steady under our present Cloggs, Inconveniences, Discouragements, Persecutions, Trials, and Temptations, possibly surpass the Virtue of the highest Angel, whose State is not attended with such Imbarassments? Do we know how far such, as shall have honourably passed through the Trials of this Life, shall hereafter be dispersed through the Creation? How much their Capacities will be enlarged? How highly they shall be exalted? What Power and Trusts will be put into their Hands? How far their Influence shall extend, and how much they shall contribute to the good Order and Happiness of the Universe?

Possibly,

Possibly, the faithful Soul, when disengaged from our present Incumbrances, may blaze out into a Degree of Excellency equal to the highest Honours, the most important and extensive Services. Our Lord has made us Kings and Priests unto his God and Father, and we shall sit together in heavenly Places, and reign with him. To him that overcomes the Trials of this present State, he will give to sit with him in his Throne. True, many from among Mankind shall perish, among the vile and worthless, for ever: And so shall many of the Angels. These Considerations may satisfy us, that, possibly, Mankind are not so despicable, as to be below the Interposition of the Son of God. Rather, the surprising Condescensions and Sufferings of a Being so glorious should be an Argument, that the Scheme of Redemption is of the utmost Importance; and that, in the Estimate of God, who alone confers Dignity, we are Creatures of very great Consequence. Lastly, God by Christ created the World; and if it was not below his Dignity to create, it is much less below his Dignity to redeem the World, which, of the two, is the more worthy and honourable.

162. Thus I have endeavoured to explain and clear the Scheme of Redemption by the Blood of Christ, or his spotless Goodness and Obedience; the noblest and most acceptable Sacrifice any Being can offer to the supreme Father, the God of perfect Goodness, Truth and Righteousness. In which Method all the Means and Ends of our Redemption are secured, and our Salvation is, in every Respect, fully provided for. For thus, 1. Pardon and all the Blessings of the Gospel are freely given us. And yet, 2. Our Subjection, and Obedience to God are well secured. For, being founded upon the perfect Obedience of Christ, the Grace of Forgiveness cannot prompt us to have indifferent Thoughts of the Authority of the Law of God, or of our Obligations to obey him. 3. Thus the Lustre of Righteousness appears among us in the utmost Perfection; the Son of God having exercised all God-like Love to us, and all due Obedience to the supreme Father; and thus has set before us the most perfect and engaging Example for our Imitation. 4. In this Way, all proper Means are provided for our Instruction, Comfort, Direction, and for giving us the promised Inheritance. And, 5. The most powerful Motives, the Love of God, and of the Redeemer, the Promises of the Gospel, and the Prospects of Immortality, are proposed to animate our Obedience, Self-denial and Perseverance. And thus, 6. A Person is constituted to manage the great Affairs of our Salvation, and to complete our Redemption, who has demonstrated himself to be altogether worthy of the Office of Lord and Saviour; and who is made Head over all Things for the Church, having all Power given him in Heaven and Earth*.

163. I

* And in most, if not in all, of these six Respects, Christ is said to "take away the Sin of the World," John i. 29; "to redeem us from all Iniquity," Tit. ii. 14.—"from a vain Conversation," 1 Pet. i. 18; "to purge our Sins by himself," Heb. i. 4; "to put away Sin by the Sacrifice of himself," Heb. ix. 26; "to bear our Sins in, or by, his own Body on the Tree," 1 Pet. ii. 24. This Place seems to be taken from Isai. liii. 4, 11, 12, "Surely he has born our Griefs, and carried our Sorrows."—"He shall bear their Iniquities."—

163. I have been the longer upon this Article, because it is of Importance. I should indeed have shewn, that the Scripture Notion of Atonement exactly fits this Way of accounting for our Redemption by the Blood of Christ. But that would have swelled this Work too much ; and what I have said is sufficient for my present Purpose. However, it is my Design to attempt to state and clear the Scripture-Account of Atonement, if Health and Life be continued.

C H A P.

“ He bare the Sins of many.” That the Apostles did not understand these Expressions, as denoting the Imputation of our Sins to Christ is plain from St. Matthew’s applying the 4th Verse to our Saviour’s healing Diseases, Mat. viii. 17. Observe,

1. That נָשָׂא, which we render *bath born*, Ver. 4, 12, signifies so to bear, as to *carry* or *take away*. And in this Sense it is, at least, six times used by the Prophet Isaiah, and so rendered in the English Bible. Isai. viii. 4, — “ The Spoil of Samaria shall be taken away,” נָשָׂא xv. 7, — “ that which they have laid up, shall they carry away.” xxxix. 6, — “ shall be carried to Babylon.” xl. 24, — “ the Whirlwind shall take them away.” xli. 16, — “ the Wind shall carry them away.” So Chap. lvii. 13. lxiv. 6, — “ Our Iniquities like the Wind have taken us away.” Gen. xlvii. 30. Lev. xi. 25, 40. Num. xvi. 15. 1 Sam. xvii. 34. Ezek. xii. 7. Dan. i. 16, &c. It is the Word which is used in the Case of the Scape-goat, Lev. xvi. 22, “ And the Goat shall bear,” or carry away, “ upon him all their Iniquities into a Land not inhabited,” Signifying thereby the total Removal of Guilt from the penitent Israelites. See also Exod. xxviii. 38, “ Bear away the Iniquity.” Lev. x. 17. Isai. xlv. 4. Hence, as *bearing Iniquity*, in some Cases, is *taking it away*, the Word נָשָׂא *to bear*, frequently signifies to *forgive* ; and is so translated, Gen. iv. 13. Margin. xviii. 24, 26, [Ipare] l. 17. Exod. xxxii. 32. xxxiv. 7. Num. xiv. 18, 19. Josh. xxiv. 19. Psal. xxv. 18, xxxii. 1, 5. lxxxv. 2. Isai. i. 14. ii. 9.

2. That the Word נָשָׂא, which in Isai. liii. 4, we translate *carried* [carried our Sorrows], and Ver. 11, *bear*, [“ he shall bear their Iniquities”], though a Verb but seldom used, will also admit the Sense of *carrying off*, or *away*, as a Porter carries a Burthen. Isai. xlv. 4, “ Even I will carry you off,” or away, “ and I will deliver you.”

As the Iniquities and Transgressions of the Children of Israel were put upon the Head of the Scape-goat, and he carried off all their Iniquities, to signify that they were fully pardoned, Lev. xvi. 21, 22 ; so the Lord laid upon our Saviour the Iniquities of us all ; and he bare, or carried them away, Isai. liii. 6, 11. Signifying that our Sins are fully pardoned, and in every Respect quite removed, by the Atonement of our Lord’s Goodness and Obedience, as above explained. “ He was wounded for our Transgressions, — the Chastisement of our Peace [which was expedient to accomplish our Peace, Reconciliation, &c.] was upon him, and with his Stripes we are healed,” all our Disorders, spiritual and natural, are removed.

Thus the Citation in Mat. viii. 17, (“ himself took [away] our Infirmities, and bare [carried off] our Sicknesses”), is very proper. For our Lord was then acting one Part of his saving Work, which the Prophet Isaiah speaks of, when he was removing the Griets and Sorrows of the People. Thus also the Sense of 1 Pet. ii. 24, will be easy, and stand thus ; “ His own self bare away our Sins on his own Body on the Tree, that we being dead unto,” or rather, separated from, “ Sin,” being freed from the Guilt of Sin, “ should live unto Righteousness.”

Note ; ελαβε, ἔλασσε, Mat. viii. 17. ἀντὶ ἡμῶν, 1 Pet. ii. 24, will also admit

C H A P. IX.

Further Reflections upon the Gospel. It is a Scheme for restoring and promoting true Religion and Virtue. Proved to be so, from our Saviour's Discourses and Parables.

164. **A**ND as the whole Grace of the Gospel is in or by Christ, for this Reason, *Christ, or the Lord*, are frequently put for the whole *Gospel*. Rom. ix. 1, 3, "I speak the Truth in *Christ*. I could wish myself accursed from *Christ*." xvi. 7, "In *Christ* before me." Ver. 8, "Beloved in *the Lord*." So Ver. 9, 11, 12, 13. 2 Cor. iii. 16, "Nevertheless when it [the veiled Heart of the Jews] shall turn unto *the Lord*," [that is, the Gospel, in Contradistinction to *Moses*, in the foregoing Verse; who in like Manner, is put for the *Law*, which was given by him.] Ver. 17, "Now *the Lord* is that Spirit, and where the Spirit of *the Lord* is, there is Liberty." Ver. 18,—"Beholding as in a Glass the Glory of *the Lord*," &c. Phil. iii. 1, "Rejoice in *the Lord*," iv. 4. iv. 1, "Stand fast in *the Lord*, my dearly Beloved." And in other Places.

165. It is further to be observed; that the whole Scheme of the Gospel in Christ, and as it stands in Relation to his Blood, or Obedience unto Death, was formed in the Council of God, before the Calling of Abraham, and even before the Beginning of the World. Acts xv. 18, "Known unto God are all his Works [the Dispensations which he intended to advance] from the Beginning of the World." Eph. i. 4, "According as he hath chosen us in him [Christ] before the Foundation of the World." [μετὰ καταβολῆς κόσμου*] 2 Tim. i. 9, "Who hath saved us and called us,—according to his own Purpose and Grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the World began†." 1 Pet. i. 20, "Who [Christ] verily was fore-ordained before the Foundation of the World [μετὰ καταβολῆς κόσμου*] but was manifest in these last Times for you" [Gentiles.] Hence it appears; that the whole Plan of the Divine Mercy in the Gospel, in Relation to the Method of communicating it, and the Person, through whose Obedience it was to be dispensed, and by whose Ministry it was to be executed, was formed, in the Mind and Purpose of God, before this Earth was created. God, by his perfect and unerring Knowledge, foreknew the future States of Mankind; and so, before-appointed the Means, which he judged proper for their Recovery. Which Fore-
knowledge

admit the Sense of carrying or taking away. Mat. v. 40. xv. 26. Rev. iii. 11. Mark xiv. 13. Luke vii. 14. John xii. 6. xx. 15. Acts xxi. 35. Mat. xvii. 1. Luke xxiv. 51.

* Though Αἰών and χρόνοι αἰώνιοι may have Reference to the Jewish Dispensation, yet surely καταβολὴ κόσμου must refer to the Creation of the World. See Mat. xxv. 34. Luke xi. 50, 51. John xvii. 24. Heb. iv. 3. ix. 26.

† See the last Note upon Rom. xvi. 25.

knowledge is fully confirmed by the Promise to Abraham, and very copiously by the repeated Predictions of the Prophets, in Relation to our Lord's Work, and particularly to his Death, with the End and Design of it.

166. Again; it is to be noted, that all the fore-mentioned *Mercy* and *Love*, Privileges and Blessings, are granted and confirmed to the Christian Church, under the Sanction of a *Covenant*; [63] which is a Grant or Donation of Blessings confirmed by a proper Authority. The Gospel Covenant is established by the *Promise* and *Oath* of God, and ratified by the Blood of Christ, as a Pledge and Assurance, that it is a Reality, and will certainly be made good. Matt. xxvi. 28, "This is my Blood in the New Testament," or *Covenant*. Luke xxii. 20, "This Cup is the New Testament," *Covenant*, "in my Blood." 2 Cor. iii. 6, "Made us able Ministers of the New Testament," *Covenant*. Heb. vii. 22,—"Jesus made a Surety of a better Testament." Heb. viii. 6, "He is the Mediator of a better *Covenant* established upon better Promises." viii. 8. ix. 15. xii. 24. xiii. 20.—Here Obs. 1. Jesus is the Surety [*Εγγυος*] Sponsor, and Mediator [*Μεσιτης*] of the New Covenant, as he is the great Agent appointed of God to negotiate, transact, secure, and execute all the Blessings, which are conferred by this Covenant. Obs. 2. That as the Covenant is a Donation or Grant of Blessings, hence it is, that the *Promise*, or *Promises*, is sometimes put for the Covenant; as Gal. iii. 17, — "The *Covenant* that was confirmed before, to Abraham, of God in Christ the Law, which was 430 Years after, cannot disannul, that it should make the *Promise* of none Effect. For if the Inheritance be of the Law, it is no more of *Promise*: But God gave it to Abraham by *Promise*." And so Ver. 19. Again, Ver. 21, "Is the Law then against the *Promise* of God?" Ver. 22. Obs. 3. That the Gospel Covenant was included in that made with Abraham, Gen. xvii. 1, &c. xxii. 16, 17, 18. As appears from Gal. iii. 17, and from Heb. vi. 13, "When God made *Promise* to Abraham, because he could swear by no greater, he swore by himself," &c. Ver. 17, "He confirmed [*Εμεστέτευσεν*, he mediator'd] it by an *Oath*: That by two immutable Things," the Promise and Oath of God, "we [Christians] might have strong Consolation, who have fled for Refuge to lay hold on the Hope set before us."

167. But what should carefully and specially be observed, is this; that the Gospel-Constitution is a Scheme, and the most perfect and effectual *Scheme for restoring true Religion*, and for *promoting Virtue and Happiness*, that the World hath ever yet seen. [64] Upon professed Faith in Christ Men of all Nations were admitted into the Church, Family, Kingdom and Covenant of God by Baptism; were all numbered among the justified, regenerate or born again, sanctified, saved, chosen, called, Saints, and Beloved; were all

of

|| This is the only Place where our *Lord* is called a Surety, *εγγυος*, or Sponsor; not *our* Sponsor, or Surety; but the Sponsor of the Covenant. Now a Sponsor is one, who undertakes for the Performance of a Promise. A Mediator, likewise, secures the Accomplishment of promised Blessings. Thus (according to the Apostle, Heb. vi. 17.) God made his own Oath the Mediator of the Promise to Abraham. *Εμεστέτευσεν* *ορκω*, he mediator'd it, that is, secured the Accomplishment of it, by an Oath.

of the Flock, Church, House, Vine and Vineyard of God; and were intitled to the Ordinances and Privileges of the Church; had exceeding great and precious Promises, given unto them, especially that of entering into the Rest of Heaven. And in all these Blessings and Honours we are certainly very happy, as they are “the Things which are freely given to us of God,” 1 Cor. ii. 12. But because these Things are freely given, without Respect to any Obedience, or Righteousness of ours prior to the Donation of them, is our Obedience and personal Righteousness therefore unnecessary? Or, are we, on Account of Benefits already received, secure of the Favour and Blessing of God in a future World, and for ever? By no Means.

168. To explain this important Point more clearly, I shall proceed as before, [65, &c.] and shew that these Privileges and Blessings, given in general to the Christian Church, are *antecedent* Blessings, given indeed freely, without any Respect to the prior Obedience of the Gentile World, before they were taken into the Church; but intended to be *Motives* to the most upright Obedience for the future, after they were joined to the Family and Kingdom of God. Which Effect if they produce, then our *Election*, and Calling, our Redemption, Adoption, &c. are made good: Then we work out our own Salvation; and become so intitled to all the Blessings promised in the Covenant, that they shall be, not only a present Advantage, but secured to us finally, and for ever. Upon which Account I shall call them *consequent* Blessings; because they are secured to us, and made ours for ever, only in consequence of our Obedience. But, on the other Hand, if the antecedent Blessings do not produce Obedience to the Will of God; if we, his chosen People and Children, do not obey the Laws and Rules of the Gospel; then, as well as any other wicked Persons, we may expect “Tribulation and Wrath;” then we forfeit all our Privileges: And all our Honours and Relations to God, all the Favour and Promises given freely to us, are of no Avail; we “receive the Grace of God in vain,” and everlasting Death will certainly be our wretched Portion.

169. That this is the great End of the Dispensation of God’s Grace to the Christian Church; namely, to engage us to Duty and Obedience; or, that it is a Scheme for promoting Virtue and true Religion, is clear from every Part of the New Testament, and requires a large and particular Proof: Not because the Thing in itself is difficult or intricate; but because it is of great Importance to the right Understanding of the Gospel, and the Apostolic Writings; and serves to explain several Points, which stand in close Relation to it. As particularly; that all the fore-mentioned Privileges belong to all professed Christians, even to those that shall perish eternally. [138] For,

1. If the Apostles affirm them of all Christians to whom they write;
2. If they declare some of those Christians, who were favoured with those Privileges, to be wicked, or suppose they might be wicked;
3. If they declare those Privileges, are conferred by mere Grace, without Regard to prior Works of Righteousness;
4. If they plainly intimate those Privileges are conferred in order to produce true Holiness;

5. If they exhort all to use them to that Purpose, as they will answer it to God at the last Day ;
6. If they declare they shall perish, if they do not improve them to the purifying their Hearts, and the right ordering of their Conversations ; then it must be true, that these Privileges belong to all Christians, and are intended to induce them to an holy Life. And the Truth of all those Six Particulars will sufficiently appear, if we attend to the following Examination of the Gospels and Epistles.

MAT. V, VI, VIIth Chapters, LUKE VI. 20, &c.

170. Here our blessed Lord instructs his Disciples in that Temper of Mind, and in those Rules of Action, which alone would qualify them for final Salvation, and without due Regard to which, he assures them, they should perish eternally. Observe ; he addresses them as his *Disciples*, Mat. v. 1, 2. Luke vi. 20. He considers them as “ the *Salt of the Earth*,” Mat. v. 13 ; as “ the *Light of the World*,” Ver. 14. They owned him for their *Lord*, Luke vi. 46 ; they *came* to him, Ver. 47 ; they heard his Sayings, Mat. vii. 24, 26 ; and God was their *Father*, Mat. vi. 1, 4, 6, 9, &c.— These were their *present* Privileges, by which they were obliged to various *Duties* ; which Duties he supposes they might neglect, and then, notwithstanding their Privileges, they would be cast off in the *future* World. Mat. v. 13, “ Ye are the *Salt of the Earth* : But if the Salt have lost its Savour, wherewith shall it be salted ? It is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under Foot of Men.” Mat. v. 14, “ Ye are the *Light of the World* ;” Ver. 16, “ Let your Light shine before Men.” Luke vi. 46, “ And why call ye me *Lord, Lord*, and do not the Things which I say ?” Ver. 47, &c. “ Whosoever cometh to me, and heareth my Sayings, and doth them,—is like a Man which built an House,—and laid the Foundation on a Rock, &c. But he that heareth and doth not, is like a Man, that without an Foundation built an House,—against which the Stream did beat vehemently, and immediately it fell, and the Ruin of that House was great.”

171. And that this is our Lord’s Sense, and a general Rule, he clearly declares in this same Discourse, Mat. vii. 21, 22, 23, “ Not every one that saith unto me, [in this present World] *Lord, Lord*, [professing Relation to me] shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven [at the last Day :] But he that doth the Will of my Father which is in Heaven. Many will say to me in *that Day*, *Lord, Lord*, have we not prophesied in thy Name, and in thy Name have cast out Devils ? And in thy Name have done many wonderful Works ? (Luke xiii. 26, “ We have eaten and drunk in thy Presence, and thou hast taught in our Streets.”) And then will I profess unto them, I never knew * you : Depart from me, ye that work Iniquity.” Here our Lord evidently supposes, that the Enjoyment of very high Privileges, at present, is consistent with working Iniquity ; and affirms, that

* For the Sense of *knew*, see Note upon Rom. viii. 27.

if we are Workers of Iniquity, how great soever our present Privileges are, we shall be rejected in the Day of Judgment.

172. Mat. viii. 11, 12;—"Many shall come from the East and West, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the Kingdom of Heaven: But the Children of the Kingdom shall be cast out into outer Darkness: There shall be Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth."—This refers to the final issue of Things: For outer Darkness, and Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth, are, in all other Places, spoken of the final Punishment of wicked Men in the Day of Judgment." See Mat. xiii. 42, 50. xxii. 13. xxiv. 51. xxv. 30.—Luke xiii. 28. And in this last Place the Expressions and Sentiments are nearly the same, as in the Passage under Consideration. For thus it runs; Ver. 27, "He shall say, I tell you, I know you not whence you are; depart from me all ye Workers of Iniquity. There shall be Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth, when ye [who now profess Relation to me, Ver. 26.] shall see Abraham, and Isaac and Jacob, and all the Prophets in the Kingdom of God, and you yourselves thrust out. And they shall come from the East and the West, and from the North and the South, and shall sit down in the Kingdom of God." Therefore both these Places [Mat. viii. 11, 12, and Luke xiii. 28, however the latter, without Dispute] refer to the final Issue of Things; and plainly signify, that though we now are the *Children* of the Kingdom of God, or belong to the Body of his People in this present World, which is our great Privilege, and the Effect of God's mere *Grace*, yet it is very possible we may, in the World to come, be cast out of God's Kingdom into outer Darkness; while many, who do not at present belong to his Kingdom, shall hereafter be admitted into it.

173. Mat. xiii. 47, 48, 49; "Again, the Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a Net that was cast into the Sea, and gathered of *every Kind*. Which, when it was full, they drew to the Shore, and sat down, and gathered the *good* into Vessels, but cast the *bad* away. So shall it be at the *End of the World*: The Angels shall come forth, and sever the *Wicked* from among the *Just*; and shall cast them into the Furnace of Fire," &c. — Here it is supposed, that the present Kingdom of God consists of *Bad* and *Good*, *Wicked* and *Just*. A wicked Person may be a Member, and enjoy the Privileges of the Kingdom of God in this World: But if he continues finally wicked, he shall, notwithstanding his present Privileges, "in the End of the World," at the last Day, be cast into Perdition.

174. Mat. xx. 1—17; "For the Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a Man that is an Householder, which went out early in the Morning to hire *Labourers* into his Vineyard. So when *Even* was come, the Lord of the Vineyard said unto his Steward, call the *Labourers*, and give them their *Hire*," &c.—The Vineyard is the Church; Jews and Christians are the Labourers taken into it. This is their present Privilege, granted by *Grace*, without Respect to antecedent *Works*. But, now we are taken into the Vineyard, we shall not receive our *Hire* at *Even*, (that is, in the Day of Judgment) unless we have done the *Work* of the Vineyard.

175. Mat. xxii. 2—15, "The Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a certain King [God] who made a Marriage for his Son, [our Lord] and sent

sent forth his Servants to *call* them [the Jews] who were [before] bidden to the Wedding, [and now were called a second Time;] and they would not come.—Then saith he to his Servants, the Wedding is ready, but they who were bidden were not worthy: Go ye therefore into the High-ways [among the Gentiles] and as many as ye shall find *call* to the Marriage. So those Servants went out into the High-ways, and gathered together all, as many as they found, both *Bad* and *Good*: And the Wedding was furnished with Guests. And when the King came in to see the Guests, he saw there a Man which had not on a Wedding-garment: And he saith unto him, Friend, how camest thou in hither, not having a Wedding-garment? and he was speechless.” Ver. 13, “Then said the King to the Servants, bind him Hand and Foot, and take him away, and cast him into outer Darknes: There shall be Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth.”—Hence it is evident, both *bad* and *good*, those who had, and those who had not, the Wedding-garment, were taken out of the common World, into the Christian Church, or Kingdom of Heaven; or were *called* to the Feast and admitted to it, without Respect to their former State of Idolatry and Wickedness. But at the last Day, when the King shall come to inspect the Guests, (for the King’s Coming in to see the Guests is at the Day of Judgment; as appears from the Punishment inflicted, Ver. 13.) if any be found without the Wedding-garment, or, not having acquired the Habits of Virtue and Holiness, by improving the Privileges and Blessings of the Kingdom of Heaven, notwithstanding his present Advantages and Honours, in being admitted to the Feast, or taken into the Church, he shall be “taken away, and cast into outer Darknes.”

176. Mat. xxv. 1—14; “Then shall the Kingdom of Heaven be likened unto ten Virgins, which took their Lamps, and went forth to meet the Bridegroom. And five of them were *Wise*, and five were *Foolish*. They that were Foolish took their Lamps, and took no Oil with them: But the Wise took Oil in their Vessels. While the Bridegroom tarried they all slumbered and slept, [namely, in Death. This represents their State between Death and the Resurrection.] And at Midnight there was a Cry made, Behold, the Bridegroom *cometh*, go ye out to meet him. Then all these Virgins arose [at the Resurrection] and trimmed their Lamps. And the Foolish said unto the Wise, give us of your Oil, for our Lamps are gone out. But the Wise answered, not so;—but go ye—and buy for yourselves. And while they went to buy the Bridegroom *came*, and they that were ready went in with him to the Marriage, and the Door was shut. Afterward came also the other Virgins, saying, Lord, Lord, open to us. But he answered and said, Verily I say unto you, I know you not. Watch therefore, for ye know neither the Day nor the Hour wherein the Son of Man *cometh*.”—It is evident, this Parable points at the final Issue of Things. The ten Virgins represent all the Members of the Church, or Kingdom of Heaven in this World. Our being in that Kingdom, and having the Lamps put into our Hands, and enjoying the Opportunity of procuring Oil, represent our present Privileges, or the Means we enjoy of purifying our Nature. And these are freely given us by the Grace of God, without Respect to our prior *Works*. But having received them, it is our present Duty to improve them to our Sanctification. Which if we do, we shall be admitted to the Marriage; that

is, to the Happiness of Heaven. But if we do not so improve them, we shall, notwithstanding our present Privileges, be shut out, or denied Access to Life, and Happiness.

177. Mat. xxv. 14—31; Here the same Dispensation is explained, by the Comparison of “a Man travelling into a far Country; who called his *own Servants*, and delivered unto them his Goods: And unto one he gave five Talents, and to another two, and to another one;—He that had received five Talents—traded—and made them other five. And likewise he that had two gained other two. But he that had received one, went and digged in the Earth, and hid his Lord’s Money. After a long Time the Lord of those Servants *cometh*, and reckons with them.” Ver. 21, “His Lord said unto him, that had gained five Talents, and also to him, that had gained two, *Well done*, good and faithful Servant, thou hast been faithful in a few Things, I will make thee Lord over many Things; enter thou into the Joy of thy Lord. But unto him, that had hid his Talent in the Earth, his Lord said, Thou wicked and *stothful* Servant, &c. And cast ye the *unprofitable* Servant into outer Darkness; there shall be Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth.”—In this Parable, our Lord is the Man who travelled into the far Country, Heaven. His own Servants are the whole Body of Christians. And it is our present great Privilege, that we are his Servants, and have received Talents; that is, various Capacities, Means, and Advantages. These Talents are the Gift of free *Grace*, being our Lord’s Money, and not merited by any *Works*, or Obedience of ours. But, having received these Talents, we are obliged to employ and improve them. For at the last Day, when our Lord shall *come*, he will enquire how we have used them; and then, the Servant, who has *done well*, shall be honoured and exalted. But the *stothful* Servant, who hath *done* nothing, or very ill, shall be condemned. To the same Purpose also is the Parable of the Pounds, Luke xix.

12—27.

178. [Mat. xxv. 32, to the End; “When the Son of Man shall *come* in his Glory,—before him shall be gathered *all Nations*; and he shall separate them one from another, as a Shepherd divides his Sheep from the Goats,” &c.] Observe well; the two foregoing Parables, of the Virgins and Talents, refer plainly to the Church, or to such as are in the Kingdom of Heaven, or to those who are Christ’s *own Servants*, in a peculiar Sense; and shew, upon what Terms they are favoured with Church Privileges. But this Parable of the Sheep and Goats refers to all Mankind, to *all Nations*; and shews, how Christ will deal in Judgment with the whole World; those that are not, as well as those that are, in the Church. Now, though this Parable is not for our present Purpose, yet we may from thence learn, (1.) That all Mankind without Exception have a Rule of Duty. (2.) That all Men will be judged at the last Day, in Reference to their present Conduct. (3.) That then it will appear, there have been righteous Men among all Nations. (4.) That a righteous Man in any Nation, Christian or Pagan, is one of Christ’s Brethren, Ver. 40.—(5.) That righteous Men, in all Nations, Christians or Pagans, are blessed of God, and shall be received into his Kingdom, Ver. 34.—(6.) That the finally Wicked and Impenitent

peninent in all Nations, Christians as well as Pagans, are cursed of God, and shall go into everlasting-Fire, Ver. 41.]

179. John xv. 1—6; “I am the true *Vine*, and my Father is the Husbandman. I am the *Vine*, ye are the *Branches* [123] Every Branch in me that beareth not Fruit he taketh away: And every Branch that beareth Fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more Fruit. Now you are *clean* [Ephes. v. 26. 125.] through the Word which I have spoken unto you. Abide in me, and I in you. As the *Branch* cannot bear Fruit of itself, except it abide in the *Vine*: No more can ye except ye abide in me. I am the *Vine*, ye are the *Branches*: He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much Fruit: For severed from me ye can do nothing. If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a Branch, and is withered; and Men gather them, and cast them into the Fire, and they are burned.” Ver. 8, “Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much Fruit, so shall ye be my Disciples.” Ver. 9, “As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you: Continue ye in my Love. If ye keep my Commandments, ye shall continue in my Love.” —Here Christ, (that is to say, the Church, or the Christian Community, which is planted upon, and professes the Faith and Doctrine of the Gospel, 1 Cor. xii. 12, 27.) is the *Vine*, and particular Members of the Church are the *Branches*; who are *clean* through the Doctrine which Christ has taught us. This is our present great Privilege, and the Effect of Christ’s Love. But this will not secure our final Salvation. In order to that, we must bring forth Fruit, and continue in Christ’s Love, by keeping his Commandments: Otherwise, we shall be taken away, and like useless withered Branches, cast into the Fire.

C H A P. X.

Gospel Privileges, &c. the Means of restoring true Religion, and Motives to a good and virtuous Life. Proved to be so from the Apostolic Writings.

180. FROM these Discourses and Parables of our Blessed Lord, we may gather the Truth of the Particulars laid down [169]. Which Particulars we shall now prove more largely from the Apostolic Writings. And, that it may be done, as clearly and briefly as the Thing will allow, I shall use the following Abbreviations; namely, [*Prior State*,] which signifies that the Texts, which follow, prove the State they were in, before their Conversion to Christianity. *Anteced.*] Signifies, that the following Texts speak of Antecedent Love, or Mercies. *Reason.*] The Texts, which give the Reason, or Cause of those Mercies; namely, the Grace of God. *Duty.*] The Texts which shew the Duties, to which we are obliged by the Antecedent Mercies. *Conseq.*] The Texts, which speak of the Blessings, in this or the other World, which shall be given in consequence

quence of the right Improvement of those Mercies. *Suppos.*] Texts, which suppose, or affirm, that Christians, favoured with Antecedent Mercies, may be, or actually are, wicked Abusers of them. *Account.*] Texts, which prove our Accountableness to God, for the Improvement or Non-Improvement of those Mercies. *Threat.*] Texts, which threaten final Perdition to wicked Christians, who abuse Antecedent Mercies.

R O M A N S, Chap. I. 6, 7.

181. *Paul*, the apostle, writes to *all* the Christians at Rome, without distinction, as being "*called* [97] of Jesus Christ, *beloved* of God, [140] *called saints*; [127] as *justified* by faith, and having peace with God; as standing in the *grace* of the gospel," Chap. v. 1. 2; as "*alive* [99] from the dead," Chap. vi. 13, &c. [*Duty*] Chap. vi. 4, 12, &c. "Walk in newness of life. Let not sin reign in your mortal body. Yield yourselves unto God." Chap. xii. 1, &c. "I beseech you therefore, *brethren*, by the *mercies* [142] of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service." [*Account.*] Chap. xiv. 10, 12, "We shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ.—Every one of us shall give account of himself to God." [*Sup.*] xiii. 11, 12, 13, 14,—"It is high time to awake out of sleep;—let us therefore cast off the works of darkness;—let us not walk in rioting and drunkenness, in chambering and wantonness, in strife and envying.—Make no provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof." viii. 13, "For if ye live after the flesh, [*Threat.*] ye shall die hereafter: ‡ But if ye through the Spirit do mortify the Deeds of the Body, [*Conf.*] ye shall live."

I. II. CORINTHIANS.

182. Both these Epistles were wrote to the same Persons.

Prior State.] The body of Christians at Corinth had been idolatrous Gentiles, Chap. xii. 2; "Ye know that ye were *Gentiles* carried away unto those dumb *Idols*, even as ye were led."

183. *Anteced.*] But after their conversion to Christianity (1 Cor. i. 2. 2 Cor. i. 1.) they were "the *church* of God, [133] *sanctified* [124] in Christ Jesus, *called* [97] *saints*." [127] Ver. 4, "The *grace* [142] of God was given them by Jesus Christ;" Ver. 5, 6, 7, "They were enriched with the miraculous gifts of the Spirit;" (xiv. 18, "I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than you all.") Ver. 9, "They were called into the fellowship of Jesus Christ;" Ver. 10, 11, &c. (x. 14,) The apostle frequently owns them for his *brethren*, dearly beloved; Ver. 18, "They were among the *saved* [93], in opposition to the infidel Gentiles, who were lost; Ver. 30, "Of him *are* [102] ye in Christ Jesus." Chap. iii. 9, "Ye are God's *husbandry*, [123] ye are God's *building*" [128]. Ver. 16, (2 Cor. vi. 16.) "Ye are the *temple* [128]"

‡ Μελλετε ἀποθνήσκειν, ye shall hereafter die; meaning, in the world that is to come.

of God." Ver. 23, "Ye are Christ's." Chap. v. 7, "Ye are unleavened," [that is, with regard to the state into which they were put by the Gospel, according to the profession, principles, means, blessings, end and design of which they were unleavened, or purged from all wickedness] Chap. vi. 11, "Ye are *washed*, [125]* ye are *sanctified*, [124] ye are *justified*, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the spirit of our God." Ver. 15, "Your bodies are the members of Christ." Ver. 19, "Your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in," or among, "you" [in it's miraculous gifts and operations.] Ver. 20, "Ye are *bought* [93] with a price." Chap. vii. 14, "Your children are not *unclean*, [126] but *holy*." [127] Ver. 23, "Ye are *bought* [93] with a price." Chap. x. 17, They were "all partakers of that one bread" in the Lord's supper. xii. 13, "By one spirit they were all baptized into one body." Ver. 27, They were "the body of Christ, and members in particular." xv. 1, They had "received the gospel, and stood in it." 2 Cor. vi. 17, 18. vii. 1, They had the promise of God's being their *father*, [103] and they his *sons* and *daughters*; that is, God was their father, and they his sons and daughters; for they had in possession the grant, or promise, of this honourable relation.

All these blessings, and happy relations, are affirmed of the whole body of the Corinthian Christians, without exception, or distinction.

184. *Reason.*] 1 Cor. i. 4, "The *grace* [142] of God was given them by Jesus Christ."

185. *Duty.*] The foregoing blessings and privileges will appear to be *motives* to virtue and obedience, if we consider the following passages. 1 Cor. v. 7, 8, "Purge out therefore the old leaven, † that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened. For even Christ our pasover is sacrificed for us. Therefore let us keep the feast [of a Christian life] not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth." vi. 18, 19, 20, "Flee fornication.—Your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost,—and—ye are bought with a price: Therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's." ix. 24—27, "They which run in a race, run all, but one receives the prize. So run [in the Christian course] that ye may obtain. And every man that strives for the mastery is temperate in all things: Now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible. I therefore so run, not as uncertainly: So fight I, not as one that beateth the air; But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection: Left by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should

* "Ye are washed," is here of the same import with "purged from his old sins," 2 Pet. i. 9. And ii. 22, "the sow that was *washed*," is an apostate Christian. The Jewish church is said to be *washed*, when it was *born*, Ezek. xvi. 4, 9.

† Though, according to the profession, principles, means, blessings, end and design of the gospel, they were unleavened, or washed, purged and sanctified, yet the Apostle here supposes there was among them the old, heathenish leaven of malice and wickedness, which it was their duty to purge out. This is clearly explained in Ezek. xxiv. 13, "Because I have purged thee, [by the instructions, means and motives afforded for that purpose,] and thou wast not purged [by a due improvement of them,] thou shalt not be purged from thy filthiness any more, till I have caused my fury to pass upon thee."

should be a cast-away," or reprobate. ‡ iv. 16, "I beseech you be ye the followers of me." xv. 58, "My beloved brethren, be ye stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord." || xvi. 13, 14, "Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong. Let all your things be done in charity." 2 Cor. v. 15, "Christ died for all, that they which live, should not *henceforth* [after they have embraced Christianity] live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them, and rose again." vi. 1, "We beseech you also that ye receive not the grace of God in vain." * vii. 1, "Having therefore these promises [that

‡ Paul was not cast away, or reprobate, but was, at that time, of the "remnant according to the election of Grace," Rom. xi. 1, 5. And yet, had he not kept under his body, &c. notwithstanding his gifts and preaching, as an apostle, he would have become a cast-away, or reprobate, in the day of judgment.

|| The Corinthians had received the gospel and stood in it. (1 Cor. xv. 1.) Which gospel, as appears from the whole chapter, was this; that Christ will raise us from the dead, and give us eternal life. And this gospel is a *motive* to engage us to be "stedfast and unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord; forasmuch as we know that our labour shall not be in vain in the Lord."

* It is worth our while to observe; that in 2 Cor. v. 20, 21, vi. 1, 2, 3. the apostle gives us a specimen of the apostolic manner of address to two different sorts of people. 1. To the unconverted Gentiles. 2. To those who had already embraced Christianity.

I. That he speaks to the unbelieving Gentiles in Chap. v. 20, 21, is evident; because he is speaking of God's reconciling *the world* to himself by Christ. Ver. 19, "To wit, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath committed unto us," apostles, "the word of reconciliation." The world, or this world, commonly, if not always, in the apostolic writings, when applied to the men that are in the world, signifies the unconverted Heathens. See, particularly, 1 Cor. v. 10, 11. xi. 32. And, *reconcile*, [καταλλάσσω] when spoken of the world, signifies changing men from Heathenism, to the faith of the gospel. Rom. v. 10, "For if when *we*," Christians, "were enemies," idolatrous Gentiles, "we were reconciled," or changed "to God by the death of his son: much more being now actually reconciled, we shall be finally saved by his life." Consequently, he could not, as our translators suppose, address the Christians at Corinth, when he saith, Ver. 20, "Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech [you] by us; we pray [you] in Christ's stead be ye reconciled unto God." Our translators have inserted [you] twice in this verse; as if the apostle was speaking to the Corinthians: but [you] is not in the original Greek; and the Corinthians, to whom he writes, were already reconciled to God, or changed from Heathenism to the faith of the gospel; they had "received the grace of God," Chap. vi. 1. And therefore in this Verse he gives a specimen of their manner of preaching to the unconverted, unreconciled Gentiles. "Now then we are ambassadors on the behalf of Christ, as though God did beseech," or intreat, "by us, we pray," we beg, "on the behalf of Christ, *be ye reconciled*, [or changed from your enmity and idolatry,] unto God." In such language the apostles addressed, and intreated the Gentile world. He adds, Ver. 21, the grand argument which they urged to inforce this intreaty: "For he," God, "has made him to be sin for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him." As if he had said, "God by a surprising scheme of wisdom and mercy ap-

[that God is your *father*, and you his sons and daughters] let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.

186. *Conseq.*] Performing the foregoing duties, they were sure of further blessings. 1 Cor. i. 8, "Jesus Christ will establish you unto the end; that ye may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ."—xv. 58,—“For as much as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord.” 2 Cor. iv. 17, “For our light affliction, — works for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.” xiii. 11, “Be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace; and the God of peace will be with you.”

187. *Suppos.*] But they might, and some of them actually did, neglect their duty in a very gross manner. 1 Cor. i. 11, “There are contentions, *Egdis*, among you” [which are the works of the flesh, Gal. v. 19, 20, 21.] iii. 3, “Whereas there are among you envying and strife, and divisions, are ye not carnal and walk as men?” v. 11, “If any man that is called a *brother*, [106] be a fornicator, covetous, an idolater, a railer, a drunkard, or an extortioner.” vi. 8, “You do wrong, *adixiste* and defraud, and that your *brethren*.” x. 6—15, “Lust not after evil things, as they

“pointed his only begotten Son, who was in a state of the highest excellency, “and glory, to sink into a state of suffering, and even to die, in order to lay “a proper and just foundation for the pardon and salvation of a sinful and “apostate world.” After this manner the apostles preached to the unconverted Gentiles.

II. The apostle also gives us a specimen of their preaching to such as the Corinthians, who had already embraced Christianity; Chap. vi. 1, 2, 3, “And working together, (I and my fellow-labourer Timothy, Chap. i. 1.) we moreover intreat [*xxi* is emphatical] that *you* receive not the grace of God in vain.” [142] The Corinthians had received the grace of God, and therefore the apostle, and the ministers of the gospel, did not exhort them to be reconciled unto God; but, not to receive his grace in vain. And then, as before, he subjoins the grand argument, to persuade Christians to make a right improvement of the grace and privileges they had received. For he saith, (explaining the blessed state of the church, or people of God) “I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee; behold,” take good notice, O Christians, “now is the accepted time, behold, now is the day of salvation.” As if he had said: “Christians, you are in the happy state “of pardon, in which God has promised to hear your prayers, to supply you “with all needful succour and strength, and to carry you on to protection. Heaven shines and smiles upon you. Therefore, make a due improvement of the “glorious opportunity.” Thus the apostles and ministers of the gospel preached to such, as had already embraced Christianity. And it is evident, they considered all professed Christians, without exception, as in a state of Grace. It is the great happiness of all professed Christians, that they have received the grace of God. But this will not absolutely secure their final salvation. For the grace of God is a motive to virtue; and if they do not so improve it, they receive it in vain, and shall perish for ever. See other instances of the like apostolic manner of preaching to Christians. 2 Cor. vi. 16, 17, 18. vii. 1. Heb. iii. 6, 7, &c. xii. 22—25; 28. 29. Jam. i. 18, 19. 1 Pet. i. 2, 3, 4, &c. 13, &c. 23, &c. ii. 1; 7, &c. 11, &c. 2 Pet. i. 3, 4, 5, 6, &c. 1 John ii. 12—17. And in other places.

they [our fathers, the Jews in the wilderness *] also lusted. Neither be ye Idolaters as were some of them;—neither let us commit fornication, —neither let us tempt,” provoke, “Christ,—neither murmur ye as some of them also murmured, and were destroyed of the destroyer. Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples, and they are written for our admonition*. Wherefore let him that stands † [in the Christian faith] take heed lest he fall [into those sins, and under the wrath of God.] —My dearly beloved, flee from Idolatry.” xi. 18—33, “They eat and drank unworthily in the Lord’s supper, and were guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.” xv. 34, “Awake to righteousness and sin not; for some of you have not the knowledge of God: I speak this to your shame.” 2 Cor. xi. 3, “I fear lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ.” xii. 20, 21, “I fear lest when I come I shall not find you such as I would:—Lest there be debates, envyings, wraths, strifes, backbitings, whisperings, swellings and tumults: And lest, when I come again, my God will humble me among you, and that I shall bewail many which have sinned already, and have not repented of the uncleanness, and fornication, and lasciviousness which they have committed.”

188. *Account.*] For their good or bad behaviour they were accountable to God, and obnoxious to his judgment. 1 Cor. x. 22, “Do ye provoke the Lord to jealousy? Are we stronger than he?” xi. 30, 31, “For this cause [because you eat and drink unworthily in the Lord’s supper] many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep. For if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged.” 2 Cor. v. 10, “For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in the body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil.”

189. *Threat.*]

* The Apostle’s argument in this 10th chapter, Ver. 1—15, stands upon this foundation; that our present Christian privileges and state bear a correspondence to the state and privileges of the antient Jews. Now, saith he, “all our fathers,” the Israelites, “were under the cloud; and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and did all eat the same spiritual meat; and did all drink the same spiritual drink: (For they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them: And that rock was Christ: (But with many of them God was not well pleased: For they were overthrown in the wilderness. Now those things were *our* examples:’ And therefore all of us, Christians, without exception, do enjoy all the common honours, encouragements, advantages and blessings of a peculiar people, as well as all the Israelites did. And further; as many of the Israelites, notwithstanding their privileges, were wicked, and for their wickedness were destroyed, and fell short of the promised land; even so, if we Christians do not take care to improve our privileges; if we commit sin, as they did, we shall, after their example, perish, and fall short of the heavenly Canaan. Therefore, the Apostle exhorts, Ver. 12, “Let him that thinks he stands,” in the present privileges and blessings of the Gospel, “take heed lest he fall” into eternal perdition, by misimproving them. In the same manner he argues from Jewish privileges and duties, to Christian privileges and duties, Heb. iii. 7—19.—iv. 1—12.

† The sense of *doxew* [think, seem] in several places, especially here, and Heb. iv. 1, is so nice, and difficult to settle, that I reckon the clearest way of rendering the words is to consider this verb as a kind of expletive.

189. *Threat.*] And for their wickedness, unrepented of, they should as certainly perish, as any other sinners upon earth. 1 Cor. vi. 9,—"The unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God *." Be not deceived" with any professions you make, or privileges you enjoy: "Neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, shall inherit the kingdom of God." xi. 32, "When we are judged we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world." [This supposes, wicked Christians will, at last, be condemned with the Heathen world.]

190. From all this it appears; that the Corinthian Christians are affirmed by the Apostle, to be the Church of God, washed, sanctified, justified, called saints, saved, God's husbandry, building, temple, bought with a price, to have God for their father, and to be his children, in a sense which must take in the whole body of professors, good or bad; and even in a sense consistent with their final perdition. Consequently, that the grace, they had received, was not to be rested in for final salvation, any further, than it was made the principle of a pious and virtuous life.

G A L A T I A N S.

191. The Galatian Christians had been idolatrous Gentiles, Chap. iii. 8, 14.

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8, 14. iv. 8, "When ye knew not God, ye did service unto them which by nature are no gods."

192. But after they were converted to Christianity, the Apostle affirms, (i. 2.) that their several societies were churches; Ver. 4, That "Christ gave himself for their sins;" Ver. 6, They were "*called* into the grace of Christ;" Ver. 11, Were "*brethren*;" [106] iii. 2, 3, 5, Had "received the Spirit, begun in the spirit;" Ver. 26, They were "*all the children* [103] of God by *faith* in Christ Jesus:" Ver. 27, They had "put on Christ;" Ver. 29, They were "Christ's, Abraham's seed, and *heirs* [108] according to promise;" iv. 5, 6, They had "received the adoption of *sons*, and God had sent forth the spirit of his Son into their hearts;" Ver. 7, They were "*heirs* of God by Christ;" Ver. 9, They "knew God, or rather, were known of God."

193. *Duty.*] v. 6, "In Jesus Christ, neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but *faith* which works by love." Ver. 13, "By love serve one another." Ver. 16, "Walk in the spirit." Ver. 24, 25, "They that are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts. If we live in the spirit, let us also walk in the spirit." vi. 9, "Let us not be weary in well-doing *."

194. *Conf.*] vi. 8, "He that soweth to the spirit, shall of the spirit reap life everlasting." Ver. 9, "For in due season we shall reap, if we faint not." Ver. 16, "And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy."

195. *Suppos.*] The Apostle, through the whole epistle, supposes these Galatians in great danger of "*finishing in the flesh*," iii. 3; of "*falling from grace*," and of having "Christ become of no effect unto them," v. 4; That they did, or might, "*bite and devour one another*," Ver. 15; That they were in danger of "*fulfilling the lust of the flesh*," Ver. 16; That they might be "*desirous of vain-glory, provoking one another, envying one another*," Ver. 26.

196. *Threat.*] Chap. v. 19, 21, "They which do the works of the flesh, shall not inherit the kingdom of God." vi. 5, "Every man shall bear his own burden." Ver. 7, 8, "Be not deceived," O Galatians, "God is not mocked: For whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. For he that soweth to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption."

EPHESIANS.

197. *Prior State.*] ii. 1, 2, 3, "You were dead in trespasses and sins, wherein *in time past* † ye walked according to the course of this world, [according to the custom of the Heathen world,] according to the prince of the power of the air; the spirit that now worketh in the children

* "Let us not be weary in *well-doing*, for in due time we shall reap, if we faint not." Hence it appears, we are to go through a course of *well-doing*, in order to our reaping eternal life; which we shall not obtain, if we faint, or are "weary in *well-doing*."

† Time-past.] This phrase points to their Gentile state. See 1 Pet. ii. 10. iv. 3, and the note upon Rom. v. 6.

189. *Threat.*] And for their wickedness, unrepented of, they should as certainly perish, as any other sinners upon earth. 1 Cor. vi. 9,—"The unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God *." Be not deceived" with any professions you make, or privileges you enjoy: "Neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, shall inherit the kingdom of God." xi. 32, "When we are judged we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world." [This supposes, wicked Christians will, at last, be condemned with the Heathen world.]

190. From all this it appears; that the Corinthian Christians are affirmed by the Apostle, to be the Church of God, washed, sanctified, justified, called saints, saved, God's husbandry, building, temple, bought with a price, to have God for their father, and to be his children, in a sense which must take in the whole body of professors, good or bad; and even in a sense consistent with their final perdition. Consequently, that the grace, they had received, was not to be rested in for final salvation, any further, than it was made the principle of a pious and virtuous life.

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dren of disobedience †, [the Heathen.] Among whom we all had our conversation *in times past* †, in the lusts of our flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh, and of the mind; and were children by nature of wrath, even as other Heathens." Ver. 11, 12, "Wherefore remember that ye being *in times past* † *Gentiles* in the flesh, who are called uncircumcision by that which is called the circumcision in the flesh made by hands; that at that time ye were without Christ, being *aliens* [37] from the common-wealth of Israel, and *strangers* from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world." Ver. 17, "Ye were *afar off*." Ver. 19, "*Strangers* [37] and *foreigners*." v. 8, "Ye were sometime darkness *."

198. *Anteced.*] i. 1, 3, 4, 5,—"To the *saints* [127] at Ephesus, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus. The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ has blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ: According as he has *chosen* [92] us in him before the foundation of the world; having predestinated us to the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to himself." Ver. 7, "In Christ we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins." Ver. 11, "In whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to the purpose of him, who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will." Ver. 13,—"In whom also, after that he believed, ye were sealed with that holy spirit of promise." ii. 5, 6, God, "even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ (by *grace* [139] ye are *saved* [93]). And hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus." Ver. 10, "Now ye who sometimes were *afar off*, were made *nigh* [131] by the blood of Christ." Ver. 16, Who has "reconciled us unto God in one body" with the Jews. (iii. 6.) Ver. 18, "For through him we both have an access by one spirit unto the Father." Ver. 19, "Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens [117] with the *saints*, and of the *household* [107] of God;" Ver. 20, "And are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone." Ver. 22, "In whom you also are builded together for an *habitation* [128] of God, through the Spirit." v. 8, "Ye were sometime darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord."

199. *Reason.*] i. 5, "Having predestinated us—according to the pleasure of his will." Ver. 6, "To the praise of the glory of his *grace* [142], whereby he has made us accepted in the beloved." Ver. 7,—"According to the riches of his *grace*." Ver. 9, "According to his good pleasure, which he has proposed in himself." Ver. 11, "Being predestinated according to the purpose of him, who works all things after the counsel of his own will." ii. 2, "God, who is rich in *mercy*, [142] for his great *love* [142] wherewith he has loved us, even when we were dead in sins, has quickened us together with Christ; by *grace* ye are *saved*." [93] Ver. 7, "That in the ages to come he might shew the exceeding riches of his *grace*, in his

† "Children of disobedience," are unbelieving Heathen, in contradistinction to Christians, who are obedient children, or, as it is in the Greek, "children of obedience," 1 Pet. i. 14.

* Darkness, is another character of the Heathen state; Col. i. 3, "Who has delivered us from the power of darkness." 1. Thes. v. 4, 5. Acts xxvi. 18. Rom. xiii. 12. 2 Cor. vi. 14. Ephes. v. 11, vi. 12. 1 Pet. ii. 9.

his kindness towards us in Jesus Christ. For by *grace* ye are *saved* through *faith*, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God : not of *works*, [139] so that no man can boast." iii. 11, " According to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord." [165]

200. The Ephesians were happy in these privileges, conferred upon them by the pure mercy, grace, and love of God, without respect to any works of righteousness they had done, in their Gentile state. Thus they were saved, through faith only, without works. But would they be finally saved without works of obedience and righteousness? By no means. So far from that, that these privileges were means and motives to engage them to good works; which good works are the very end, for which they were, by the grace of God, brought into the fore-said blessed condition. And therefore the apostle earnestly exhorts them to all manner of holiness; which would have been needless, had their final salvation been secured by their being chosen, predestinated, saved by grace, &c.

201. *Duty.*] i. 4, " He has chosen us,—that we should be holy." Ver. 12, " Being predestinated—that we should be to the praise of his glory." ii. 10, " For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto *good works*, which God hath before ordained, [when he laid the plan of our redemption] that we should walk in them." iv. 1, 2, 3, " I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you that ye walk worthy of the *calling*, wherewith ye are *called*, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love." Ver. 17, " This I say therefore, and testify in the Lord, that ye *henceforth* [in your Christian state] walk not as other *Gentiles* walk, in the vanity of their mind, having their understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God," &c. Ver. 22, 23, 24, " That ye put off, concerning the former conversation, the old man which is corrupt,—and that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness, and true holiness." Ver. 25, " Wherefore, putting away lying, speak the truth." —Ver. 26, " Be ye angry, and sin not. Neither give place to the devil." Ver. 28, " Let him that stole, steal no more. Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth," &c. v. 1, 2, " Be followers of God as dear children; and walk in love." Ver. 3, " Fornication and all uncleanness, or covetousness, let it not be once named among you, as becomes *saints*." Ver. 8, " Ye were sometimes [in Heathenism] darkness; but now [in your Christian state] are ye light in the Lord : walk as children of light." Ver. 11, " And have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness."

202. *Suppos.*] From these earnest admonitions it is evident, the Ephesians, though they were chosen, predestinated, &c. might still live in Heathenish wickedness; as also from his exhorting them to " take unto them the whole armour of God, that they might be able to stand in the evil day, and having done all to stand," &c. Chap. vi. 11, &c. Which supposes they had enemies to engage with, by whom they might possibly be overcome, and ruined for ever : as he tells them.

203. *Threat.*] v. 5, 6, " For this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ, and of God. Let no man deceive you,"
into

211. *Duty.*] i. 9—12,—"We cease not to pray for you, and desire that ye might be filled with the knowledge of his will, in all wisdom and spiritual understanding: that ye might walk worthy of the Lord [164] unto all pleasing, being fruitful in every *good work*, and increasing in the knowledge of God; strengthened with all might, according to his glorious power, unto all patience and long-suffering with joyfulness; giving thanks unto the Father." Ver. 22, "You hath he *reconciled* [changing you from Heathenism to Christianity, and forgiving your sins, for this end] to present you holy and unblameable, and unreprouable in his sight," [at the *last day*] ii. 6, "As ye have therefore received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk in him." iii. 1, 2, "If ye," or since ye, "then are risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, and not on things on the earth, for ye are dead," &c. Ver. 5, "Mortify therefore your members, which are upon the earth; fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, &c. In the which ye also walked sometime," that is, when you were Heathens. Ver. 8, "But *now*," you have embraced the gospel, "you also put off," that is, it is your duty to put off, "all these, anger, wrath, malice," &c. Ver. 9, "Lie not one to another, seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds." Ver. 12, "Put on therefore (as the *elect* of God, *holy* and *beloved*) [140] bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind," &c. to the 7th verse of the 4th chapter.

212. *Conseq.*] iii. 24, "Knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the *inheritance*." [108]

213. *Suppos.*] i. 23, "If ye continue in the faith, grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel." Ver. 28, "Whom [Christ] we preach, warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom; that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus." ii. 4, "This I say, lest any man should beguile you with enticing words." Ver. 8, "Beware lest any man spoil you." Ver. 18, "Let no man beguile you of your [final] reward." All this supposes, they might possibly be spoiled, and beguiled of eternal happiness; and therefore the apostle earnestly cautions and warns them, that he might, in the last day, present them "perfect in Christ Jesus." In which day, he tells them,

214. *Threat.*] iii. 25, That "he that doth wrong, shall receive for the wrong which he has done: and there will then be no respect of persons." For, Ver. 6, on account of fornication, uncleanness, &c. against which he cautions them, "the wrath of God comes upon the children of disobedience," whoever they be, and therefore, would come upon them too, if they were guilty of such wickedness.

All this makes it clear, 1. That their being "saints, reconciled, quickened together with Christ, elect, holy and beloved," would not, of itself, secure their final happiness. 2. That these honours and privileges were in order to their discharging their several duties as Christians. 3. That they might, though elect, holy, and beloved, neglect those duties, and fall into sin. 4. And that if they did, they should perish. Consequently their being "reconciled, quickened together with Christ, elect, holy, beloved," &c. must refer to their external state, as they were taken into the family and kingdom of God, and vested with the privileges thereof.

I. II. T H E S S A L O N I A N S.

Both these epistles were wrote to the same persons.

215. *Prior State.*] They had been idolatrous Gentiles. 1 Thes. i. 9,—"When we *"entered in unto you,"* and preached the gospel, *"ye turned unto God from idols."* ii. 14, "Ye have suffered like things of your own countrymen," the Gentiles of Thessaly, *"even as the churches of God in Judea have of the Jews."*

216. *Anteced.*] 1 Thes. i. 1, They were become, by embracing the Christian faith, *"the church, or congregation, [133] of the Thessalonians in God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ."* 2 Thes. i. 1.—1 Thes. i. 2, 4, "I give thanks to God always for you,—knowing, *brethren beloved, your election of God;*" or knowing, brethren, *beloved of God, your election.* Ver. 6, "And ye became followers of us, and of the Lord, having received the word."—Ver. 9, "Ye turned to God from idols." ii. 12, "God has *called you to his kingdom and glory.*" v. 4, 5, "Ye, brethren, are not in *darkness,*—ye are all children of the *light,* and the children of the *day:* We are not of the night, nor of darkness." Ver. 9, "God has not appointed us to wrath, but to obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ." Ver. 27, "I charge you by the Lord, that this epistle be read unto all the *holy brethren.*" [127, 106] 2 Thes. ii. 13, 14, "We are bound to give thanks alway to God for you brethren, *beloved of the Lord, [140] because God hath from the beginning [perhaps from the original settlement of the covenant with Abraham] chosen you to salvation, through sanctification of the spirit, and belief of the truth; whereunto he called you by our gospel, to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ.*"—These were their great honours and privileges, intended to engage them to a holy and virtuous life; as follows,

217. *Duty.*] 1 Thes. ii. 12, "Walk worthy of God, who has called you to his kingdom and glory." iii. 12, 13, "And the Lord made you to increase and abound in love one towards another, and towards all men, even as we do towards you: to the end he may establish your hearts unblameable in holiness before God, even our Father, at," or unto, "the *coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints* *." iv. 1—6,—"We beseech you, brethren, and exhort you by the Lord Jesus, that as ye have received of us how ye ought to walk, and to please God, so ye would abound more and more. For ye know what commandments we gave you by the Lord Jesus. For this is the will of God [in *electing and calling you,*] even your sanctification, that ye should abstain from fornication," &c. Ver. 9—12, "As touching brotherly love, ye need not that I write unto you;—for indeed you do it,—but I beseech you, brethren, that ye abound more and more; and that ye study to be quiet, and do your own business," &c. v. 6, "Let us not sleep as do others, [the Heathen, Ephes. ii. 3. v.

14]

* Hence it appears; That the happy state of a Christian is not determined, or fixed, till the coming of our Lord. In the mean while, he has a state of trial to go through, in order to his being sanctified, and found blameless at our Lord's coming. Which the Apostle prays might be the case of the Thessalonian Christians.

14] but let us watch and be sober." Ver. 8, "Let us, who are of the *day*, be sober, putting on the breast-plate of faith and love, and for an helmet the hope of salvation." Ver. 23, "And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly: and I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the *coming of our Lord Jesus Christ* *." 2 Thef. i. 11, 12, "We pray always for you, that our God would count," or make, "you worthy of this *calling*, and fulfil all the good pleasure of his goodness, and the work of faith with power. That the name of our Lord Jesus Christ may be glorified in you, and ye in him, according to the grace of our God, and the Lord Jesus Christ," bestowed upon you. ii. 14, &c. "Ye are *called* to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions, which ye have been taught. Now our Lord Jesus Christ, and God even our Father, which has *loved* [139] us, and given us everlasting consolation, and good hope through grace, comfort your hearts, and establish you in every good word and work."

218. *Conseq.*] 1 Thef. iv. 17,—"We shall for ever be with the Lord." v. 23, 24, "The God of peace sanctify you wholly,—Faithful is he who *calleth* you, who also will do it." 2 Thef. i. 4, 5, 7, 10, "Your persecutions and tribulations are a manifest token of the righteous judgment of God, that ye may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which ye suffer: Seeing it is a righteous thing with God,—to recompence—to you who are troubled, *rest* [109] with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven, with his mighty angels,—when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and admired in all them that believe in *that day*." iii. 3, "The Lord is faithful who shall establish you, and keep you from evil."

219. *Suppos.*] 1 Thef. ii. 11, 12,—"We exhorted and charged every one of you,—that ye would walk worthy of God." iii. 5, 8,—"I sent to know your faith, lest by some means the tempter have tempted you, and our labour be *in vain*. For now we live, if ye stand fast in the Lord." iv. 7, 8, "God hath not called us unto uncleanness, but unto holiness. He therefore [among you] that despises [the rules of our holy calling,] despises not man but God, who has also given unto us his holy spirit." v. 6, "Therefore let us not sleep as do others [the Heathen;] but let us watch and be sober." Ver. 14, "We exhort you, brethren, warn them that are unruly among you." 2 Thef. iii. 4, "We have confidence touching you, that ye both do, and will do the things which we command you." Ver. 6, "Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every *brother* that walks disorderly." Ver. 11, "For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly."—Ver. 13, 14, 15; "But ye, brethren, be not weary in well-doing. And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed; yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a *brother*." [106]

220. *Account.*] 1 Thef. iv. 8, "He [among you] that despises, despises not man, but God," to whom he is accountable for his wicked conduct; as appears from

221. *Threat.*] Ver. 6, "Let none among you go beyond and defraud his brother in any matter, because that the Lord is the avenger of all such, as we also have forewarned you, and testified."

C H A P. XI.

A Continuation of the Proof from the Apostolic Writings, that Gospel Privileges, &c. are Motives to a good and virtuous Life.

I. T I M O T H Y.

222. **C**HAP. I. 5, "The End," or Design, "of the Commandment,* [the Gospel] is to produce Charity, out of a pure Heart, and of a good Conscience, and of Faith unfeigned." Ver. 9, 10, 11, "The Law is made—for the Lawless and Disobedient, for the Ungodly and Sinners, for Unholy and Profane, &c.—and if there be any other Thing that is contrary to *sound Doctrine*, according to the glorious Gospel of the blessed God, which is committed to my Charge." Obs. The Gospel, Paul preached, forbids and condemns all Wickedness, as certainly as the Law itself. iv. 8, 'Tis *Godliness*, which in the Gospel, "has the Promise of the Life that now is, [of present Blessings,] and of that which is to come." vi. 3, "The Words of our Lord Jesus Christ are wholesome Words, and his Doctrine is according to *Godliness*."

223. Timothy was a *Man of God*, Chap. vi. 11; "A minister of Jesus Christ," iv. 6; And therefore one of the highest Rank in the Church: But he should finally "save himself, and them that heard him, by exercising himself unto *Godliness*," being "an Example of the Believers in Word, in Conversation, in Charity, in Spirit, in Purity.—By taking heed unto himself and his Doctrine," Ver. 7, to the End.—He was called to eternal Life; but he would lay hold of it, so as to secure it finally, by "following after Righteousness, *Godliness*, Faith, Love, Patience, Meekness: and by fighting the good Fight of Faith," vi. 11, 12.—Ver. 17—19, "Charge them that are rich in this World." He speaks of professed Christians, who were (Ver. 2.) "Brethren, faithful, and beloved, [140] Partakers of the Benefit," that is, of the Favour and Blessing of God in Christ. And yet he must charge those not to be "high-minded, nor trust in uncertain Riches, but in the living God; to do good, that they might be rich in *good Works*, ready to distribute, willing to communicate; laying up in Store for themselves a good Foundation against the Time to come," the future World, "that they may lay hold on eternal Life." Plainly intimating, that if they were not rich in good Works, notwithstanding their present Honours and Privileges, they would want a good Foundation, as to the World to come, and would not lay hold on eternal Life, so as finally to obtain it.

II. T I M O T H Y.

224. CHAP. I. 9, Timothy, with the Apostle, and other Christians, was "*saved*, [93] and *called* [97] with an holy Calling; not according to his

* *Παράκλησις*. The Gospel is also signified by *ἐπαγγελία*, Commandment, 2 Pet. ii. 21.

his or their *works*, but according to God's own Purpose and Grace, [139] which was given us in Christ Jesus before the World began." [165] And Timothy was "*chosen* to be a Soldier," ii. 4. But tho' he was saved, called and chosen, without respect to *Works*, antecedent to his being saved, called and chosen, it is manifest he was under the strongest Obligations to all *good Works*, after he was saved, called and chosen; otherwise, he would fall short of final and eternal Salvation. This is manifest from the Apostle's Exhortations. ii. 15, "Study to shew thyself approved unto God." Ver. 22, "Flee youthful Lusts: But follow Righteousness," &c. iii. 14, "Continue thou in the Things which thou hast learned." iv. 1, 2, "I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the Quick and the Dead, at his Appearing and his Kingdom, [and who will judge thee, Timothy, according to thy Behaviour,] preach the Word, be instant in Season, out of Season, reprove, rebuke, exhort with all Long-Suffering and Doctrine." Ver. 5, "Watch thou in all Things, endure Afflictions, do the Work of an Evangelist, make full Proof of thy Ministry." ii. 3,— "Endure Hardness as a good Soldier of Jesus Christ. No Man that warreth entangleth himself with the Affairs of this Life; that he may please him who has chosen him to be a Soldier. And if a Man strives for Masteries [in the Olympic Games,] yet is he not *crowned*, except he strive lawfully. The Husbandman that *laboureth*, must be first Partaker of the Fruits." Or, as it is in the Margin, "The Husbandman *labouring* first, must be Partaker of the Fruits." According to which Rule the Apostle himself (Ver. 10.) "endured all Things for the Elect's [92] sake, that they might obtain the Salvation which is in Christ Jesus, with eternal Life." [This shews, it is one Thing to be elect, or chosen unto Salvation; and another Thing to obtain that Salvation, which is connected with eternal Life.] Ver. 11, "It is a faithful Saying, For if we," who are *saved* and *called* (i. 9.) "be dead with him, we shall also live eternally with him: If we suffer, we shall also *reign* with him: But if we deny him, he will deny us, in the Day of Judgment." Ver. 19.—"Let every one that names the Name of Christ [profess Christianity] depart from Iniquity." Ver. 20, 21, "But in a great House, [such a large Society as the Church,] there are not only Vessels of Gold and Silver, but also of Wood and Earth; and some to Honour, and some to Dishonour. If a Man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a Vessel unto Honour, sanctified and meet for the Master's Use, and prepared unto every *good Work*."

225, Chap. IV. 6, 7, 8,—"The Time of my Departure is at hand; I have fought the good Fight, I have finished my Course, I have kept the Faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a *Crown* of Righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge will give me at that Day; and not to me only, but unto all them also, that love his appearing." Hence it is evident, the *Crown* of final Happiness is to be expected, as the Issue of a Course of faithful Service and Obedience.

T I T U S.

226. CHAP. I. 1, "The Truth [the Gospel] is after Godliness." ii. 1, "Speak thou the Things which become *sound Doctrine*." What is *sound Gospel*

Gospel Doctrine? Answ. Ver. 2—11, “That aged Men be sober, grave, temperate, &c. The aged Women likewise, that they be in Behaviour as becomes *Holiness*,” or holy Women, &c. “That they may teach the young Women to be sober, to love their Husbands, to love their Children, to be discreet, chaste, Keepers at Home, good, obedient to their own Husbands, &c. Young Men likewise exhort to be sober-minded. In all Things shewing thyself a Pattern of *good Works*. Exhort Servants to be obedient unto their own Masters,” &c.—That the Doctrine, which teaches us Godliness, Sobriety, right Behaviour in every Relation, and the Performance of all *good Works*, is the sound, uncorrupt doctrine of the Gospel, the Apostle proves, Ver. 11—14, “For the *Grace* of God, which brings *Salvation* [93] unto all men*, has appeared, teaching us, that denying Ungodliness and worldly Lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; looking for that blessed Hope, and the Appearing of the Glory of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all Iniquity, and purify unto himself a *peculiar People* [132] zealous of *good Works*.”—This clearly shews, that the Gospel is a Scheme for promoting Virtue and Holiness: and that Redemption, and the Grace of God which brings Salvation unto all Men, or freely admits Men of all Degrees, upon their professed Faith, to the Privileges and Blessings of God’s *peculiar People*, doth not immediately and absolutely secure our final Salvation; but, in order to that, we must be purified from Iniquity, and zealous of good Works.

227. Chap. III. 1—9. Paul shews Titus, how to instruct the Cretans to make a due Improvement of their Christian Principles and Obligations, inculcating the same Things, as above, under a different Form. Ver. 8, “These Things I will that thou affirm constantly,” or establish, as Principles, among them, for this End, “that they who believe in God be careful to maintain *good Works* ;” of which he gives some Instances, Ver. 1, 2, “to be subject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magistrates, to be ready to every *good Work*. To speak Evil of no Man, to be no Brawlers, but gentle, shewing all Meekness to all Men.”

228. Now the Principles and Obligations, which he ought to affirm and establish, in order to enforce the Practice of such *good Works*, are contained in Ver. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; “For we ourselves also were *sometimes* [in our Gentile State] foolish, disobedient, deceived, served divers Lusts and Pleasures, &c. But after that the *Kindness* and *Love* of God our Saviour towards Man appeared, not by *Works* of Righteousness, which we have done, but according to his *Mercy* he *saved* us, by the Washing † of Regeneration, and Renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour; that being [thus] *justified* by his Grace, we should be made *Heirs* [108] according to the Hope of eternal Life.” Then he adds, Ver. 8, “This is a faithful Saying,” or, this is perfectly true, and the real Sense of the Gospel, “and these Things I will

* “Unto all Men,”] that is, unto all Ranks and Degrees of Men, Servants as well as Masters, Ver 9, 10.

† The Jewish Nation is said to be *washed*, when it was born [44, 125, 183, Note, 185, 1st Note.]

will that thou affirm constantly, [for this End and Purpose] that they, who have believed in God, may be careful to maintain *good Works* *."

229. Here it is plain, 1. That the Christians of Crete were "*saved* by the washing of Regeneration, and Renewing of the Holy Ghost," shed on them, and that they were *justified* and "*made Heirs* of the Hope of eternal Life." 2. That they were not "*saved, justified, &c. by Works* of Righteousness they had done;" for they had been "*foolish, disobedient,*" &c. But by the Kindness, Love, and Mercy of God. 3. Notwithstanding they were thus saved and justified, &c. and believed in God, their final State was not hereby determined, without their being "*careful to maintain good Works.*" 4. Their present Salvation and Justification, must be inculcated upon them, in order to induce them to be "*careful to maintain good Works.*" And therefore, 5. The Grace and Privileges of the Gospel, they then enjoyed, must be considered as a Principle or Motive [168] under the Influence of which they were to bring forth good Works; without which they would be unfruitful, according to Ver. 14, "And let ours also learn to maintain good Works for necessary Uses, that they be not unfruitful"

H E B R E W S.

230. *Prior State.*] Jews. The Apostle writes to the Hebrews, or the Jewish Christians inhabiting Judea. And they were,

231. *Anteced.*] iii. 1, "*Holy Brethren,* [127, 106] Partakers of the heavenly *Calling*;" iv. 1, They had "*a Promise* left them of entering into God's *Rest* [109];" vi. 4, 5, They "*were enlightened, and had tasted of the heavenly Gift, and were made Partakers of the Holy Ghost, and had tasted the good Word of God, and the Powers of the World to come*;" Ver. 7, They were the *Earth, or Ground, upon which the Rain fell*; The Covenant, mentioned Chap. viii. 10, 11, 12, and x. 16, 17, Wherein God promises the House of Israel to be their God, and takes them for his People, grants them clearer Discoveries of his Nature and Will, and a full Remission of Sins, is supposed to be made with them; ix. 12, Christ had "*obtained eternal Redemption for them*;" Ver. 15, They were *called*, and had "*received the Promise of the eternal Inheritance*;" Ver. 24, "*Christ appeared in the Presence of God for them*;" x. 10, They were "*sanctified* [124] through the Offering of the Body of Jesus Christ once for all;" Ver. 19, 21, They had Boldness to enter into the Holiest by the Blood of Jesus, &c. They were the *House* [128] of God, over which he had set Christ as a High Priest; Ver. 32, They were illuminated; xii. 22, 23, 24, They were "*come unto Mount Zion* [115], and to the *City* [114] of the living God, the heavenly *Jerusalem* [115], and to an innumerable Company of Angels, to the general assembly, and Church [133] of the Firstborn, † which are written, or inroll'd [116], in Heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the Spirits of just Men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the New Covenant and to the Blood of Sprinkling;"

* Here Paul exhorts Titus to preach in the true Apostolic Method of Preaching to Christians. [185, 4th Note.]

† This is explained in the Note upon Rom. iv. 13.

Sprinkling ;” Ver. 28, They had “received a Kingdom, which could not be moved,” as the Jewish Kingdom, or Constitution, was ; xiii. 5, The Promise, “I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee,” was applicable to them all ; (Ver. 6.) And they might “boldly say ; the Lord is my Helper, I will not fear what Man shall do unto me ;” Ver 14, In this World they “had no Continuing City, but sought one to come.”—These were their Privileges and Blessings, according to the Principles of the Gospel, as they were professed Christians. In Consequence of which they were obliged to perform the following Duties.

232. *Duty.*] ii. 1, “Therefore we ought to give the more earnest Heed to the Things which we have heard, lest at any Time we should let them slip.” iii. 6, “Whose [Christ’s] House [128] we are, [in the most eminent Sense, finally, and effectually] if we hold fast the Confidence, and the Rejoicing of the Hope firm unto the *End*.” Ver. 14, “For we are made Partakers of Christ [effectually and finally] if we hold the *Beginning* of our Confidence steadfast unto the *End*.” vi. 1, 2, “Therefore leaving the Principles of the Doctrine of Christ, let us go on [in teaching, and learning] unto Perfection : not laying again the Foundation of Repentance from dead Works, and of Faith towards God, of the Doctrine of Baptisms, and of laying on of Hands, and of the Resurrection of the Dead, and of eternal Judgment.” Ver. 10, 11, “God is not unrighteous, to forget your Work and Labour of Love, &c. And we desire that every one of you do shew the same Diligence, to the full Assurance of Hope unto the *End* ; That ye be not slothful, but Followers of them, who by Faith and Patience inherit the Promises.” ix. 14, “The blood of Christ purges your Conscience from dead Works, to serve the living God.” x. 19—25, “Having Boldness to enter into the Holiest, and having an High Priest over the House of God : Let us draw near with a true Heart, in full Assurance of Faith, having our Hearts sprinkled from an evil Conscience, &c. Let us hold fast the Profession of our Faith without wavering (for he is faithful that promised) and let us consider one another to provoke unto love, and to *good Works* : Not forsaking the assembling of yourselves together.” xii. 1, “Let us lay aside every Weight, and the Sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with Patience the Race that is set before us.” Ver. 28, “Wherefore, we receiving a Kingdom that cannot be moved. let us have,” or hold fast, [265, 2d Note] “Grace,” that it may be in us a lasting, living, operative Principle, “whereby we may serve God acceptably, with Reverence and godly Fear.” xiii. 1, “Let brotherly Love continue,” &c. Ver. 15, &c. “By Christ let us offer the Sacrifice of Praise to God continually.—But to do good and communicate forget not ; for with such Sacrifices God is well pleased,” &c.—In the upright Discharge of these Duties, they might expect further and final Blessings.

233. *Conseq.*] ii. 18, “Christ is able to succour them that are tempted.” iv. 16, “Let us therefore come boldly to the Throne of Grace, that we may obtain Mercy, and find Grace to help in Time of Need.” v. 9, “Christ is become the Author of eternal Salvation unto all them that obey him.” vi. 7, “For the Earth which drinketh in the Rain, that comes often upon it, and brings forth Herbs meet for them by whom it is dressed, receiveth Blessings from God.” Ver. 10, “For God is not unrighteous, to forget your Work and Labour of Love.” vii. 25, Christ “is able to save to the uttermost those that come unto God by him, seeing he ever lives to make Intercession for them.” ix.

18, "Unto them that look for him Christ shall appear the second time, — unto Salvation." x. 35, 36, 38, "Cast not away therefore your Confidence, which hath great Recompence of Reward. For ye have Need of Patience; that after ye have done the Will of God, ye might receive the Promise. For yet a little while, and he that shall come will come, and will not tarry. Now the Just by Faith shall live."——Ver. 39, "We are not of them who draw back unto Perdition; but of them who believe, to the saving of the Soul."——But, notwithstanding their present Privileges and Blessings they might draw back, and perish for ever; as appears from what follows.

234. *Suppos.*] ii. 3, "How shall we escape if we neglect so great Salvation?" iii. 7——14, "Wherefore as the Holy Ghost saith, To-Day, while ye hear his Voice, harden not your Hearts, as in the Provocation, the Day of Temptation in the Wilderness:" Ver. 9, "When your Fathers tempted me, proved me, though * they saw my Works forty Years. Wherefore I was grieved with that Generation, and said, They do alway err in their Heart; and they have not known my Ways. So I swear in my Wrath, They shall not enter into my Rest [28]. Take heed," Christian Brethren, "lest there be in any of you," as there was in the ancient Israelites, "an evil Heart of Unbelief, in departing from the living God. But exhort one another daily, while it is called, To-Day; lest any of you be hardened through the Deceitfulness of Sin." iv. 1, "Let us fear. lest a Promise being left us of entering into his Rest [109], any of you should † come short of it." Ver. 11, "Let us labour to enter into that Rest, lest any Man fall after the same Example of Unbelief." x. 26, "For if we sin wilfully after that we have received the Knowledge of the Truth, there remains
no

* *Και*, and in Greek, as well as [וְ] in Hebrew, sometimes signifies [*though*.] See Mark vi. 26. Luke xviii. 7. John iii. 11, 32. xiv. 24, 30. xvi. 32. Acts viii. 5. xiii. 28. Rom. i. 13. 1 Cor. iii. 1. Heb. iv. 6. This last Place should, I think, to make out the Apostle's Argument, be pointed thus; *Επει ου, απολειπεται τινας ει ελθειν εις αυτην, και οι προτερον ευαγγελισθεντες, &c.* And should be translated thus: "Seeing then it is so, it remains," or follows, "that some must enter into it; though they, to whom it was first preached, entered not in because of Unbelief."

† See [187] the second Note.

|| From Chap. iii. 7. to Chap. iv. 12, The Apostle runs a Parallel between the State of the ancient Jews in the Wilderness, and that of Christians under the Gospel, while in this World. All the Jews had a Promise given them of entering into God's Rest, in the Land of Canaan; and so were evangelized, or had glad Tidings, or a Gospel, preached to them, Chap. iv. 2. In like Manner we, the whole Body of Christians, or People of God under the new Dispensation, have a Promise left us of entering into God's Rest, in the heavenly Canaan; and so we, as well as the ancient Jews, are evangelized, or have glad Tidings preached to us; as the Apostle proves Chap. iv. Ver. 2——9.——The Grace, vouchsafed to them, was intended to produce Faith and Obedience. And the Grace, vouchsafed to us, is also designed to keep us true to God and Duty, Chap. iii. 12, 13.——The Word of Mercy, preached to them, did not profit them; because they did not embrace it by Faith, Chap. iv. 2: And so, through Sin and Unbelief, they fell under God's Wrath, and perished. Thus also, we Christians, through a wicked Heart of Unbelief, may depart from the living God, and perish for ever.

no more Sacrifice for Sin." xii. 15, 16, "Looking diligently lest any Man fail of the Grace of God; lest any Root of Bitterness springing up, trouble you, and thereby many be defiled: Lest there be any Fornicator; or profane Person, as Esau, who for one Morsel of Meat sold his Birth-right *.—Hence it appears, notwithstanding their present Privileges, they might be wicked. And the Apostle tells them, They, as well as the rest of Mankind, were accountable to God for their Conduct.

235. *Account.*] iv. 13,—"All Things are naked and opened unto the Eyes of him with whom we have to do;" or, to whom we must render an Account. [See Whitby] x. 30, "For we know him that has said, Vengeance belongs unto me, I will recompense, saith the Lord. And again, the Lord shall judge *his People*." And will punish them with eternal Destruction, if they abuse his Grace, and disobey his Precepts.

236. *Threat.*] ii. 2, 3, "For if the Word [the Law of Moses] spoken by Angels was stedfast, and every Transgression and Disobedience received a just Recompence of Reward; how shall we escape the Wrath of God, if we neglect so great Salvation, which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord?" &c. vi. 4—6, "It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, &c." that is, have embraced the Gospel; "If they fall away," by a total Rejection of it, "to renew them again unto Repentance," that is, after they have rendered the present Gospel ineffectual. God will not provide a new Redeemer, a new Gospel, a new Sacrifice for Sin, a new Renovation to bring them to Repentance: "Seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to open Shame." But their sad Case is like unto that of (Ver. 8.) "The Earth bearing Thorns and Briers, which is rejected, and is nigh unto Cursing; whose End is to be burned." x. 26—31, "For if we sin wilfully, &c. there remains no more Sacrifice for Sins, but a certain fearful Looking for of Judgment, and fiery Indignation, which shall devour the Adversaries. He that despised Moses Law, died without Mercy, under two or three Witnesses: Of how much forer Punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under Foot the Son of God, and hath counted the Blood of the Covenant, wherewith he was *sanctified*, [124] an unholy Thing, and hath done despite to the Spirit of Grace?—It is a fearful Thing to fall into the Hands of the living God." Ver. 38, "The Just by Faith shall live: But if he † draw back, my Soul shall have no Pleasure in him." xii. 14, "Without Holiness no Man shall see the Lord." Ver. 25, "See that ye refuse not him that speaketh: for if they escaped not who refused him that spake on Earth, [Moses,] much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from him [Christ], that speaketh from Heaven." Ver. 28, "For our God is a consuming fire," ‡ under the Gospel, as well as under the Law, to all those who finally abuse his Goodness.

JAMES.

* Christians have a *Birthright*, the Gift of God's Grace, which they may forfeit by sensual Indulgences, as Esau did his.

† Here our Translators insert the Words *any Man*, but they are not in the Original.

‡ These Words are taken from Deut. iv. 23, 24, "Take heed, lest ye forget the Covenant of the Lord your God.—For the Lord thy God is a consuming Fire."—

J A M E S.

237. The Apostle writes to the whole Body of Jews, converted to the Christian Religion, * Chap. i. 1, And as they had embraced the Christian Profession, God “of his own Will,” according to the Riches of his Grace, had *begotten* [99] them “with the Word of Truth,” for this noble End, “That they should be a kind of First-fruits of his Creatures.” i. 18, ii. 1, They “had the *Faith* of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of Glory.” Therefore he exhorts them to all Christian Duties, i. 19, 21, &c. Tells them they would *deceive themselves*, if they were only “Hearers, and not Doers of the Word,” Ver. 22. That their professed *Faith*, if not attended with *Works* of Goodness and Obedience, was *dead* and of no Significancy, ii. 17, &c. He puts them in Mind, that they had a Course of *Trials* or *Temptations* to go through, under which they must behave well, before they could “receive the Crown of Life,” i. 2, 3, 4, 12. He exhorts them (ii. 12. 13.) to “speak, and do, as they that shall be judged by the Law of Liberty,” or the Gospel; and assures them they should “have Judgment without Mercy, if they shewed no Mercy.” iii. 1, That if they affected “to be many Masters,” domineering over each other, they should “receive the greater condemnation.” v. 9, “Grudge not one against another, *Brethren*, lest ye be condemned: Behold, the Judge stands at the Door.”

I. II. P E T E R.

Both these Epistles are wrote to the same Persons.

238. *Prior State.*] They had been idolatrous Gentiles; but before their Conversion to Christianity, probably, were Profelytes of the Gate to the Jewish Religion, † that is, had sojourned among the Jews, and complied with those religious Conditions, which the Law required of them. And therefore, the Apostle calls them *Strangers*, or *Sojourners*, i. 1, the very Name, by which they are currently signified in the Books of Moses, Lev. xvii. 8, 10, 12, 15. xviii. 26. Such Strangers and Profelytes were Cornelius and his Family, the Firstfruits of the Gentiles, who embraced the Christian Faith, Acts x. Which Firstfruits being converted by St. Peter’s Ministry, he writes to them, as properly belonging to his Province. That they had been Gentiles appears further from i. 14, They had been formerly in a State of Ignorance, subject to divers Lusts; Ver. 18, Their Conversation had been vain, “received by Tradition from their Fathers;” ii. 9, 10, They had been in *Darkness*; “in *Time past* they were *not* a People [37]; they had not obtained Mercy [62]; they were as Sheep going astray;” iv. 3, In “the *Time past* of their Life they had wrought the Will of the *Gentiles*, when

* See Dr Benson’s History of St. James, prefixed to his Paraphrase upon this Epistle, SECT. III.

† See this very judiciously argued by Dr. Benson, in his History of St. Peter, prefixed to his Paraphrase upon the first Epistle of St. Peter, SECT. II.

when they walked in Lasciviousness, Lust, Excess of Wine, Revellings, Banquetings, and abominable *Idlatries*;" Ver. 6, They were *dead*. In this State they could have no *Works* of Righteousness, to boast of, as the Reason, or qualifying Cause, of Justification. But after their Conversion, they were in a different, and far more happy State; as follows:

239. *Anteced.*] i. 1, 2, They were *elect*—"through Sanctification of the Spirit;" Ver. 3, "*begotten again* [99], or born again, or regenerated, of God unto a lively Hope, by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the Dead, to an Inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in Heaven for them, who were kept by the Power of God through Faith, unto Salvation;" Ver. 15, [ii. 21. iii. 9. v. 10.] they were *called*; Ver. 17, they "*called on the Father*," [or fir-named the Father; that is, were the Children of God.] Ver. 18, They were "*redeemed* from their vain Conversation by the precious Blood of Christ;" Ver. 21, 22, 23, They "*believed in God, that raised him from the Dead*:" Had "*purified their Souls in obeying the Truth through the Spirit, unto unfeigned Love of the Brethren: were born again, or regenerated, not of corruptible Seed, but incorruptible, by the Word of God*;" ii. 4, 5, They were "*come unto Christ as to a living Stone, — and as lively Stones were built up a spiritual House* [128], a holy *Priesthood*;" Ver. 7, They *believed*; Ver. 9, 10, They were "*a chosen Generation, a royal Priesthood* [130], a holy *Nation* [127], a *peculiar People* [132], *called out of Darknels into God's marvellous Light*." They were "*now, [in their Christian State] the People of God, and had obtained mercy*" [143]; Ver. 24, Christ "*bare their Sins in his Body on the Tree*;" Ver. 25, They were "*now returned unto the Shepherd and Overseer of their Souls*;" iii. 7, Husbands and Wives among them were "*Heirs together of the Grace of Life*;" Ver. 18, "*Christ suffered for their Sins, to bring them to God*;" v. 12, They "*stood in the true Grace of God*;" Ver. 13, They were "*elect*ed together" with other Christian Churches; 2 Pet. i. 1, They had "*obtained like precious Faith*" with the Apostles, and other Christian Jews; (See Acts xi. 17, 18. xv. 7, 8, 9.) Ver. 3, 4, The "*Divine Power had given them all Things pertaining to Life and Godliness, through the Knowledge of him that had called them to Glory and Virtue. Whereby were given unto them exceeding great and precious Promises*;" Ver. 9, They were "*purged from their old Sins*;" Ver. 10, They were "*called and elect*ed;" Ver. 12, They were "*established in the present Truth*;" ii. 20, 21, They had "*escaped the Pollutions of the World, through the Knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*." They "*knew the way of Righteousness*."

These were their present Christian State and Privileges.

240. *Reason.*] And the Reason, or qualifying Cause of these Blessings, could not be any *Works* of Righteousness, they had done to deserve them, but the pure *Grace*, or Favour of God. So the Apostle, 1 Pet. i. 2, "*Elect* according to the *Foreknowledge* of God the Father." Ver. 3, "*Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which according to his abundant Mercy hath begotten us again to a lively Hope*," &c. ii. 10, — "*Which had not obtained Mercy, but now have obtained*

obtained *Mercy*." v. 12, "This is the true *Grace* of God in which ye stand."

241. But, though these Blessings were not of *Works*, but the Effect of *Grace*, yet they were intended to be the Principles, Means and Motives of producing all the *Works* of Righteousness, and true Holiness; as appears from the following Text.

242. *Duty*.] 1 Pet. i. 2, "Elect," or chosen,—"unto *Obedience*, and Sprinkling of the Blood of Jesus Christ," that is the Sanctifying of our Hearts by a right Application, or due Reflections upon the Blood of Christ. Ver. 3—13, "Blessed be God—who has begotten us, again to a lively Hope, &c. Wherefore gird upon the Loins of your Mind, be sober, and hope to the End," or perfectly, &c. Ver. 15, "As he which hath called you holy, so be ye holy in all Manner of Conversation." Ver. 17, "And since ye firname the Father, who without Respect of Persons, judgeth according to every Man's Work, pass the Time of your sojourning here in Fear: For as much as ye know ye were *redeemed*—from your vain Conversation,—with the Blood of Christ:" Ver. 21, "By Christ you believe in God,—that your Faith and Hope might be in God." That is, that you might be truly religious. Ver. 22, "Seeing ye have purified your Souls in obeying the Truth,—unto [this End namely,] the unfeigned Love of the Brethren, see that ye love one another with a pure Heart fervently:" Ver. 23, "Having been *born again*," or regenerated, &c. ii. 1, 2, "Therefore," for that Reason, "laying aside all Malice, and all Guile, and Hypocrisies, and Envy, and Evil-speaking, as *new-born* Babes desire the sincere Milk of the Word, that ye may *grow* thereby." Ver. 5, "Ye are built up a spiritual *House*, an holy *Priesthood*," for this End, "to offer up Spiritual Sacrifices acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." Ver. 9, "Ye are a *chosen* Generation, a *royal Priesthood*, an *holy Nation*, a *peculiar People*;" for this End, "that ye should shew forth the Praises of him who has called you out of Darkness into his marvellous Light." Ver. 10, 11, "Ye are now the *People* of God and have obtained *Mercy*. Dearly beloved, I beseech you, abstain from fleshly Lusts," &c. And he exhorts them to perform all *good Works*, and every Instance of *Well-doing*, in every Relation and Condition, to Ver. 21, "Christ suffered for us, leaving us an Example, that we should follow his Steps." Ver. 24, "Christ bare our Sins—on the Tree," for this End, "that we being dead to Sin, might live unto *Righteousness*." iii. 1, "Ye Wives be in Subjection to your own Husbands," &c. Ver. 7, "Likewise ye Husbands dwell with them according to Knowledge, as the Woman is the weaker Vessel; giving them Honour, as they are also *Heirs* [108] together of the Grace of Life." [So this Verse should have been rendered.] Ver. 8, "Finally, be all of one Mind, having Compassion one of another, love as Brethren, be pitiful, be courteous," &c. iv. 1, "For as much as Christ hath suffered for us in the Flesh, arm yourselves with the same Mind: For he that hath suffered in the Flesh hath ceased from Sin: that he no longer should live the rest of his Time in the Flesh, to the Lust of Men, but to the Will of God. For the *Time past* of our Life may suffice us to have wrought the Will of the Gentiles," &c. 2 Pet. i. 4, "Exceeding great and precious Promises are given unto us," for this End, "that by these you might be Partakers of a *divine Nature*, having escaped the Corruption that is

in the World through Lust." And we, on our Part, in order to a right Improvement of these Promises, "giving all Diligence," ought to "add to our Faith, Virtue, and—Knowledge, and—Temperance, and—Patience, and—Godliness, and—Brotherly-kindness, and—Charity." For if these Things be in us, and abound, they make us that we be neither slothful, nor unfruitful in the Knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ." iii. 11, "Seeing then that all these things shall be dissolved, what Manner of Persons ought ye to be in all holy Conversation and Godliness."

Thus their present Privileges and Blessings, given them by the free Grace of God, obliged them to a Life of Obedience and Holiness.

243. *Conseq.*] And by Obedience and Holiness, they would make good their present Blessings, secure the continued Favour of God, and obtain everlasting Life. 1 Pet. i. 5, "We are kept by the Power of God through Faith unto Salvation." ii. 20, "If when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye bear it patiently; this is acceptable with God." iii. 10, 11, 12, "He that will love Life, and see good Days, let him refrain his Tongue from Evil, and his Lips that they speak no Guile: Let him eschew Evil and do Good; let him seek Peace and ensue it. For the Eyes of the Lord are over the Righteous, and his Ears are open to their Prayers." Ver. 14, "If ye suffer for Righteousness Sake, happy are ye." iv. 14, —for the Spirit of Glory, and of God resteth upon you." v. 5, "God gives Grace [Favour] to the Humble." 2 Pet. i. 10, 11, —"If ye do these Things [namely, add to Faith, Virtue, &c. Ver. 5,] ye shall never fall: For so an Entrance shall be ministrèd unto you abundantly into the *everlasting* Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." [Note, 'Tis called the "everlasting Kingdom," to distinguish it from the present temporary and preparatory Kingdom, into which the Persons to whom the Apostle writes, were already entered, (1 Epist. Chap. ii. 9, 10.) but unto the everlasting Kingdom they could not enter, except they did those Things mentioned 2 Epist. Chap. i. 5, 6, 7.]

244. *Suppos.*] But notwithstanding their being elected, called, begotten, or born again, or regenerated, redeemed, &c. they might abuse the Grace of God by Disobedience and Wickedness; or in our Saviour's Words, "They seeing, might not see; and hearing, they might not hear," (Mat. xiii. 13.) as appears from the earnest Exhortations and Cautions under the foregoing Head: and still further from 2 Pet. i. 12, 13, iii. 1, 2. Moreover, the Apostle tells them, they were upon Trial, or Probation; which must be in order to know what Course they would take, and supposes they might be worsted. 1 Pet. i. 6, 7, "Though now for a Season, if need be, ye are in Heaviness through manifold Temptations. That the Trial of your Faith," or your tried Faith, "might be found unto Praise and Honour and Glory at the Appearing of Jesus Christ." iv. 12, "Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery Trial, which is to try you, as though some strange Thing happened unto you." 2 Pet. i. 9, 10, "He," among you, "that lacketh these Things, [Faith, Virtue, Knowledge, Temperance, &c. Ver. 5,] is blind, and having shut his Eyes hath forgotten that he was purged from his old Sins," in his heathen State, that is, he has lost a Sense of God's forgiving Mercy. "Wherefore the rather, Brethren, give Diligence to make your * *Calling and Election* sure: For if

ye

* "Make your Calling and Election sure:"] βεβαιων firm, abiding, permanent. They

ye do these Things ye shall never fall." ii. 18, Deceivers "allure through the Lusts of the Flesh—those that were clean escaped from them who live in Error," that is, those who were converted from Heathenism to Christianity. Ver. 20, "For if" such Christians "after they have escaped the Pollutions of the World, through the Knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, are again intangled therein, and overcome; the latter End is worse with them than the Beginning. For it had been better for them not to have known the Way of Righteousness, than after they have known it to turn from the holy Commandment, [the Gospel] delivered unto them. But it is happened unto them according to the true Proverb; The Dog is turned to his own Vomit; and the Sow that was washed [125] to her wallowing in the Mire." iii. 17, "Ye therefore, beloved, seeing ye know these Things, beware lest ye also being led away by the Error of the Wicked, fall from your own Steadfastness."

245. All this proves, that they might abuse the Grace of God, and fall from their present happy State and Standing into Perdition. They called upon, or surnamed the Father, that is, they were the Children of a Father, "who, without Respect of Persons, judges according to every Man's Work," 1 Pet. i. 17; and whose "Face is against them that do Evil," iii. 12. Consequently, if they did Evil, God would not partially respect them, but his Face would be against them in Wrath and Vengeance.

I. J O H N.

246. *Anteced.*] ii. 2, "Jesus Christ is the Propitiation for our Sins." Ver. 12, "Your Sins are forgiven you for his Name Sake." Ver. 13, 14, "Ye have known him that is from the Beginning,—ye have overcome the wicked One,—ye have known the Father,—the Word of God abideth in you *." Ver. 20, "Ye have an unction from the holy One, and ye know all Things †." iii. 1, 2, "Behold what Manner of Love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the Sons [*τεκνα*, *Children*,] of God;—Beloved, now we are the *Children* of God." iv. 4, "Ye are of God, little Children, and have overcome them [Anti-christ: for

They were then called and elected into Christ's temporary, preparatory Kingdom on Earth. But this alone would not secure their final Happiness, unless they made this Calling and Election an abiding Privilege and Honour, by their Improvement in Faith, Virtue, &c. Then and then only, they shall gain an Admission into his everlasting Kingdom in the Heavens.

* These Assertions, Ver. 12, 13, 14, as also Ver. 20, 21, must be understood to affirm their Christian Privileges, and the great Advantages they enjoyed, for gaining the most solid Comfort in the Assurance of the Pardon of their Sins; for attaining the most excellent and useful Knowledge; for acquiring the noblest Fortitude in adhering to the Word of God, and obtaining a glorious Victory over the wicked One. [274] And then, after the Apostolic Manner of Preaching, he puts them in Mind of the Duty to which by those Great Advantages they were obliged, Ver. 15, 16, 17, "Love not the World," &c.

† They knew all Things about which the Apostle writes; that is, they were fully instructed in the true Gospel of Christ, and stood in no Need of the pretended Teaching of the Deceivers (Ver. 26, 27.) to new model their Faith, or to give them more perfect Knowledge of the Gospel.

for this Reason] because greater is he that is in you [Christians] than he that is in the World." v. 11,—“ God hath given to us eternal life.” Ver. 13, “ These things have I written unto you that believe on the name of the Son of God; that ye may know that ye have eternal life.” Ver. 20, “ The Son of God—hath given us understanding, that we may know him that is true: and we are in him that is true.”

These were their present privileges, belonging to all the Christians, young and old, to whom the Apostle wrote; this their present religious state. Which was the result.

247. *Reason.*] Not of works of righteousness which they had done; For i. 8, “ If we say that we have no sin we deceive ourselves.” Ver 10, “ If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us” [effectually.] ii. 12,—“ Your *sins* are forgiven you.” iii. 1, “ Behold what manner of *love* [139] the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the children of God.” iv. 9, 10, 19, “ In this was manifested the *love* of God towards us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. In this is love, not that we loved God,” and by our love deserved and engaged his; “ but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins. We love him; because he first *loved* us.” v. 11, “ God hath *given* us eternal life.”

248. *Duty.*] These privileges, and the whole grace of the Gospel, were intended to ingage them to obedience and righteousness; which was the only token of their being true Christians, born of God in the most eminent sense; or of their being effectually, or abiding in Christ *: For living in sin is inconsistent with the character of a true Christian. ii. 3, 5, 6, “ Hereby we do know that we know him [effectually] if we keep his commandments. Whoso keepeth his word, in him verily the love of God is perfected [has obtained its best effects:] hereby know we that we are [effectually] in him. He that saith he abideth in him, ought himself also to walk, even as he walked.” Ver 10, “ He that loveth his brother abideth in the light.” Ver 15, “ Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world.” Ver. 24, 29, “ Let that therefore abide in you which ye have heard from the beginning. If ye know that he is righteous, ye know that every one that doth righteousness, is born of him,” [in the most eminent sense.] iii. 3, “ Every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself, even as he is pure.” Ver. 5—9, “ And ye know that he was manifested to take away our sins; and in him, [in his Gospel] is no sin;” no allowance of sin. “ Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not: whosoever sinneth, hath not seen him, neither know him. Little children, let no man deceive you: he that doth righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous. He that committeth sin is of the Devil,—For this purpose
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* Being of the truth, of or in God, knowing God, born of God, signify our being Christians, or, in general, our Christian profession and principles. But, in particular, may signify our being eminently and truly Christians; which is specially denoted by our *abiding* in God, or in Christ, having, or *holding* the Son, and his *abiding* or *dwelling* in us, namely, when his Gospel is a real, permanent principle in our hearts, 2 John 9, or when his love is *perfected* in us; that is, when it has it's proper effects in our minds and conversations: in which case we have, or *hold*, life.

the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the Devil. Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin; for his seed remains in him: and he cannot sin, because he is born of God." Ver. 14, "We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren."—Ver. 24, "And he that keepeth his commandments dwelleth in him, and he in him." iv. 7, 8, "Beloved, let us love one another:—Every one that loveth is born of God, and knows God. He that loveth not, knoweth not God." Ver. 10, 11,—"God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another." Ver. 12,—"If we love one another God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us," that is, has its true and proper effects upon our hearts. Ver. 19, "We love him," that is, we ought to love him, [274] "because he first loved us." v. 3, "This is the love of God that we keep his commandments." Ver. 4, "Whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world." Ver. 13, "These things have I written unto you that believe on the name of the Son of God, that ye may know that ye have eternal life, and that ye may believe on the name of the Son of God." Ver. 18, "We know that whosoever is born of God sinneth not, but he that is begotten of God keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not." 3 John 11, "Beloved, follow not that which is evil. but that which is good. He that doth good is of God: but he that doth evil hath not seen God."

249. *Conseq.*] In the performance of these duties, further blessings would be given, and they should be finally saved. i. 9, "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." ii. 17,—"He that doth the will of God abideth for ever." Ver. 24,—"If that which ye have heard from the beginning shall remain in you, ye also shall continue in the Son and in the Father." Ver. 28, "And now, little children, abide in him; that when he shall appear, we may have confidence."—iii. 18, 19,—"Let us love in deed and in truth; and hereby we—shall assure our hearts before him." Ver. 22, "And whatsoever we ask, we receive of him, because we keep his commandments, and do those things that are pleasing in his sight." iv. 17, 18, "Herein is our love made perfect;" it is in the Greek, *herein*, [that is, in loving one another,] "is love [the love which God hath shewn to us] made perfect with us, [or has its full effect with regard to our improvement of it] that we may have boldness in the day of judgment: because as he is [good and beneficent] so are we in this world." v. 12, "He that hath [*boldeth*] the Son, hath [*boldeth*] life." [265 2d note.]

250. *Suppl.*] But they might live in sin, abuse their privileges, and render them ineffectual. i. 6, "If we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie and do not the truth." ii. 1, "My little children, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not." Ver. 4, "He that saith, I know him, [he that professeth Christianity] and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him." Ver. 9, "He that saith he is in the light, [he that makes profession of the Gospel] and hates his brother, is in darkness even until now," when he is become a Christian. Ver. 15,—"If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." Ver. 27, 28,—"And even as the anointing has taught you, [that is, by doing as the anointing has taught you] ye shall

abide in him. And now, little children, abide in him." iii. 17, "Whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother hath need, and shutteth up his bowels from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" v. 16, "If any man see his brother sin a sin," &c. Ver. 21, "Little children, keep yourselves from idols."

251. *Threat.*] If they did live in sin, they would be confounded in the day of judgment, and lose eternal life. ii. 28, "Little children, abide in him; that when he shall appear, we may—not be ashamed before him at his coming." iii. 14, 15, "He that loveth not his brother, abideth in death. Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer; and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him." v. 12, "He that hath [*holdeth*] not the Son, hath [*holdeth*] not life." 2 John. 8, 9, "Look to yourselves, that we lose not those things, which we have wrought, but that we receive a full reward. Whosoever," among the professors of Christianity, "transgresseth, and *abides* not in the doctrine of Christ, hath [*holds*] not God."

J U D E.

252. Jude writes to those who were "*sanctified* by God the Father, and in Jesus Christ the preserved, *called*:" (Ver. 1.) that is the called, who hath hitherto been preserved from the corruption, which had infected many, who also were called.

253. To those he writes with great concern and diligence, (Ver. 3.) about the *common salvation*, which belongs to all Christians, (Rom. xiii. 11.) to shew them, what improvement they ought to make of it, in order to their being finally saved. And this, to guard them against the wicked errors of some professing Christianity.

254. Those degenerate Christians had received the grace of God, or the Gospel, [141] Ver. 4. They were *saved*, as the Israelites were out of Egypt, and like them had a share in the privileges of God's church and people, Ver. 5. Like the angels, who fell, they had a first state of dignity and happiness, Ver. 6. They appeared as Christians among Christians at their feasts of love: in external privileges they were in the elevation of clouds, were trees in God's vineyard, Ver. 12. And stars in the firmament of the church, Ver. 13.

255. But they were "ungodly men, who turned the grace of God into lasciviousness, denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ," Ver. 4, 8, 10, 11. "Clouds without water, trees without fruit," Ver. 12. "Wandering stars," Ver. 13.

256. Such vicious Christians are by the Gospel condemned to everlasting perdition. Nor can it be objected that this is a novel opinion, and therefore less credible. For to "this condemnation they were before of old described," or set forth, [*προγεγραμμενοι* *] in ancient examples, Ver. 4. Or, this their condemnation was fore-written, or set forth in the ancient examples of the unbelieving Jews, who were destroyed in the wilderness, Ver. 5. And of the apostate angels, "who are reserved in everlasting chains under darkness," &c. Ver. 6. And also of "Sodom and Gomorrah,"

* See Rom. xv. 4. Gal. iii. 1. and below, Ver. 7, 14.

Gomorrhah, which are set forth for an example" of the condemnation of all such wicked persons, "suffering the vengeance of eternal fire," Ver. 7. As they were "trees without fruit, being twice dead," once in their infidel, unconverted state; and now again notwithstanding the privileges of their Christian state, (and therefore dead without any hope of a further dispensation, or display of God's grace, for their recovery *) "they were plucked up by the roots," Ver. 12. And as they were "wandering stars," they should be extinguished in the everlasting "blackness of darkness," Ver. 13. Agreeable to Enoch's prophecy, Ver. 14, 15.

257. All this the apostle applies to the Christians, to whom he writes, to warn them against the like apostacy. Exhorting them to "exert their utmost vigour in the faith once delivered to the saints," Ver. 3, that is to say, to strive to understand, retain and improve it, as the solid foundation of an holy life, and the only true way of obtaining eternal salvation. Or, in other words, he exhorts them "to build up themselves on their most holy faith, (Ver. 20.) praying in the Holy Ghost (as being persuaded that God was "able to keep them from falling, and to present them faultless before the presence of his glory") keeping themselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life."

258. This evidently supposes; That although they were "*sanctified* by God the Father, *called* in Christ," and hitherto preserved from apostacy, yet, if like the wicked Christians he has described, they did not "build up themselves on their holy faith," they would fall, and *fall* into eternal perdition.

REVELATION.

259. As we begun with our Lord's declaration concerning this weighty affair, while he was on earth, we shall conclude with his sense, after his ascension to Heaven. The seven epistles, (Rev. i. ii. iii. chapters) were ordered by our Lord to be written to seven *churches* in Asia, which were each of them a golden *candlestick*, or lamp, in the temple of God, i. 20. In the midst of which Christ walked, ii. 1. And he declares to every one of them, that he was a careful inspector of their works and principles, ii. 2, 13, 19, &c. Some of which he commends, others he blames, ii. 4, 14, 15, 20, 21. iii. 1, 2. Those who were fallen from their first works and principles, he exhorts to repent, denouncing severe judgments upon the impenitent, ii. 5, 16. iii. 3. [*Anteced.*] "Remember how thou hast received and heard, [*Duty.*] and hold fast, and repent. [*Suppos.*] If therefore thou shalt not watch, [*Threat.*] I will come on thee as a thief." Ver. 16—19. He declares he "will give unto *every one* of them according to their works," ii. 23. He warns them to "hold fast that which they had already, till he came," Ver. 25. And iii. 11, "Hold fast that which thou hast, that no man take thy crown." And he concludes every epistle in this manner, ii. 7, "To him that overcomes [the temptations of this world] will I give to eat of the tree of life." Ver. 11, "He that over-

comes

* See Heb. vi. 4—8. x. 26, 27. 2 Pet. ii. 20, 21, 22.

comes shall not be hurt of the second Death." Ver. 17, 26, "He that overcomes, and keeps my Commandments unto the End, to him will I give Power," &c. iii. 5, 12, 21. Which magnificent Promises, are each of them introduced with a Command, to every one in the Churches to attend diligently to *what the Spirit of Truth saith to the Churches*. This shews, that all Christians, in all Ages, are concerned in the Contents of these Epistles.

C H A P. XII.

Ten CONCLUSIONS, or INFERENCES, drawn from the foregoing Collection of Texts.

260. **T**HOUGH, in the foregoing Collection, I have faithfully and impartially endeavoured to give the true Sense of every Text; yet possibly in some few, that are doubtful, I may have erred. But there are so many indisputably plain and full to the Purpose, as will, I am persuaded, sufficiently justify the following Conclusions.

261. I. That the Gospel is a Scheme for restoring true Religion, and for promoting Virtue and Happiness. [167]

262. II. That Election, Adoption, Vocation, Salvation, Justification, Sanctification, Regeneration, and the other Blessings, Honours, and Privileges, which come under the Head of *Antecedent* Blessings, in the foregoing Collection of Texts, do, in a Sense, belong, at present, to all Christians, even those, who for their Wickedness shall perish eternally.

263. III. That those Antecedent Blessings, as they are assigned to the whole Body of Christians, do not import an absolute, final State of Favour and Happiness; but are to be considered as Displays, Instances, and Descriptions of God's Love and Goodness to us, which are to operate as a moral Mean upon our Hearts. They are, in Truth, Principles, or *Motives*, [70] to engage us to Holiness and Obedience. And they are Principles both true, and proper for this Purpose, and of the greatest Force and Efficacy, if attended to, for reforming the World, and restoring true Religion. They are a Display of the Love of God, who is the *Father* of the Universe; who cannot but delight in the Well-being of his Creatures; and being perfect in Goodness, possess'd of all Power, and the only Original of all Life and Happiness, must be the *prime* Author of all Blessedness, and bestow his Favours in the most free, generous, and disinterested Manner. And therefore, those blessings, as freely bestowed antecedently to our Obedience, are perfectly consonant to the Nature and moral Character of God. He has freely, in our first Birth and Creation, given us a distinguished and eminent Degree of Being, and all the noble Powers and Advantage of Reason: And what should stop the Course of his
Liberality,

Liberality, or hinder his conferring new and higher Blessings, even when we could pretend no Title or Claim to them?

And, as the Blessings of the Gospel are of the most noble Kind, raising us to high Dignity, and the most delightful Prospects of Immortality, they are well adapted to engage the Attention of Men; to give the most pleasing Ideas of God, to demonstrate most clearly, what Nature itself discovers, that he is our *Father*, and to win and engage our Hearts to him in Love, who has, in a Manner, so surprizing, loved us. By granting the Remission of Sins, the Promises of all Supplies, Protection and Guidance through this World, and the Hope of eternal Life, every Cloud, Discouragement and Obstacle is removed, and the Grace of God, in its brightest Glory, shines full upon our Minds, and is divinely powerful to support our Patience, and animate our Obedience under Temptations, Trials and Difficulties, and to inspire Peace of Conscience, Comfort any Joy. And as the Honours, and large Estates of this World are apt to have a great Effect upon the Mind; to elevate the Thoughts, Views and Behaviour of Men above ordinary Things, and to raise them to a Way of Life quite different from that of the Low and Vulgar: So our Honours, as we are the Children of God, incorporated into his Family and interested in the heavenly Inheritance, have a natural Tendency, when duly considered, to ennoble our Spirits, to raise them above all the Allurements and Terrors of this World, and to persuade us how much any Thing vile, base, false, sensual, is below our Rank and Degree; and how agreeable it is to our heavenly Station, to purify ourselves from all Filthiness of Flesh and Spirit, and to perfect Holiness in the Fear of God. The unspeakable Riches of God's Favour to us all, and our Joint-Interest in them, will sweeten our Spirits, and purge them from Wrath, Malice, Envy, and every unfriendly Passion; and dispose us to the most extensive Goodness, Love and Benevolence towards one another, and towards all Mankind. If the Christian seriously considers, he will find all the Principles of the Gospel are well adapted to produce every divine Temper in his Breast, and all Righteousness, Sobriety and Godliness in his Conversation. And, if he carefully peruses the Apostolic Writings, he will find that those, who best understood these Principles, always apply them to such excellent Purposes.

And, that the Gospel proposes eternal Life, as the Reward of Virtue, is also perfectly right and true. For Virtue is the only Thing that is rewardable, which all Men allow is rewardable, and which, if any Man knows God truly, he must know God loves, and will certainly reward in one Kind or other; not by honouring those, who for the sake of Gain or Pleasure are ready to do any Thing right or wrong; which is base and mercenary; but by giving eternal Life to those, who follow what is right, and true and good, under all Changes in this World, and though they suffer Loss of all Enjoyments in it. For indeed, God hath so constituted the present State of Things, as to render Virtue not mercenary, though we practise it in Assurance of his Favour, and the Hopes of eternal Life. Nay; in a State of Trial so severe, that Life and all its Enjoyments are to be hazarded in the Cause of Truth and Virtue, Virtue could hardly support itself, with-

out some proportionable Encouragement to balance the Loss, which is the Loss of all we have, to be sustained by it.

264. And it should be particularly observed; That the *Motives* of the Gospel do not run thus: [72.] Ye are still under “the Power of Darkness, Children by Nature of Wrath, dead in Trespasses and Sins, without Christ, Strangers from the Covenants of Promise, unregenerated,” therefore believe in Christ, and repent, and love God, &c. that ye may be numbered among the “elect, saved, called, justified, washed;” interested in Christ, have a Share in the Covenant of Grace; that God may be your Father, &c. But plainly thus: You, Christians, are “elected, redeemed, bought, saved, called, justified, washed, regenerated,” or born again; God is your Father, who has “created, made and begotten you to a lively Hope;” you are interested in the Covenant of his Grace, you are the “Children of God, Saints, Heirs,” &c. You are “Partakers of the heavenly Callings;” you have a Promise left you of entering into his Rest; therefore be induced, by the exuberant Goodness of God, and the surprizing Riches of his Grace in the Redeemer, to love and obey him. — The Grace, or Favour of God, as it is the Foundation and Original of the Gospel-Scheme; so it is the prime Motive in it, as we shall further see in what follows.

265. IV. These Principles ought to be admitted and claimed by all Christians, and firmly established in their Hearts, as containing Privileges and Blessings in which they are all undoubtedly interested. Otherwise, 'tis evident, they will be defective in the true Principles of their Religion, the only Ground of their Christian Joy and Peace, and the proper Motives of their Christian Obedience. Now those Principles (namely, our Election, Vocation, Justification, Regeneration, Sanctification, &c. in Christ, through the free Grace of God) are admitted, and duly established in our Hearts, by *Faith*; which is being convinced, or fully satisfied, that God has freely bestowed upon us all the Blessings of the Gospel: and which, with Regard to those Blessings that lie in the future World, is called *Hope*. Heb. xi. 1, “*Faith* is the Substance [$\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$, * Confidence, Assurance] of Things *hoped* for, the Evidence [$\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\chi\omicron\varsigma$, the being convinced] of Things not seen;” that is, the unseen spiritual and heavenly Blessings which God has promised. Faith then, as exercised upon the Blessings which God has gratuitously bestowed upon us, is, in our Hearts, the Foundation of the Christian Life: And retaining and exercising this Christian Virtue of Faith, is called “Tasting that the Lord is gracious,” 1 Pet. ii. 3; “Having, † or holding fast, Grace,” Heb. xii. 28; “Growing in Grace”, 2 Pet. iii. 18; “Being strong in the Grace of Jesus Christ,” 2 Tim. ii. 1; “Holding Faith,” 1 Tim. i. 19. iii. 9; “Continuing in the Faith grounded and settled, and not being moved away from the Hope of the Gospel,” Col. i. 23; “Holding fast the Confidence and Rejoicing of Hope,” Heb. iii. 6; “Holding the Beginning of our Confidence stedfast,” Heb. iii. 14; “Having, [holding,] Hope,”

* See 2 Cor. ix. 4. xi. 17. Heb. iii. 14.

† *Εχω, have*, in such passages signifies to *keep*, or *hold*, as a Property or Principle for Use. Mat. xiii. 12. xxv. 29. John iii. 29. v. 42. viii. 12. Rom. i. 28. xv. 4. 1 Thess. iii. 6. 1 Tim. i. 19. iii. 9. Heb. vi. 9. ix. 4. 1 John ii. 23. iii. 3. v. 12. 2 John, ver. 9.

Hope," 1 John iii. 3; Hoping perfectly, "for the Grace that is to be brought unto us at the Revelation of Jesus Christ," 1 Pet. i. 13; "Giving earnest Heed to the Things we have heard," Heb. ii. 1; "Having, [holding,] the Son," or Christ, 1 John v. 12. By these, and such like Phrases, the Apostles express our being thoroughly persuaded of, and duly affected with, the Blessings included in our Election, Vocation, Justification, &c. Or, their being firmly established in our Hearts as Principles of Obedience, to secure our Perseverance and final Happiness; through the mighty working of God's Power, to purify our Hearts, and to guard us through all our spiritual Dangers and Conflicts; which Power will always assuredly attend every one, who "holds Faith, Grace, and Hope," 1 Pet. i. 5. Here note; that the primary Object of Faith is not in ourselves, but in God. Not our own Obedience or Goodness, but the free Grace of God is the primary Object of Faith. But the Fruit of Faith must be in ourselves. The Grace or free Gift of God is the Foundation of Faith; and Faith is the Foundation of the whole Life of a true Christian. 2 Pet. i. 5, 6, 7,—"giving all Diligence, add to your *Faith*, *Virtue*;" &c. Jude 20.—"building up yourselves on your most holy *Faith*," &c. See § 284.

266. V. Further; the Interest of every professed Christian in all the antecedent Blessings, (Election, Justification, Adoption, Regeneration, the Promises of the Covenant, the Ordinances of Worship, and the Gift of eternal Life, &c.) must be clear of all Doubt and Uncertainty. The Apostles, with one Consent, assign those Blessings to all professed Christians, without Exception; never raising any Scruple or Difficulty about any Christian's Interest in them, or Right to them: No, not in the Case of sinning a Sin; except the Sin of Apostacy, or total Renouncing the Christian Faith; which is signified by being destroyed, Rom. xiv. 15, 20; "Swallowed up, or devoured of Satan," 2 Cor. ii. 7, 1 Pet. v. 8; "Turned aside after Satan; casting of the first Faith," 1 Tim. v. 12, 15; "Falling away," Heb. vi. 6; "Sinning wilfully after we have received the Knowledge of the Truth; treading under Foot the Son of God," Heb. x. 26, 29; "Turning from the Holy Commandment," 2 Pet. ii. 21; "Selling our Birthright," Heb. xii. 16. These Texts are to be understood of a total Renouncing the Christian Faith, or of final Impenitency. In which Case, a Person is supposed to be entirely deprived of every Gospel Blessing, and subjected to the Wrath of God. But any other Sin leaveth a Man in Possession of his Christian Privileges, even all those Blessings, which I call antecedent, so far, that they may be urged upon him as a Reason and Motive to Repentance and Reformation. For the Apostles do urge those Privileges, as a Motive to Repentance upon Christians who had sinned.

267. Again: These antecedent Blessings, Election, Calling, Justification, Regeneration, Adoption, &c. are the Things which are freely given us of God, 1 Cor. ii. 12. They are the Donation of pure Grace, of perfect Love. Eternal Life is a free Gift, promised to us in the Gospel, sealed and confirmed by the Blood of Christ. He that has freely given us a rational Being, of a Rank superior to any in this World, has, of his Divine Munificence, added a new Gift, in pursuance of this first Instance of his Bounty; and the latter is just as free as the former. The first Creation is of Grace, and the new Creation in Christ Jesus, or

the new State of Life under the Gospel, is also of mere Grace. Therefore, every professed Christian's Title to them must be clear and full, free from Fear and Doubt; as the Apostle argues, 1 John iv. 17, 18. "There is no *Fear* in *Love*; but [God's] perfect Love casts out [our] Fear: Because Fear has Torment, [contrary to the Spirit and Design of the Gospel:] he, therefore, that fears, is not made perfect in Love," that is, has not a just Sense of the Love of God. And to cast out your Fear, remember, (Ver. 19.) "that we love him; because he first loved us." His Love first begun with us, made the first Motion towards us, and is freely extended to us; and therefore, we love him, or are encouraged and obliged to love him, without any Fear or Doubt concerning his Love to us. Again;

268. These antecedent Blessings are the first Principles of the Christian Religion: But the first Principles of Religion must be free from all Doubt or Scruple; otherwise the Religion, which is built upon them, must sink, as having no Foundation. The Principles of Natural Religion, that I am endowed with a rational Nature, that there is a God, in whom I live, move and have my Being, and to whom I am accountable for my Actions, are perfectly evident, otherwise the Obligations of Natural Religion would be necessarily doubtful and uncertain. In like Manner; the first Principles of the Christian Religion must be free from all Perplexity; otherwise its Obligations must be doubtful and perplexed. If it be doubtful, whether ever Christ came into the World to redeem it, the whole Gospel is doubtful; and it is the same Thing, if it be doubtful who are redeemed by him; for if he has redeemed we know not who, 'tis nearly the same Thing, with regard to our Improvement of Redemption, as if he had redeemed no body at all.

269. Faith is the first Act of the Christian Life, to which every Christian is obliged; and therefore, it must have a sure and certain Object to work upon: But, if the Love of God in our Election, Calling, Adoption, Justification, Redemption, &c. be in itself uncertain to any Persons in the Christian Church, then Faith has no sure nor certain Object to work upon, with respect to some Christians, and consequently, some Christians are not obliged to believe; which is false.

270. Further; the Apostles make our Election, Calling, Adoption, &c. Motives to Obedience and Holiness. And therefore, these (our Election, Calling, Adoption, &c.) must have an Existence antecedent to our Obedience; otherwise, they can be no Motive to it. And if only an uncertain, unknown Number of Christians be elected to eternal Life, no single Person can certainly know that he is of that Number; and so, Election can be no Motive to Obedience to any one Person in the Christian Church. To confine Election, Adoption, &c. to some few, is unchurching the greatest Part of the Church, and robbing them of common Motives and Comforts.

271. Our Election, Adoption, and other antecedent Blessings, are not of Works: Consequently, we are not to work *for* them, but *upon* them. They are not the Effect of our good Works; but our good Works are the Effect of them. They are not founded upon our Holiness; but our Holiness is founded upon them. We do not procure them by our Obe-

dience; for they are the Gift of free Grace; but they are Motives and Reasons exciting, and encouraging our Obedience. Therefore, our Election is not proved by our Sanctification, or real Holiness. Our real Holiness proves, that our Election is made sure; but our Election itself is proved by the free Grace of God, and our Christian Profession.

272. From all this it follows; that we, as well as the Christians of the first Times, may claim, and appropriate to ourselves, all the forementioned antecedent Blessings, without any Doubt or Scruple. In Confidence of Hope, and full Assurance of Faith, we may boldly say, the Lord is my Helper, and come with Boldness to the Throne of Grace. Our Life, even eternal Life, is sure to every one of us in the Promise of God, and the Hands of our Lord Jesus Christ. And the Business of every Christian is not to perplex himself with Doubts, and Fears, and gloomy Apprehensions; but to rejoice in the Lord, and to do the Duties of his Place chearfully and faithfully, in the assured Hope of eternal Life, through Jesus Christ; to him be everlasting Glory and Praise. Amen.

273. VI. From the preceding Collection of Texts we may gather; That some of the Expressions, whereby the antecedent Blessings are signified, such as elect, justify, sanctify, &c. may be used in a double Sense; namely, either as they are applied to all Christians in general, in relation to their being translated into the Kingdom of God, and made his peculiar People, enjoying the Privileges of the Gospel: Or as they signify the Effects of those Privileges; namely, either that excellent Disposition and Character, which they are intended to produce, or that final State of Happiness, which is the Reward of it. It would be too tedious to examine, in this View, all the Expressions, or Phrases, whereby antecedent Blessings are signified. The Student in Scripture-Knowledge may easily pass a Judgment upon them by these Rules. Where-ever any Blessing is assigned to all Christians, without Exception; wherever it is said, not to be of Works; where-ever Christians are exhorted to make a due Improvement of it, and threatened with the Loss of God's Blessing, and of eternal Life, if they do not, there the Expressions, which signify that Blessing, are to be understood in a general Sense, as denoting a Gospel Privilege, Profession, or Obligation. And in this general Sense, "saved, elect, chosen, justified, sanctified," are sometimes used; and "Calling, Called, Election," are, I think, always used, in the New Testament. But when any Blessing connotes real Holiness, as actually existing in the Subject, then it may be understood in the special and eminent Sense; and always must be understood in this Sense, when it implies the actual Possession of eternal Life. And in this Sense "saved, elect, chosen, justify, sanctify, born of God," are sometimes used. Mat. xx. 16, "Many are called, but few are chosen," [who make a worthy Use of their Calling]. Mat. xxiv. 31, "He shall send his Angels, with a great Sound of a Trumpet, and they shall gather together his Elect." xii. 36, 37, — "In the Day of Judgment, — by thy Words thou shalt be justified, and by thy Words thou shalt be condemned." 1 Thes. v. 24, "The God of Peace sanctify you wholly," &c. 1 John ii. 29, "Every one that doth Righteousness is born of him." iv. 7, "Every one that loveth, is born of God," in the eminent Sense.

274. Here it should be carefully observed; That 'tis very common, in the sacred Writings, to express, not only our Christian Privileges, but also the Duty, to which they oblige, in the Present, or Preterperfect Tense; or, to speak of that as done, which only ought to be done, and which, in Fact, may possibly never be done. Mal. i. 6, "A Son honours [ought to honour] his Father." Mat. v. 13, "Ye are [ought to be] the Salt of the Earth: But if the Salt have lost his Savour," &c. Rom. ii. 4, "The Goodness of God leads [ought to lead] thee to Repentance," vi. 2, 11. viii. 9. Col. iii. 3. 1 Pet. i. 6, "Wherein ye [ought] greatly [to] rejoice." 2 Cor. iii. 18, "We all with open Face, [enjoying the Means of] beholding as in a Glass the Glory of the Lord, are [ought to be, enjoy the Means of being] changed into the same Image, from Glory to Glory." 1 Cor. v. 7, "Purge out the old Leaven, that ye may be a new Lump, as ye are [obliged by the Christian Profession to be] unleavened." Heb. xiii. 14, "We seek [we ought to seek, or according to our Profession we seek] a City to come." 1 John ii. 12—15. iii. 9. v. 4, 18. And in other Places. [246 Note, 206 Note].

275. But my chief Intention is to establish a double Justification, or Salvation; for which we have the clearest scriptural Evidence. However, at present it shall suffice to observe; That there is a Justification and Salvation by Faith alone, without the Deeds of Law, or any Works of Righteousness, Rom. iii. 28. Ephes. ii. 8, 9, 10. And there is another Justification, or Salvation, which is not without Works, but is the Issue of a holy and obedient Life. James ii. 24, "By Works a Man is justified, and not by Faith only." Mat. xii. 36, 37, "In the Day of Judgment, by thy Words thou shalt be justified." Mark xiii. 13, "He that shall endure unto the End, the same shall be saved." Phil. ii. 12, "Work out your own [or one anothers] Salvation with Fear and Trembling." Heb. v. 9, "Christ is become the Author of eternal Salvation to them that obey him." And the whole New Testament bears Witness, that only they who live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present World shall be saved and justified in the Day of our Lord. Now this Difference of being justified without Works, and being justified by Works, is so essential, and irreconcilable, that it necessarily constitutes two Sorts of Justification, or Salvation.

276. I. The *first* or fundamental Justification. This has Relation to the Heathen State of us Gentile-Christians; and consists in the Remission of Sins, and in our being admitted, upon our Faith, into the Kingdom and Covenant of God; when, with regard to our Gentile State, we were obnoxious to Wrath, and deserving of Condemnation. This is of free Grace, without Works. For how wicked soever any Heathen had been, or now has been, upon Profession or Faith in Christ, his former Wickedness neither was, nor is, any Bar to his Admittance into the Kingdom of God, nor to an Interest in its Privileges and Blessings. Nay, further; our present common Salvation, or Justification, is so of Grace, and reaches so far, that in Case any professed Christian has lived disagreeably to the Rules of the Gospel; yet upon his Repentance and Return to God, his Interest in the divine Grace, and the Pardon of Sin, stands good; notwithstanding his former evil Life. This I call the *first* Justification, or Salvation, by which we are invested in all the present Privileges of the Gospel; and in refer-

ence to which we are said in Scripture to be “elected, adopted, saved, justified, washed, sanctified, born again, born of God,” &c.

277. Concerning this *first* Justification, or Salvation, I may briefly observe, (1.) That it was confirmed to the first Converts, and in them, as the first Fruits, to us, by the miraculous Gifts of the Spirit, which were poured out upon them. (2.) That we receive this perpetual Benefit from it, that we, who are descended from Christian Parents, are born in a justified State, born *holy* [126, 127], born Members of the Family and Congregation of God, intitled to all the Blessings, and Privileges of it, according to the original Grant of the Covenant, Gen. xvii. 7. (3.) 'Tis this first Justification, and the Blessings included in it, that is, (not conferred upon us, but) sealed and confirmed to us in Baptism, as what we have a Right to, in Virtue of the fore said Covenant. See the Note upon Rom. vi. 3. (4.) Upon Account of this first Justification, we are said to be, in the Present Tense, what we are designed to be, or what our Principles have a proper Tendency to make us; as, “ye are washed, ye are sanctified,” &c. [274.] (5.) 'Tis with regard to this first Justification, that we are said to be reconciled, or changed to God, in reference to our Heathen State [117.] (6.) 'Tis by Virtue of this first Justification, that we enjoy the Benefit of Repentance, and the Forgiveness of Sin, after we are taken into the Church and Covenant of God. And therefore the Forgiveness of Sins, to those who are in the Church and Covenant of God, comes under the same Rules with the first Justification, (for it is the same Justification continued, or repeated,) and is of Grace, not of Works, as it necessarily must. See Rom. iv. 6—8. Luke xviii. 9—14. Or, in other Words, 'tis in Virtue of the first Justification, that our present Life is a Day of Grace, the Grace of our first Justification, or the Benefit of Repentance and Pardon, being continued throughout our whole present Life, and giving us the Opportunity and Means of obtaining eternal Life. (7.) From all this it appears, that this *first* Justification doth not terminate in itself, but is in order to another: which we may call.

278. (II.) *Final* Justification, or Salvation. This relates to, and supposes, our Christian State; and consists in our being actually qualified for, and being put into Possession of, eternal Life, after we have duly improved our *first* Justification, or our Christian Privileges, by patient Continuance in Well-doing, to the End, under all Trials and Temptations.

279. VII. A careful Attention to the preceding Collection of Texts will give us a clear and distinct Notion, what those *Works* are, which St. Paul excludes from Justification; and what that Justification is from which they are excluded. By *Works*, excluded from Justification, or Salvation, he doth not mean only ceremonial Works, or ritual Observations of the Mosaic Constitution: For he expressly excludes Works of Righteousness, or righteous Works, Tit. iii. 5, “Not by Works of Righteousness which we have done, but according to his Mercy he *saved* us.” Now this sets aside, not only ceremonial Works, but all Acts of Obedience properly moral.—Again; by *Works*, or *Works of Law*, excluded from Justification, the Apostle doth not always mean

mean only sinless, perfect Obedience. For I do not find that any, the most rigid Jew, ever insisted upon that, as necessary to Justification: Indeed, the Apostle may argue from the Nature of Law, as it requires sinless, perfect Obedience, in Confutation of the Jew, who, not duly considering the Nature of Law, insisted that the Gentiles ought to put themselves under the Law of Moses. But certainly, by *Works* or *Deeds of Law* he doth not always mean only sinless, perfect Obedience. In short; the *Works*, excluded from Justification, are any Kind of Obedience, perfect or imperfect, which may be supposed a Reason for God's bestowing the Privileges and Honours of the Gospel upon the Heathen World. [Note on Chap. III. 20.] Those Privileges and Honours were bestowed out of pure Mercy and Goodness, without Regard to the foregoing good or bad Works of the Heathen World. No doubt, every good and virtuous Action is pleasing to God, and approved by him; and the eminent Piety of Cornelius might be a Reason why, of all the Heathens, the Gospel was first preached to him, Acts x. 4, 5. But no Person, whether Heathen or Jew, was taken into the Church or Family of God, only for his being a virtuous Person. Because had he in Times past been ever so wicked, upon his Faith, he had a Right to the Privileges and Honours of the Gospel. Consequently, the Works, which are excluded from Justification, refer to the prior State of Christians, and to their *first* Justification; when they were taken into the Church or Kingdom of God, and had their past Sins forgiven them. This *first* Justification was not of Works: That is to say, There was no Retrospect, no stating Accounts with regard to a Man's past Conduct; nor was any Person admitted into the Church and Covenant of God only because he had been a good Man, nor any Person, professing Faith in Christ, rejected, because he had been wicked and ungodly; but this Justification of the believing Heathen was of mere *Grace*, according to the Counsel and Purpose of God's own Will, without Regard to what the Heathen had been before his Conversion. So that no Man, upon his being raised to the Honours and Privileges of the Gospel, could *glory*, *boast*, or pretend Self-sufficiency, or Self-dependence in procuring those Honours or Privileges, Ephes. ii. 9.

280. That Works, excluded from Justification, must be Works done in the State *prior* to a Person's Conversion: and that the Justification they are excluded from is the *first* Justification, is further evident: Because after Conversion, when a Man is become a Christian, and with Regard to *final* Justification, Works are expressly required. For "without Holiness," or Works of Righteousness, the Gospel constantly declares, "no Man shall see the Lord*."

281. But yet, observe; Works of Righteousness are so insisted upon in our Christian State, now that we are taken into the Kingdom of God, that if any Christian should neglect the Performance of them, there is still Room, in this Life, for Repentance. For our Lord and his

* Note, St. James meaneth this *final* Justification, or Salvation, when he saith, (Chap. ii. 14, 24.) That a Man is not saved, or justified, by Faith alone without Works.

his Apostles, not only called Men to Repentance, in order to their *first* Justification; but the Apostles, and our Lord after his Ascension, exhort wicked Christians, such as were Members of the Gospel Church, to Repentance, in order to their *final* Justification. 2 Cor. xii. 21. Rev. ii. 5, 16. iii. 3, 19. While the accepted Time and the Day of Salvation continues, we enjoy the Benefit of Repentance. We are in a State of Pardon during Life, which is the Day when we hear the Voice of God's Mercy, Heb. iii. 7. And the Language of his Mercy to every Sinner is the same as our Saviour's to the Woman, John viii. 11. "Neither do I condemn thee: Go, and sin no more." But it must be carefully observed, That this Favour is granted, not to indulge Wickedness, but mercifully to enlarge the Possibility of our Salvation. For, whatever our present Privileges are, we shall for certain perish eternally, unless we forsake Sin, and practise universal Holiness. And such is the abounding Mercy of God, that he will receive and pardon us, at what Time soever we sincerely return unto him. Only remember; That the longer that Return is delayed, the more our Hearts will be hardened, our Salvation will become less possible, and we shall still be nigher to curling, Heb. vi. 8.

282. VIII. It is also evident, from the foregoing Collection of Texts, what that *Faith* is, which gave a Right to the *first* Justification, or an Admittance into the Kingdom of God in this World. Certainly it was such a Faith as was consistent with a Man's perishing eternally: Because he might be admitted into the Church upon a Profession of that Faith, and yet remain a wicked Person, and be lost for ever. This was evidently the Case of Simon the Sorcerer; who, though his "Heart was not right in the Sight of God," (Acts viii. 21.) though he was in the "Gall of Bitterness and Bond of Iniquity," Ver. 23. Yet it is said, Ver. 13, That "he *believed*, and was baptized." Consequently, that Faith must be the general Faith, which is common to all Christians, good and bad; or Faith considered simply and separately from the Fruits and Effects of it. It was that general Profession of Faith in Jesus Christ, as the Messiah and Saviour of the World (which included a Profession of Repentance, and which indeed ought to have been sincere), upon which the Apostles baptized the first Converts. It is in this Sense, that "we are all the Children of God by Faith in Jesus Christ," Gal. iii. 26. And this Faith, in the Nature of Things must be absolutely necessary to our Adoption, or being taken into God's Family. For as our being begotten, or born again, regenerated, or made the Children of God, is of a spiritual or moral Nature, and relates to the Improvement of our Minds in Wisdom and Goodness, if a Person were entirely ignorant of the Grace of God, or refused to assent to it, and accept of it, 'tis plain he could be begotten to Nothing; or could not be begotten at all; for there would be no Foundation of the spiritual Relation between God and such a Person. The Means, by which we are begotten, or regenerated, to the Christian State, or the Seed of which we are born, is the Word of God, James i. 18. 1 Peter i. 23. Now where the Word of God is not received, but rejected; that is, where a Person doth not profess Faith in it, but remains still in Unbelief, 'tis evident

dent nothing can be produced, or generated; the only Means of Regeneration, or the only Ground upon which Adoption, Justification, and the other antecedent Blessings, can be planted, is wanting.

283. The Faith, which gave a Person a Place or Standing in the Christian Church, was Profession, considered simply, and separately from the Fruits and Effects of it; though, I conceive, it did include a Profession of Repentance, of forsaking Sin and Idolatry, and of bringing forth the Fruits of Righteousness. And this Faith we may call the *first Faith*; As I suppose, the Apostle doth, 1 Tim. v. 12. And 'tis the continued Profession of this Faith in Christ, which gives us a continued Right to a Place in the Church. For, if we cast off this *first Faith*, we renounce our Profession; we cease to be Christians; or, we no longer belong to the peculiar Family of God*.

284. But, though a Person upon this *first Faith* alone, has a Right to a Place and Standing in the present Kingdom of God; yet 'tis not this Faith alone which gives him a Title to *final* Justification, or to a Place in the future and heavenly Kingdom. No; in order to that, this general and professed Faith must grow into a Principle in the Heart, working by Love, overcoming the World, and bringing forth all the Fruits of Righteousness in the Life: Otherwise, the *first Faith*, and *first Justification* will come to nothing. This is the "*working Faith*," Gal. v. 6; or "*Faith working with Works*," and "*perfected by Works*," Jam. ii. 22; the "*continued Faith*," Col. i. 23, the "*growing or increasing Faith*," 2 Theff. i. 3. 2 Pet. i. 5. 2 Cor. x. 15; the "*steadfast or established Faith*," Col. ii. 5; "*unfeigned Faith*," 1 Tim. i. 5. The *first Faith*, is the common Faith of all Christians; this latter Faith, is peculiar to real Christians, who purify themselves from all Filthiness of the Flesh and Spirit. The *first* may be a dead, unactive Faith, Jam. ii. 17, 20, 26; The other is living, and active. The *first*, is a Profession; the other, an operative Principle. A Man may have the *first Faith*, and perish; by the other, we "*believe to the Saving of the Soul*," Heb. x. 39. The *first Faith* may be a Foundation without a Superstructure; the other, is Faith built upon and improved, 2 Peter i. 5—8. Jude 20.

285. This Distinction of Faith seems to be agreeable to the Sense of those Texts, Rom. i. 17, "In the Gospel is revealed the Righteousness of God from *Faith to Faith*." 1 John v. 13, "These Things have I written unto you, that believe on the Name of the Son of God, [with the *first Faith*]; that ye may know that ye have eternal Life, and that ye may believe on the Son of God," [with the *growing, &c. Faith*.]

286. IX. We may also learn, from the preceding Collection of Texts, what it is to be a *true Christian*. And he is a true Christian, who improves the *first Faith* into the *working Faith*; or who has such a Sense, and Persuasion of the Love of God in Christ Jesus, conferring upon him the antecedent Blessings of Election, Adoption, Justification, &c. That he devotes his Life to the Honour and Service of God in Hope of eternal Glory.—Therefore, to the Character of a true

* St. James speaks of this *first Faith*, Chap. ii. 14—26. And very justly pronounces it insufficient, being alone, for our *final* Salvation, or Justification.

true Christian 'tis absolutely necessary, that he diligently study the Things that are freely given him of God; namely, his Election, Regeneration, Adoption, Pardon, Right to the heavenly Inheritance, &c. that he may gain a just Knowledge of these inestimable Privileges; may "taste that the Lord is gracious," and rejoice, in the Gospel-Salvation as his greatest Happiness and Glory. This is "growing up in Christ," Eph. iv. 15; This is "growing in Grace," or in a Sense of God's Favour, "and in the Knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ," 2 Pet. iii. 18. And this happy Growth is nourished by constant and careful Attention to the Word of God, 1 Peter ii. 2. 3. 'Tis necessary that he work those Blessings upon his Heart, till they become a vital Principle, producing in him the Love of God, and engaging him to all cheerful Obedience to his Will, giving him a proper Dignity and Elevation of Soul, raising him above the best and worst of this World, carrying his Heart into Heaven, and fixing his Affections and Regards upon his everlasting Inheritance, and the Crown of Glory laid up for him there. Thus he is "strong in the Grace that is in Christ Jesus," 2 Tim. ii. 1; Thus his "Heart is established with Grace," Heb. xiii. 9; Thus he "abides" in Christ, and his "Words abide" in him, John xv. 7. Thus he "continues in the Son, and in the Father," 1 John ii. 24. Thus "his Seed remains in him," iii. 9. Thus "he dwells," or continues, "in God, and God in him," iv. 16. Thus "he hath," or holds, "the Son," v. 12. Or, more plainly, thus he "continues in the Faith, grounded and settled, not moved away from the Hope of the Gospel," Col. i. 23. For thus he is armed against all the Temptations and Trials resulting from any Pleasure or Pain, Hopes or Fears, Gain or Loss in this present World. None of these Things move him from a faithful Discharge of any Part of his Duty, or from a firm Attachment to Truth and Righteousness; neither counts he his very Life dear to him, that he may do the Will of God, and finish his Course with Joy. In a Sense of the Love of God in Christ, he maintains daily Communion with God, by reading and meditating upon his Word. In a Sense of his own Infirmary, and the Readiness of the Divine Favour to succour him, he daily addresses the Throne of Grace, for the Renewal of spiritual Strength, in Assurance of obtaining it, through the one Mediator, Christ Jesus. Inlightened and directed by the heavenly Doctrine of the Gospel, he purges his Mind from Anger, Wrath, Malice, Envy, and every selfish, turbulent, unfociable Passion; and cultivates in his Breast, and exercises in his Conversation, the kind, courteous, humble, inoffensive and universally benevolent Spirit of the Gospel; and so is a Friend, not only (in the narrow Sense of Friendship celebrated among the Heathens,) to a select Companion, he happens to fall in with, but to all Mankind, and always, from a true and steady Principle.

287. This is the Man of true Goodness, true Courage, and Greatness of Soul. This is the Man happy under all Events; who *lives the Life he now lives in the Flesh by the Faith of the Son of God*. This is the Man, who, while he despises a vain Life, has the truest and highest Enjoyment of all that can be enjoyed in it; for he enjoys all in Truth and Purity. This is the Man, who, alone properly lives; and always, under the greatest Afflictions, in the very Moments of Death, lives:

For

For he has nothing but Life and Immortality before him ; Death itself giving no Interruption to his Life, who shall assuredly be again restored to an endless and happy Existence*. Blessed, unspeakably blessed, is this Man. Such the Gospel is designed to make us all, and such we all may be, if we do not shamefully despise the Grace of God, and our own Happiness. But the Knowledge and Sense of these Things are generally lost among Christians ; to whom the Words of the Psalmist may be truly applied ; “ It is a People that doth err in their Hearts, and they have not known my Ways,” Psal. xcvi. 10.

288. X. The foregoing Collection of Texts, will also give us a just Idea, what it is to *preach* Christ, or the Gospel. 'Tis not telling People they are all naturally corrupt, under God's Wrath and Curse from the Womb, and in a State of Damnation, till they come under the Influences of a supposed efficacious, irresistible Grace ; which works in a sovereign Way, arbitrarily, and unaccountably. 'Tis not teaching, that only a small, uncertain Number among Christians, are arbitrarily redeemed, elected, called, adopted, born again or regenerated ; and that all the rest are by a sovereign, absolute, and eternal Decree passed by, or reprobated. These are no Principles of Christianity ; but stand in direct Contradiction to them, and have drawn a dark Veil over the Face of the Gospel, sunk the Christian World into an abject State of Fear, and a false superstitious Humility ; and thrown Ministers into endless Absurdities †. The Apostles were
absolute

* For this Reason, the Apostle seems to give himself the Character of [*ὁμιλες*] *the Livens* ; namely, as he had the Hope and Prospect of eternal Life, 2 Cor. iv. 11.

† I pretend to no great Acquaintance with Ecclesiastical History ; but in my own Mind I think it probable, those Principles were first introduced by some Christian Manichees ; who not being able to vindicate their two eternal, self-existent and independent Principles of Good and Evil, (which, as they thought, necessarily involved all Mankind either in Sin and Misery ; or rendered them virtuous or happy, as they chanced to come under the Influence of the one or the other,) found out a Way of reducing their Doctrines of necessary Sin, and necessary Holiness to one Principle, by assigning this arbitrary Determination of Men's moral and natural Circumstances to the one God, which before they assigned to two. I make no doubt, but the Doctrines of Original Sin, whereby we are supposed to be necessarily corrupt and wicked ; and the Doctrine of irresistible Grace, whereby we are supposed to be necessarily made Holy ; the Doctrine of particular absolute Election and Reprobation ; I make no doubt, I say, but these Doctrines are Manichæism christianized. And it is such Doctrines as these, that have misrepresented the Christian Religion, harassed the Christian World endlessly, by blinding and confounding Men's Understandings, and imbittering their Spirits ; and have been the Occasion of calling in the Help of a false Kind of Learning, Logic, Metaphysics, School Divinity, in order to give a Colour of Reason to the grossest Absurdities, and to enable Divines to make a plausible Shew of supporting and defending palpable Contradictions.

About six Years after the writing of this, reading Bower's History of the Popes, I find the foregoing Sentiment, (namely, that the doctrines of corrupt Nature, and irresistible Grace, are Manichæism under a new Dress,) confirmed by that late Historian. Who informs us, That those who rejected the
the

absolute Strangers to these Doctrines. The whole Scheme, and Method of the Doctrine, they preached to Gentile Christians, is comprehended in that single Sentence, Eph. v. 8. "Ye were *sometimes* [in your heathen State] Darknes, but *now* [in your Christian State] are ye Light in the Lord; walk as Children of Light." [185 the 4th Note.] To the Gentile Christians they explained, and inculcated the Glory of the Grace of God in Christ, which had delivered them from the Power of Heathenish Darknes, and translated them into the Kingdom of the Son of his Love. To raise their esteem of the exceeding Riches of this Grace, they opened the Fountain from which it flowed, the pure and free Love of God, and the Counsel of his Will, in which it was formed and established before the World was. They also explained the grand and surprising Method, in which it was conveyed and administered, even by the Incarnation, holy Life, obedient Sufferings, and glorious Exaltation of the Son of God. They put their Disciples in Mind, how deplorable their Case was in their Heathen State, as they were then in a dismal State of Darknes and Ignorance; under the Power of Sin and Satan, obnoxious to Condemnation and Wrath. On the other Hand; they represented the Glory and Honour, to which they were now raised, in their Christian State, by their Election, Calling and Adoption. They demonstrated that they were in a State of Justification and Salvation; that they were regenerated or born again, born of God, washed and sanctified, and made to live together with Christ; that they were the House and Temple of God, his peculiar People, invested in all the Benefits of the Gospel-Covenant, particularly the Remission of Sins, and the Donation of eternal Life. And then they warmly urged and beseeched them, not to receive this Grace in vain, but to improve it, to the forming all the solid Principles of Holiness in their Hearts, and the bringing forth all the Fruits of Righteousness in their Lives. They represented, how disagreeable their former Heathenish Conversion was to their present honourable State, and Relations to God; they earnestly exhorted them, to put off all former Works of Darknes, and to put on the whole Armour of Light; to be patient and persevering in Duty, under all Trials and Afflictions; to be sincere in their Love one to another; humble, peaceable, and kind towards all Men; to pray unto God, continually for a Supply of all their Necessities. To animate their Obedience and Patience, they frequently pointed at the Coming of our Lord, and the Crown of Righteousness, he will give to the Faithful and Upright. And on the other Hand, to awaken the Careless and Impenitent, they displayed the Terrors of the future Judgment, and that dreadful Wrath, which would consume all the Workers of Iniquity, without any Respect of Persons, whatever their Professions or Privileges in this World have been*. — If the Apostles

the Doctrine of Original Sin, when it first crept into the Church, always declared themselves true Catholics, and stigmatized Augustin, and his Followers, as Manichees. See Hist. of the Popes. Vol. I. p. 349.

* I cannot here omit quoting an ancient Piece, which bears the Title of Clement's Second Epistle to the Corinthians (though it seems to me Part of a Sermon,) and gives a remarkable Specimen of the Apostolick Way of Preaching.

fles knew how to preach the Gospel, this is preaching Christ and the Gospel.

C H, A P. XIII.

The Gospel-Constitution not prejudicial to the rest of Mankind. Virtuous Heathens shall be eternally saved.

THE ten foregoing particulars, I think, are all clear from the Proof I have given, that the Gospel is a Scheme, calculated to restore true Religion, and to promote Virtue and Happiness. I now proceed.

289. This ing. Take the Sense as follows. “Brethren,——we should not have low Sentiments of our *Salvation*:——For if we account the Things we hear “preached little and inconsiderable, we sin, not considering, out of what “Condition we were *called*, [97.] nor by whom, nor to what Place, nor “what great Things Jesus Christ patiently submitted to suffer for us. What “Return then shall we make him?——All Praise, and pious Regards are his “Due. For he has graciously given us the *Light*, [Ephes. v. 8.] has addressed himself to us as a Father to his *Sons*, and *saved* [93.] us when perishing.—Being *blind* in our Understanding, worshipping Stones and Stocks, “and Gold and Silver, and Brags, and the Works of Men, and our whole “Life was nothing but *Death* [100]. In the Midst of so great *Darkness* “[Ephes. v. 8.] through his good Pleasure, we recovered our Sight, being “disengaged from the Cloud which incompassed us. For he had *Mercy* “[139, 143.] upon us, and in his Compassion *saved* us, beholding us in so “great Error and Destruction, and having no Hope of *Salvation* but “from him alone. He *called* us, who *were not*, [20.] and was pleased “that of *nothing* we should *be* [or have an Existence: 102.]——Seeing “then he has vouchsafed us so great *Mercy*, chiefly, in that we, who are “*alive* [*οἱ ζῶντες*] sacrifice not to dead Gods, nor worship them, but by “him know the Father of Truth, what Acknowledgment shall we make “him,——but to confess him before men? And how shall we confess him? “By doing what he has taught, and not despising his Commandments.—— “Then let us not only call him Lord; for that will not *save* us [finally: 275.] “——But let us confess him in our *Works* [280.] by loving one another, “not committing Adultery, not Slandering,——but being chaste, merciful, “good, sympathizing with each other, not loving Money.——If we do “otherwise, the Lord has said, Though ye were gathered into my Bosom, “and do not my Commandments, I would cast you away, and say unto “you, *Depart from me, I know you not whence you are, ye Workers of Iniquity*, “Wherefore, Brethren, ceasing to live after the Manner of this World, “let us do the Will of him that has *called* us.——For the Sojourning of “the Flesh in this World is low, and of short Duration; but the Promise of “Christ is grand and wonderful, and the *Rest* [109.] of the future Kingdom, and of Life eternal. And how shall we attain those Things, but by “living holily, and justly, and by accounting worldly Things foreign to “our Happiness; for if we covet them, we fall from the righteous Way, “——and nothing can deliver us from eternal Punishment.”

Observe; how clearly he distinguishes between the first and final Salvation

289. This noble Scheme was not intended to exclude any Part of the World, to whom it should not be revealed, from the present Favour of God, or future Salvation; or any Ways to prejudice them [73]. The moral and religious State of the Heathen was very deplorable; being generally sunk into great Ignorance, gross Idolatry, and abominable Vices. But there might be some virtuous Persons among them. Now the Gospel was not intended to sink the honest, virtuous Heathen, or to leave him destitute of the Blessing of God; but to exalt the upright Christian, and give him greater Advantages for improving his rational Powers; not to make the Heathen worse, but to make the Christian better. Nay, further; Though the Nations, who profess the Gospel, are, at present, greatly favoured in external Privileges, beyond those who are ignorant of it, yet, in the Day of Judgment, God will, without respect of Persons, render to every Man according to his Works, and according to the honest Use he has made of the greater or lesser Advantages he has enjoyed: And in that solemn Day, the virtuous Heathen will not be rejected, because he did not belong to the visible Kingdom of God in this World, but will then be readily accepted, and received into the Kingdom of Glory. Nor, on the other Hand, will a wicked Professor of Christianity be partially favoured, because, in this present Time, he was a Member of Christ's visible Church, and numbered among the Elect; but will certainly then be disowned, and condemned with all the Workers of Iniquity. This is very evident in Scripture. Our Saviour, speaking of the Centurion, who was a Heathen, saith (Mat. viii. 11, 12.) "Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great Faith [as this Heathen has professed] no, not in Israel," [who are the peculiar People and Kingdom of God]. "And I say unto you, many [Heathen, who are not the Children of the Kingdom in this World,] shall [in the last Day] come from the East and West [from all Parts of the Globe,] and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the Kingdom of Heaven: But the Children of the Kingdom shall be cast out into outer Darkness; there shall be Weeping and Gnashing of Teeth." This relates to the present Kingdom of God in general, as well under the Christian, as the Jewish Dispensation: For our Lord is speaking of the final Issue of Things at the last Day, as I have shewn [172], when all the various Dispensations of the Kingdom of God shall be finished, and therefore, what he saith most naturally refers to the Kingdom of God under any Dispensation. Besides, if the many, who shall "come from the East and the West, and sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the Kingdom of Heaven," be understood of those Heathen, who should hereafter embrace the Faith of the Gospel, and be taken into the peculiar Kingdom of God in this World, then our Saviour's Assertion surely is not to the Point, with regard to the Centurion's Case, who was a Heathen. For then, his Assertion would run thus, "I say unto you, many who" shall hereafter be the Children of the Kingdom, "shall come from the East and West, and sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the Kingdom of Heaven, while the Children of the Kingdom [that is, the present Jews] shall be cast out." Thus the Opposition would be between the future "Children of the Kingdom," or Christians, and the present "Children of the Kingdom," or Jews:

Whereas

Whereas the Centurion's Case required, that the Opposition should be between Heathens, and the Children of the Kingdom. Consequently this Text proves, that many Heathens shall be saved, while some of the Children of the Kingdom, whether Jews or Christians, shall perish.

290. And that a Heathen may possibly so believe as to come unto God, is evident from Heb. xi. 6, "He that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is the Rewarder of them that diligently seek him." The Objects of true saving Faith are more or less extensive, according to the less or greater Light any Man enjoys. The Objects of Faith, before our Lord's Coming, were not so extensive as ours, who have before us the whole Scheme of Revelation. And he who has no other Guide than the Light of Nature, and in that Light sees "that God is, and that he is the Rewarder of them that diligently seek him," and accordingly comes to God by an obedient Life, so far as he knows his Duty, is a true Believer, according to the Apostle's general Account of Faith, even though he doth not see any Part of the Objects of Faith, which are peculiar to the Christian Revelation. Consequently, a Heathen, in any Part of the World, may possibly exercise true Faith, and be an accepted Believer in the Sight of God; for he may believe, that "God is, and that he is the Rewarder of them that diligently seek him."

291. Our Lord (Mat. xxv. 14, &c.) shews us, how he will in the last Day judge "his *own* Servants, to whom he has delivered his Goods;" that is, the Members of his Church, whom he has favoured with singular Privileges. But in the next Parable (Ver. 31, &c.) he shews, that *all Nations*, both within and without the Pale of the Church, shall be gathered before him; and that he will receive all the Righteous that are found among them into eternal Life, and condemn all the Wicked to everlasting Punishment [178]. This is agreeable to what the Apostle saith, Rom. ii. 9, 10, 11, "Tribulation and Anguish shall be upon *every* Soul of Man that doth Evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile. But Glory, Honour and Peace shall be rendered to *every* Man that worketh Good, to the Jew first, and also the Gentile; for there is no Respect of Persons with God."

292. And indeed, through the Whole of that second Chapter to the Romans, the Apostle supposes true Religion is of an universal Nature and Extent, and may possibly be found every where, among all Nations upon the Globe. Wherever rational Nature is, there true Religion may in Fact be. This is manifestly his Sense, Ver. 27, "And shall not the Uncircumcision, which is by Nature, if it fulfil the Law, judge thee, who by the Letter and Circumcision dost transgress the Law;" That is, "Shall not the mere Heathen, who is destitute of the Benefit of Revelation, and is by Nature, or hath no other Guide but his own Natural Reason and Understanding, shall not such a one, if he fulfil the Law by a sober and upright Conversation, condemn thee, who enjoyest the Privileges of Revelation, and pervertest them to the Purposes of Wickedness?" The Apostle's Argument has no Force, if it be not true, that the mere Heathen, who is by Nature alone; who has no other Guide besides that Reason and Understanding, which is the Gift of God to all Men, and the Inspiration of the Almighty, may fulfil the Law, the Law, at least, that he is under;

that

that is, may be a sincerely virtuous, honest, sober, kind, good and benevolent Man. This is the Foundation of the Apostle's Reasoning with the Jew; and will equally hold with Regard to the Christian too. We may truly turn his Words to ourselves, and say; "Shall not the Heathen, who is by Nature, if he fulfil the Law of God, condemn thee, O Christian, who by mistaking and perverting Revelation, and its Privileges, dost transgress the Divine Law."

293. The first Sermon that was ever preached to a Gentile-Christian Audience begins with those remarkable Words, (Acts x. 34, 35.) "Of a Truth, I perceive that God is no Respector of Persons; but in every Nation he that fears him, and works Righteousness, is accepted of him." For (1 Tim. iv. 10.) "The living God is the Saviour of *all Men*, specially of those that believe."

294. This may suffice to shew, That as the Gospel, preached to some Nations of the World, could not make the Condition of others worse, so, in Fact, it did not deprive any virtuous Persons among them of the least Degree of God's Favour, or leave them destitute of the Regards of his Goodness. 'Tis a great Blessing to us, and no Injury to them.

C H A P. XIV.

The Gospel was not designed, in itself, to unchurch the Jews: Yet they warmly opposed it, 1. Some Totally; 2. Others only in Part.

295. **A**N D as the Gospel was not intended to prejudice the Heathen, to whom it should not be discovered, so neither was it, in itself, designed to unchurch the Jews. This appears from what has already been said to prove, that the believing Gentiles are taken into the same Body, Church and Covenant, in which the Jews were before the Gospel-Dispensation was erected [79, &c.] Only, whereas till the Coming of our Lord they had professed Subjection to God alone, as their King and Governour, when the Gospel-Dispensation was set up, they were further required to profess Subjection to Jesus Christ, as constituted King and Lord of the Church. Before, they believed in God; under the Gospel, they were required to believe also in the Son of God, as his Christ or Messiah, whom he had set King upon his holy Hill of Sion. John xiv. 1. And believing in the Messiah, they remained still the People, though not the only People, of God.

296. Nor doth it appear, that they were obliged to disuse any Part of their former Law or Constitution. Indeed, they were to consider themselves, and all the Jews that had been under the Sinai Covenant, from first to last, as delivered from the Curse of the Law, which subjected them for every Transgression to eternal Death. And further; they were not to Regard any of the Peculiarities of the Law of Moses as necessary,

necessary, even in their own Case, to an Interest in the Kingdom and Covenant of God, under the Gospel; (Phil. iii. 3—11.) much less might they impose them upon the Gentile Converts. But, that the believing Jews might consistently with their Christian Profession, observe all the Rites and Ceremonies of the Law of Moses, seems to be true. For there were “many Thousands of Jews who believed at Jerusalem, and they were all zealous of the Law,” Acts xxi. 20. And, so far was the Apostle James, and all the Elders of the Christian Church, from thinking their Zeal for the Usages of the Law inconsistent with their Christian Profession, that they advised the Apostle Paul to conform to one of the Institutions of the Mosaic Law, in order to clear himself of a Suspicion they had entertained, that he taught the Jews, which were among the Gentile, to forsake Moses, Ver. 21—25. This was false; he, indeed, taught the Gentile Converts, that it was inconsistent with their Christian Profession to embrace Judaism, or to put their Necks under the Yoke of the Law of Moses; but he never taught the Jews to forsake Moses. And so willing was he to convince the Christian Jews, that the Information they had received was false, that he complied with the Advice of James and the Elders, and joined himself to four Men, who had a Vow of Nazaritism on them, subjecting himself to the same Vow for seven Days, joining with them in the Expences; and “the next Day purifying himself with them he entered into the Temple, to signify to the Priest the Accomplishment of the Days of Purification, until that an Offering should be offered for every of them;” and, consequently for Paul as well as the other four, Ver. 24—27. Here Paul joined in every Part of a Rite purely Mosaic; shaving his Head, presenting himself to the Priest in the Temple, and offering the Sacrifices and Oblations, which the Law required, Num. vi. 13—22. Which a Man of his Resolution and Integrity would never have done, in mere Complaisance to any Persons whatsoever, had it been inconsistent with his Christian Profession.

297. But, before he came to Jerusalem, either he or Aquila, for it is not certain which, had a Vow, a Vow of Nazaritism, at Cenchrea, Acts xviii. 18. Now, suppose it was Aquila, who was under this Vow; he was a Christian Jew, well acquainted with Paul, Ver. 2, 3; and, no doubt, thoroughly instructed by him in the Gospel. It cannot therefore be supposed, Paul would have suffered him, under his Eye, to have conformed to a Rite purely Mosaic, at least without a Reproof, had it been unlawful for a Christian Jew to observe Mosaic Institutions.

298. Paul circumcised Timothy, the son of a Jewish woman, Acts xvi. 1, 2, 3. And in general, “to the Jews he became as a Jew, (that is, by conforming to Mosaic Rites and Ceremonies), that he might gain the Jews,” 1 Cor. ix. 20, 21. Which he would never have done, had it not been consistent with his Profession of the Gospel. On the other Hand; “To them that were without the Law, (that is, to the Gentiles,) he became as without Law;” or, as one that did not observe Mosaic Ceremonies. Which shews, that he did not think the Observance of them necessary, even to himself, in reference to his Interest in the Gospel-Covenant; otherwise, he could upon no Consideration have suspended the Observance of them.

299. The *Truth* seems to be this. The Rites and Ceremonies of the Law of Moses, were incorporated into the Civil State of the Jews; and so might be considered as National and Political Usages. Now, as the Gospel did not interfere with, or subvert any National Polity upon Earth, but left all Men, in all the several Countries of the Globe, to live, in all Things not sinful, according to the Civil Constitution, under which it found them; so it left the Jews also at Liberty to observe all the Rites and Injunctions of the Law of Moses, considered as a Part of the Civil and Political Usages of the Nation. And in this respect, they remained in Force so long as the Jews were a Nation, having the Temple, the Token of God's Presence and Residence among them. But when the Temple was destroyed, and they were expelled the Land of Canaan, their Polity was dissolved, and the Mosaic Rites were quite laid aside. And, as the Time, in which this happened, was near, when the Epistle to the Hebrews was written, therefore the Apostle saith, The first Covenant, or Mosaical Dispensation, was "then decaying and waxing old, and ready to vanish away," Heb. viii. 13.

300. But though the Gospel was not, in itself, intended to unchurch the Jews; yet the Jews every where warmly opposed the preaching of it; though not for the same Reasons.

301. (1.) Some Jews opposed it totally, and rejected the whole Gospel, as unnecessary; judging the Mosaical Constitution, and their Conformity to the Law there delivered, compleatly sufficient for Justification, or Salvation, without any further Provision made by the Grace of God. These accounted Christ, our Lord, an Impostor, and the Gospel a Forgery, and therefore persecuted the Apostles with the utmost Affiduity, and Outrage, as Deceivers, who had no Divine Mission. Such were the Jews, who put Stephen to Death, Acts vi. viii. Chapters. Such were they at Antioch in Pisidia, who "were filled with Envy, and spake against the Things that were spoken by Paul, contradicting and blaspheming," Acts xiii. 45, 50. Such were the Jews at Iconium, Acts xiv. 2, 19.—at Thessalonica,—xvii. 5.—at Corinth,—xviii. 5, 6. And in other Places. And such a Jew was Paul himself, before his Conversion. He consented to the Death of Stephen, "made Havock of the Church," Acts viii. 3; "and breathed out Threatnings, and Slaughter against the Disciples of the Lord," ix. 1. xxii. 4. xxvi. 9, 10, 11.

302. What Paul's Principles and those of the unbelieving Jews, were, we may learn, if we observe; That the first Persecution, raised against the Apostles at Jerusalem, was partly on Account of their "preaching through Jesus the Resurrection from the Dead," Acts iv. 1, 2. This gave great Offence to the Sadducees: And partly, because they openly affirmed, That Jesus, whom the Rulers of the Jews slew and hanged on a Tree, was the Messiah, "whom God had exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour." This disgusted all the Council and Senate of the Jews, Acts v. 21, 28, 29, 30, 31. But, with Regard to these two Particulars, the Indignation of the Jews seems, for some Time, to have been abated; till the Doctrine, the Apostles taught, was better understood, and Stephen, in his Dispute with some learned Jews, had suggested that the Gospel was intended to abrogate the Mosaical Constitution, Acts vi. 9

—15. This irritated the Jews afresh; especially the Pharisees, the strictest, and most numerous Sect among them. And Saul, one of that Sect, (Acts xxiii. 6. xxvi. 5.) being then a young Man, just come out of Gamaliel's School, having finished his Studies in the Law, and being fully persuaded, that the Jewish Dispensation was instituted by God, never to be altered, but to abide for ever, he really believed that Jesus and his Followers were Deceivers; and that it was his Duty to oppose them, and to stand up courageously for God and his Truth. Thus he honestly followed the Dictates of his own Conscience. How far other unbelieving Jews were, or were not, upright in their Opposition to the Gospel, God only knows; but their professed Principles seem to be nearly the same. In short; they were for seizing on the Inheritance, (Mat. xxi. 38.) and for ingrossing all Salvation, and the Favour of God to themselves. The Jews, they judged, were the only People of God; and the Jewish Nation the only true Church, out of which there was no Salvation. No Man could be in a State of Acceptance with God, without observing the Law of Moses. The Works of that Law, Moral and Ceremonial, must be performed, in order to his being a Member of God's Church and Family, and having a Right to future and eternal Happiness. They expected the Messiah indeed, and his Kingdom: But not as if either had a Reference to another World. The Law, and a punctual Observation of it, was the Ground of their Expectations in a future World. And as for the Messiah, they supposed, his Coming and Kingdom related only to temporal Prosperity and Grandeur of the Jewish Nation, and the perpetual Establishment of their Law, by rescuing them out of the Hands of the Gentile-Powers, who had greatly embarrassed and distressed their Constitution. Thus they endeavoured to "establish their own Righteousness," (Rom. x. 3.) Salvation, or Interest in God; an Interest which they imagined for themselves, and which excluded Men of all other Nations, who, they thought, were, in Fact, utterly excluded from the Divine Favour and eternal Life, as quite lost and hopeless. Against us Gentiles they had the strongest Prejudices, accounting us as perfectly vile, as *nothing*, as abandoned of God, only because we were not included in their Peculiarity: While they imagined themselves to be vastly superior to us, and the only People beloved of God, purely on Account of their external Privileges, and Relation to God, as the Seed of Abraham, being circumcised, enjoying the Law, the Promises and Ordinances of Worship, &c.

303. And this was another Ground of their Opposition to the Gospel, when it was preached to the Gentiles. Indeed, the Apostles themselves, and the first Christians among the Jews had, for some Time, no Notion of the Gospel's being preached to the Gentiles; till God in a Vision convinced Peter, it was his Will that it should, Acts x. But the unbelieving Jews regarded the Preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles, or the declaring that they were, upon the Faith in Christ, pardoned and admitted into the Church of God, and to the Hopes of eternal Life, almost in the same Manner, as we should regard the Preaching of the Gospel to Brute Creatures. They could not bear the Thought, that the Gentiles, any barbarous Nations, should, only by Faith, have

an equal Interest in God, and the Blessings of his Covenant with themselves. They did not, indeed, deny the Possibility of their being taken into the Church, and of obtaining Salvation: But it must be only by their becoming Jews; they must first submit to the Law, and yield Obedience to its Precepts and Obligations, before they could be the qualified Objects of God's Mercy. There was no Grace, no Part in the Kingdom of God, either here or hereafter, for a Gentile, unless he first became a Jew, and performed the Works of the Mosaical Law. By these Sentiments, they were led to do all they could to oppose the preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles; and commenced very bitter Enemies to Paul, who was the Apostle particularly selected, and commissioned for that Purpose. They could not allow the Gentiles to have any Access to the Privileges of God's Church and People, but through the Door of the Law; and to introduce them any other Way, was not only to overthrow their Law and Peculiarity, but to deceive the Gentiles. Therefore they did all in their Power to withstand the Apostle, and to persuade the Gentiles every where, that he was an odious Imposter; that his Gospel was a Forgery, destitute of a Divine Authority; that he proposed admitting them into the Church and Covenant of God in a Way, which had no Foundation in the declared Will of God. Their Law was the only Divine Establishment, and Obedience to it the only Means to introduce them into the Kingdom of God; and Paul could have no Commission from Heaven to teach otherwise; whatever he might pretend, or what Miracles soever he might work. Of this Sort of Jews the Apostle speaks, 1 Thes. ii. 14, 15, 16.

304. (2.) Other Jews there were, who believed the Gospel, and agreed that it ought to be preached to the Gentiles: But so, that the Gentiles, at the same Time they accepted the Gospel, were obliged to submit to the Law of Moses in every Part; otherwise, they could not be saved, or have any Interest in the Kingdom and Covenant of God, Acts xv. 1. These taught, that the Gospel was insufficient without the Law. They differed from the forementioned Jews, in that they embraced the Faith of Jesus Christ: But agreed with them in this, That the Law of Moses was to be in Force for ever, and the Observance of all its Rituals absolutely necessary to a Standing in the Church of God, and the Hopes of eternal Life. And for this Reason, they were upon pretty good Terms with the unbelieving Jews; and avoided the Persecution, to which those, who adhered to the pure and unmixed Gospel, were exposed, Gal. vi. 12. These Jews, who were for joining Law and Gospel together, were also great Enemies to our Apostle. He speaks of them, Phil. iii. 2, 3, &c.

C H A P. XV.

The Difference between the Epistle to the Romans, and that to the Galatians. In the Epistle to the Romans the Apostle combats the unbelieving Jews, who totally opposed the Gospel. A Sketch of his Arguments. In what Circumstances he considers Mankind.

305. **T**HE latter sort of Jews, who were for joining law and gospel together, the Apostle opposes in the whole epistle to the Galatians; the former sort, who totally rejected the gospel in the whole epistle to the Romans. For when he saith, Rom. iii. 29, "Is God the God of the Jews only? is he not also of the Gentiles?" it is evident he opposes mere Jews to mere Gentiles. And, Chap. x. 1, "My prayer to God for Israel is that they may be saved;" he speaks of the same Israel, or body of Jews, against whom he is arguing in the whole epistle. But it appears from this place, that those Jews were not saved; or, were not taken into the Christian church and profession; consequently, they must be Infidel Jews.—But it is a different sort of Jews, it is the believing Jews, he opposes in the epistle to the Galatians. For in the instances he produces to shew, what his own sentiments were, with regard to the subject upon which he writes, he appeals to his transactions with believing Jews; and, particularly, to his withstanding the apostle Peter, Chap. ii. And, Chap. vi. 12, he tells them, they who laboured to pervert them, did it only "lest they should suffer persecution for the cross of Christ." Which could be true of those Jews alone, who professed faith in Christ. In the epistle to the Romans, he opposes the gospel to Judaism; the whole gospel to whole Judaism: in that to the Galatians, he opposes his gospel to another gospel, Chap. i. 6, 7, 8; the true, pure gospel to a perverted, adulterated gospel. In the *Romans*, he assures the Gentile converts they had a fair and regular standing in the church; in the *Galatians*, he teaches Gentile converts to keep themselves free from Jewish dependence upon works of law and Mosaical ceremonies, now they were received into the church. All his arguments relating to the rejection of the Jews, and the calling of the Gentiles, in the ninth chapter to the Romans, his quotations, Chap. x. 19, 20, 21, and Chap. xv. 9—12, evidently shew, that he is, in that epistle, defending the cause of the converted Gentiles, against the infidel, rejected Jews. Indeed he touches upon a dispute between the Christian Jews and Christian Gentiles in the 14th and 15th chapters. But there he doth not consider the believing Jews as imposing the ceremonial law upon the Gentiles: but his drift and design is, to persuade the Gentile converts to bear with the weakness of the Jews, and to persuade both to a friendly coalition.—Nor do I make any doubt, but he intended his arguments against the infidel Jews, in favour of the converted Gentiles, should have their effect upon the believing Jews in the church at Rome, to convince

them, that the believing Gentiles stood in the church of God upon as just and sure a ground as themselves; and to induce them to a free and peaceable communion with them, upon the common profession of faith alone. And therefore, he sometimes addresses the believing Jews directly, as Chap. vii. 1, "Know ye not, brethren, (for I speak to them that know the law), &c."

306. It is evident enough the epistles to the Romans and Galatians have relation to different sorts of Jews. But as the principles of those Jews did in some things coincide, and their sentiments were the same with regard to the perpetual obligation of the law of Moses; so there may be an affinity and agreement in the arguments, which the apostle advances in confutation of the one and the other *.

307. Now, against the mistakes of the infidel Jews, the apostle thus argues in the epistle to the Romans. Jews, as well as Gentiles, have corrupted themselves, and are become obnoxious to divine wrath; and, if they reform not, will certainly fall under the wrath of God in the last day. Consequently, as both are obnoxious to wrath, both must be indebted to grace and mercy for any favour shewn them. The continuance of the Jews in the church, as well as the admittance of the Gentiles into it, is wholly of grace, mere grace, or favour. Upon which foot, the Gentiles must have as good a right to the blessings of God's covenant, as the Jews themselves. And why not? Is not God the creator and governor of the Gentiles, as well as of the Jews? and, if both Jews and Gentiles have corrupted themselves by wicked works, it is impossible either should have a right to the privileges of God's church and people on account of *works*, or obedience to the law of God, whether natural or revealed. It must be pure mercy, accepted by faith, or a persuasion of that mercy, on their part, which gives that right. All must be indebted to grace. The works of law never gave the Jews themselves a right to the privileges and promises of the covenant. Even Abraham himself, (the head of the nation, who was first taken into God's covenant, and from whom the Jews derive all their peculiar blessings and advantages) was not justified by works of the law. It was free grace, or favour, which at once admitted him, and his posterity, into the covenant and church of God. And that the grace of the gospel actually extends to all mankind, appears from the universality of the resurrection; which is the effect of God's grace, or favour, in a Redeemer; and is the first and fundamental part of the new dispensation, with regard to the gift of eternal life. For as all were involved in death, in consequence of Adam's sin, so all shall be restored to life at the last day, in consequence of Christ's obedience. And therefore it is certain that all men actually have a share in the mercy of God in Christ Jesus. Thus the apostle argues.

308. And we ought particularly to observe; How he combats the ingrossing temper of the Jews in his arguments. They could not
ingross

* Had Mr. Locke considered these things, he would hardly have said in his preface to the Galatians, that "the subject and design of this Epistle is much the same with that of the Epistle to the Romans."

ingross all Virtue to themselves; for they were as bad as other People. They could not ingross God and his Favour to themselves; for he was the Governour and Creator of Gentiles, as well as Jews. They could not ingross Abraham, and the Promise made to him, to themselves; for he is the Father of many Nations; and the believing Gentiles are his Seed, as well as the Jews. They could not ingross the Resurrection, the necessary Introduction to eternal Life, to themselves; because it is known, and allowed, to be common to all Mankind.

309. And he had good Reason to be so large and particular in confuting the Mistakes of the infidel Jews. For had their Principles prevailed, the Gospel could not have maintained it's Ground. For if we must have performed the Works of Law, before we could have been interested in the Blessings of the Covenant, then the Gospel would have lost its Nature and Force. For then it would not have been a Motive to Obedience, but the Result of Obedience; and we could have had no Hope towards God, prior to Obedience. Therefore, the Apostle has done a singular and eminent Piece of Service to the Church of God, in asserting and demonstrating the free Grace and Covenant of God, as a Foundation to stand upon, prior to any Obedience of ours, and as the grand Spring and Motive of Obedience. This sets our Interest in the Covenant, or Promise of God, upon a Foundation very clear and solid.

310. To understand rightly the Epistle to the Romans, it is further necessary to observe; That the Apostle considers Mankind as obnoxious to the Divine Wrath, and as standing before God the Judge of all. Hence it is, that he uses Forensic, or Law-Terms usual in Jewish Courts; such as the *Law*, *Righteousness* or *Justification*, being *Justified*, *Judgment to Condemnation*, *Justification of Life*, being *made Sinners*, and being *made Righteous*. These I take to be Forensic, or Court-Terms; and the Apostle, by using them, naturally leads our Thoughts to suppose a Court held, a Judgment-Seat to be erected by the most high God, in the several Cases whence he draws his Arguments. For Instance; Chap. v. 12—20 he supposes Adam standing in the Court of God, after he had committed the first Transgression; when the Judgment, passed upon him for his Offence, “came upon all Men to Condemnation;” and when he and his Posterity, by the Favour, and in the Purpose of God, were again made righteous, or obtained the Justification of Life.—Again; Chap. iv, he supposes Abraham standing before the Bar of the supreme Judge: When, as an Idolater, he might have been condemned; but, through the pure Mercy of God, he was justified, pardoned and taken into God's Covenant, on Account of his Faith. He also supposes, Chap. iii. 19—29, all Mankind standing before the universal Judge, when Christ came into the World. At that Time, neither Jew nor Gentile could pretend to Justification, upon the Foot of their own Works of Righteousness; both having corrupted themselves, and come short of the Glory of God. But at that Time, both had a Righteousness, or Salvation, prepared for them in a Redeemer; namely, the Righteousness, which results from the pure Mercy, or Grace of God, the Lawgiver and Judge. And so, both (instead of being destroyed)

had Admittance into the Church and Covenant of God, by Faith, in order to their external Salvation.

311. But, besides these three instances, in which he supposes a Court to be held by the supreme Judge, there is a fourth to which he points, Chap. ii. 1—17; and that is the final Judgment, or the Court which will be held in the Day, when “God will Judge the Secrets of Men by Jesus Christ.” And it is with Regard to that future Court of Judicature, that he argues Chap. ii. 1—17. But in the other Cases, whence he draws his Arguments, he supposes the Courts of Judicature to be already held; and consequently argues in Relation to the Œconomy, Constitution, or Dispensation of Things in this present World. This is very evident, with Regard to the Court, which he supposes to be held, when our Lord came into the World, or when the Gospel-Constitution was erected in its full Glory. For, speaking of the Justification, which Mankind then obtained, through the Grace of God in Christ, he expressly confines that Justification to the present Time, Chap. iii. 26; “To demonstrate, I say, his Righteousness, [Εν τῷ ΝΥΝ καιρῷ] at the *present Time*.” This plainly distinguishes the Righteousness, or Salvation, which God *then* exhibited, from that Righteousness, or Salvation, which he will vouchsafe in the Day of Judgment, to pious and faithful Souls.

CH A P. XVI.

The grand Key to the Epistles. The Scripture Notion of Righteousness, Justification, and Justify demonstrated.

312. **T**HIS Distinction, between the Salvation, which God exhibited at the first Preaching of the Gospel, and that which he will vouchsafe to good Men in the Day of Judgment, leads us to the grand Key to the Epistles; particularly, to the Romans and Galatians. Which is this; That the Justification, Righteousness, being justified without Works, which the Apostle speaks of, is not *final* and eternal Justification; but that *first*, antecedent, and absolute Justification already spoken of [275]; whereby we Gentiles, who were Sinners and Idolaters, deserving of Condemnation and Destruction, were pardoned, and, upon our Faith, delivered from the Power of Darkness, and translated into the Kingdom of the Son of God's Love.

313. That, I conceive, which has occasioned Mistakes upon this Head, is this; That Righteousness, which sometimes signifies a moral Character in general, or a Person's being just and upright, has always been understood in that Sense, and distinguished into inherent, or personal Righteousness, and imputed Righteousness; which is, as Divines have told us, when the personal Righteousness of another is made ours,

or

or is put to our account. Whereas righteousness, besides moral rectitude in general, admits of two or three other senses. Likewise justification, justify, being justified, have been applied to one case only; namely, our full and final acceptance with God, or our being totally delivered from condemnation, and accounted worthy of eternal salvation through Jesus Christ. Whereas these terms are applied to various cases, or to any instance of deliverance and salvation, through the mercy and goodness of God.

314. To settle this point in a proper manner, let it be observed; That the apostles, in the New Testament, use the language and spirit of the Old. They were Jews, well versed in the Jewish scriptures, accustomed to their style and sentiments, and inspired with the same spirit of truth and wisdom, which spake in the ancient prophets. Therefore we must explain the phraseology of the apostles by that of Moses and the prophets. And the Greek of the Septuagint version, which was commonly read by those Jews who lived in foreign countries, and spake the Greek language, will serve to shew us what words in the Hebrew correspond to the Greek words which the Apostles use. For the Apostles use the Hellenistick Greek, into which the Old Testament is translated, and which the Jews in their dispersion commonly read.

315. Now the word, which in the New Testament we render *Righteousness*, is ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ. And the word in Hebrew, which answers to the Greek word ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ righteousness, is צְדָקָה, or צֶדֶק, which is sometimes, but more rarely translated ελεημοσύνη, kindness to the poor, Ευφροσύνη, joy, gladness, and Ελεος mercy. And when those words, צְדָקָה, δικαιοσύνη, which we translate righteousness, are applied to God, they frequently signify that goodness, kindness, benignity, mercy, favour, by which he saves and delivers from any enemy, danger, evil or suffering. And hence they are used to signify the *salvation and deliverance* itself, which the goodness and favour of God vouchsafes. Conformable to this, to be justified (δικαιωσθαι) is to be delivered, saved, rescued from any danger, enemy, evil or suffering. I say, these terms refer to any case of deliverance and salvation whatsoever: as will appear from the following collection of texts.

316. Judges v. 11. "They that are delivered from the noise of archers in the places of drawing water; there shall they rehearse the *Righteousness* [צְדָקוֹת the gracious deliverances] of the Lord, even the *Righteousness* [δικαιοσύνας gracious deliverances] of his villages in Israel." Here it is applied to a national deliverance from the oppressions of a foreign power.

317. Psalm iv. 1. "Hear me when I call, O God of my *Righteousness*, [צְדָקִי δικαιοσύνης μου, of my salvation, justification] thou hast enlarged me when I was in [temporal] distress, have mercy upon me, and hear my prayer."

318. Psalm xxii. 31. "They shall come and shall declare his *Righteousness* [his justification, his saving mercy to the Gentile world צְדָקָתוֹ δικαιοσύνην] unto a people that shall be born, that he hath done this."

319. Psalm xxiv. 5. "He shall receive the blessing from the Lord, and
Righteous-

Righteousness [preserving goodness, or deliverance צדקה *Elēmosynē*] from the God of his salvation."

320. Psalm xxxi. 1. "In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust, let me never be ashamed: deliver me in thy *Righteousness*," [in thy goodness *, בצדקתך *en thy dikaiosynē sou*.]

321. Psalm xxxv. 28. "And my tongue shall speak of thy *Righteousness*, [thy justification, goodness, saving mercy, צדק *dikaiosynē*] and of thy praise all the day long."

322. Psalm xxxvi. 10. "O continue thy loving kindness to them that know thee; and thy *Righteousness* [וצדקתך *en thy dikaiosynē sou*, thy justification, goodness, saving mercy] to the upright in heart."

323. Psalm xl. 10. "I have not hid thy *Righteousness* [justification, mercy, goodness, צדקתך *dikaiosynē sou*] within my heart, [but] I have declared thy faithfulness, and thy salvation; I have not concealed thy loving kindness."

324. Psalm xlviii. 10. "According to thy name, O God, so is thy praise unto the ends of the earth: thy right-hand is full of *Righteousness*" [justification, salvation, saving goodness, צדק *dikaiosynē*.]

325. Psalm li. 14. "Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God, thou God of my salvation: and my tongue shall sing aloud of thy *Righteousness*" [justification, forgiving, saving mercy, צדקתך *dikaiosynē se*.]

326. Psalm lxix. 27. "Add iniquity [suffering, punishment] to their iniquity: and let them not come into thy *Righteousness*" [justification, saving mercy, בצדקתך *en dikaiosynē se*.]

327. Psalm

* Agreeably to this sense the adjectives צדיק *dikaos*, righteous, just, signify good, kind, gracious, &c. 1 Sam. xxiv. 17, *Thou art more righteous than I*, &c. Ezra ix. 15, *O Lord God of Israel, thou art righteous [good], for we remain yet escaped*. Psal. cxii. 4, *Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness; he is gracious, and full of compassion, and righteous [good, kind]*. Psal. cxvi. 5, *Gracious is the Lord and righteous: yea, our God is merciful*. Prov. xii. 10, *A righteous man regardeth the life of his beast*. xxi. 26, *The righteous giveth and spareth not*. Isai. xlv. 21, — *A just [gracious] God, and a Saviour*. lvii. 1, *The righteous perish, and no man lays it to heart; and merciful men are taken away*. Zech. ix. 9, — *thy King comes — he is just, and having salvation*. Mat. i. 19, — *her husband being a just [tender and compassionate] man, and not willing to make her a public example*. Mat. xxv. 37, 46. The righteous are described as the kind, and beneficent. Rom. iii. 26, *that he might be just [gracious] and the justifier of him that believes in Jesus*. 1 John i. 9, *He is faithful and just [gracious] to forgive us our sins*.

In this sense *justus* and *justitia* are sometimes used in Latin, *Precor, nequis Astæ Rex sit, quam isle tam justus [facilis, humanus] hostis, tam misericors victor*. Q. Curt. Lib. IV. cap. 10. ad finem. *Darium ut pacem a te peteret, nulla vis subegit: sed justitia & continentia tua expressit*. Ibid. Lib. IV. Cap. 11. *Persæ justissimum ac mitissimum dominum — invocantes*. Ibid. Lib. X. Cap. V. *Hunc norem Æneas pietatis idoneus auctor attulit in terras, juste Latine, tuas* Ovid. Fastor. Lib. II. *Vir Trojane, quibus coelo, te laudibus æquem? Justitiæ ne prius mirer, belline laborum?* Virg. Æneid. XI. 125. *Mi Chreme, peccavi, fateor, vincor. Nunc hoc te obsecro: Quanto tuns est animus natu gravior, ignoscenior, ut mee stultitiæ in justitia tua sit aliquid præfidi*. Ter. Heauton. Act. 4. Scen. 1. l. 33. *Semper tibi apud me iusta & clemens fuerit Servitus*. Andr. 1. 1. 9. Agreeably to this *Injustitia* signifies unkind, cruel, usage. *Eum ego hinc ejeci miserum injustitâ meâ*. Heauton, Act 1. Scen. 1. l. 82.

327. Psalm lxxi. 2. "Deliver me in thy *Righteousness* [Justification, saving Mercy, Goodness, צדקתך *εν τη δικαιοσυνη σου*,] and cause me to escape: Incline thine Ear unto me, and save me."—Ver. 15, "My Mouth shall shew forth thy *Righteousness* [צדקתך *την δικαιοσυνην*, Justification, preserving Goodness] and thy Salvation all the Day."—Ver. 16, "I will go in the Strength of the Lord God: I will make Mention of thy *Righteousness* [Justification, delivering Mercy, צדקתך *της δικαιοσυνης σου*,] even of thine only."—Ver. 24, "My Tongue also shall talk of thy *Righteousness* [Justification, saving Goodness, צדקתך *δικαιοσυνην*] all the Day long: For they are confounded—that seek my [temporal] Hurt."

328. Psalm lxxxv. 9—13. [צדקך *δικαιοσυνην*.]

Psalm lxxxviii. 10, 11, 12. [צדקתך *δικαιοσυνην*.]

Psalm lxxxix. 16. "In thy Name shall they rejoice all the Day; and in thy *Righteousness* [Justification, Goodness, Salvation, צדקתך *ובצדקתך* *εν τη δικαιοσυνη σου*] shall they be exalted."

329. Psalm xcvi. 2. "The Lord has made known his Salvation: His *Righteousness* [Justification, preserving Goodness, צדקתו *την δικαιοσυνην αυτου*] hath he openly shewed in the Sight of the Heathen."

330. Psalm ciii. 6. "The Lord executeth *Righteousness* [Mercy צדקות *ελεημοσυνας*] and Judgment for all that are oppressed."—Ver. 17. "But the Mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear him: And his *Righteousness* [preserving Goodness, Justification, צדקות *η δικαιοσυνη αυτου*] unto Children's Children."

331. Psalm cvi. 31. "And that [his executing Judgment] was counted unto him [Phinehas] for *Righteousness* [צדקה *εις δικαιοσυνην*, for Justification, a Grant of Favour, the Donation of a Privilege or Honour; namely, the Priesthood entailed upon him and his Posterity] unto all Generations for evermore." So,

332. Gen. xv. 6. "And he [Abraham] believed in the Lord; and he counted it to him for *Righteousness*" [צדקה *εις δικαιοσυνην*, for Justification, a Grant of Favour, the Donation of a Privilege; namely, the taking him and his Posterity into a special Covenant.]

333. Psalm cxix. 40. "I have longed after thy Precepts, Quicken me in thy *Righteousness*" [Justification, Mercy, Goodness, צדקתך *εν τη δικαιοσυνη σου*.]—Ver. 123, "Mine Eyes fail for thy Salvation, and for the Word of thy *Righteousness*" [צדקך *δικαιοσυνης*, Justification, Mercy, Goodness.]

334. Psalm cxxxii. 9. Let thy Priests be clothed with *Righteousness* [Justification, Salvation, צדק *δικαιοσυνην*] and let thy Saints shout for Joy." See Ver. 16. and the parallel Place, 2 Chron. vi. 41. "Let thy Priests, O Lord God, be clothed with *Salvation*, and let thy Saints rejoice in Goodness."

335. Psalm cxliii. 1. "Hear my Prayer, O Lord, give Ear to my Supplication: In thy Faithfulness answer me, and in thy *Righteousness* [Justification, Goodness, Mercy, צדקתך *εν τη δικαιοσυνη σου*.]—Ver. 11. "Quicken me, O Lord, for thy Name's Sake. For thy *Righteousness* Sake [for the Sake of thy Goodness, צדקתך *εν τη δικαιοσυνη σου*, in, or by thy Goodness] bring my Soul out of [temporal] Trouble."

336. Psalm cxlv. 7. "They shall abundantly utter the Memory of thy great

great Goodness, and shall sing of thy *Righteousness*" [Mercy, Salvation, Justification, צדקתך, και τη δικαιοσυνη σου αγαλλιασθησαι.]

337. Isai. i. 27. "Sion shall be redeemed with Judgment, and her Converts with *Righteousness*" [Mercy, Goodness, בצדקה, μετα ελεημοσυνης.]

338. Isai. xli. 10. "Fear thou not, for I am with thee,—I will strengthen thee, yea, I will help thee, yea I will uphold thee, with the Right-hand of my *Righteousness*" [Goodness, בימין צדקי, — τη δεξια τη δικαιοσυνη.]

339. Isai. xlii. 6. "I the Lord have called thee in *Righteousness*," [Mercy, Goodness, בצדך, εν δικαιοσυνη.]

340. Isai. xlv. 8. "Drop down, ye Heavens, from above, and let the Skies pour down *Righteousness*" [Mercy, Goodness, צדק, δικαιοσυνη:] Let the Earth open, and let them bring forth Salvation, and let *Righteousness* [צדקה, δικαιοσυνη] spring up together: I the Lord have created it."

—Ver. 13, "I have raised him [Cyrus] up in *Righteousness*, [Goodness, בצדך, μετα δικαιοσυνης] and I will direct all his Ways."—Ver. 24. "Surely shall one say, In the Lord have I *Righteousness* [Salvation, צדקות, δικαιοσυνη] and Strength."

341. Isai. xlv. 12, 13. "Hearken unto me, ye Stout-hearted, that are from *Righteousness* [Salvation, מצדקה, απο της δικαιοσυνης.] I bring near my *Righteousness*: [saving Goodness, צדקתי, την δικαιοσυνην μου] it shall not be far off, and my Salvation shall not tarry; and I will place Salvation in Zion for Israel my Glory."

342. Isai. xlviii. 18. "O that thou hadst hearkened unto my Commandments! Then had thy Peace been as a River, and thy *Righteousness* [Salvation, perhaps, Prosperity, וצדקתך, η δικαιοσυνη σου] as the Waves of the Sea."

343. Isai. li. 1. "Hearken unto me, ye that follow after *Righteousness*, [Salvation, צדק, το δικαιο] ye that seek the Lord," &c. Ver. 3. "For the Lord shall comfort Zion, he will comfort all her waste Places," &c.—Ver. 5. "My *Righteousness* [Goodness, צדקי, η δικαιοσυνη μου] is near: My Salvation is gone forth," &c. So again, Ver. 6. "My Salvation shall be for ever, and my *Righteousness* shall not be abolished." And again, Ver. 8.

344. Isai. liv. 14. "In *Righteousness* [Mercy, Goodness, perhaps Peace, Prosperity, בצדקה, εν δικαιοσυνη] thou shalt be established: Thou shalt be far from Oppression, for thou shalt not fear; and from Terror, for it shall not come near thee."—Ver. 17. "No Weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper, &c. This is the Heritage of the Servants of the Lord, and their *Righteousness* [Salvation, וצדקתם, και υμεις εσσεσθε μοι δικαιο] is of me, saith the Lord."

345. Isai. lvi. 1.—"Keep ye Judgment and do Justice: For my Salvation is near to come, and my *Righteousness* [Mercy, וצדתי, και το ελεος μου] to be revealed."

346. Isai. lviii. 8. "Then shall thy Light break forth as the Morning, and thine Health shall spring forth speedily: And thy *Righteousness* [Salvation, צדקר, η δικαιοσυνη σου] shall go before thee; and the Glory of the Lord shall be thy Rereward," or bring up thy Rere.

347. Isai. lix. 16, 17, "And he saw that there was no Man, and wondered

dered that there was no Intercessor: Therefore his Arm brought Salvation unto him, and his *Righteousness*, [Goodness, Mercy, וְצִדְקָתוֹ, και η ελεημοσύνη εσηξάτο] it sustained him. For he put on *Righteousness* [Goodness, צִדְקָה, δικαιοσύνη] as a Breast-Plate, and an Helmet of Salvation upon his Head."

348. Isai. lxi. 3. "To appoint unto them that mourn in Sion Beauty for Ashes, the Oil of Joy for Mourning, &c. That they might be called Trees of *Righteousness* [Salvation, הַצֶּדֶק, δικαιοσύνης] the Planting of the Lord, that he might be glorified."—Ver. 10. "I will greatly rejoice in the Lord,—for he has clothed me with the Garments of Salvation, he has covered me with the Robe of *Righteousness*" [Joy and Gladness, צִדְקָה, ευφροσύνη.]—Ver. 11, "For as the Garden causeth the Things that are sown in it to spring forth: So the Lord God will cause *Righteousness* [Salvation, צִדְקָה, δικαιοσύνη] and Praise to spring forth before all Nations."

349. Isai. lxii. 1, 2. "For Zion's Sake will I not hold my Peace, and for Jerusalem's Sake I will not rest, until the *Righteousness* [Deliverance, צִדְקָה, η δικαιοσύνητης] thereof go forth as Brightness, and the Salvation thereof as a Lamp that burneth. And the Gentiles shall see thy *Righteousness*, [Justification, Deliverance, Restoration, or the Happiness which attends it, צִדְקָה, την δικαιοσύνην σου] and all Kings thy Glory," &c. —Ver. 4, "Thou shalt no more be termed Forsaken; neither shall thy Land any more be termed Desolate," &c. [This evidently refers to a temporal Deliverance and Salvation.]

350. Isai. lxiii. 1. "Who is this that comes from Edom, &c.—I that speak in *Righteousness*, [Mercy, Justification, Goodness, בְּצִדְקָה, διαλεγομαι δικαιοσύνην] mighty to save."

351. Jer. xxiii. 6. "In his Days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely: And this is his Name whereby he shall be called, The Lord our *Righteousness*," [Salvation, Justification, צִדְקָנו.]

352. Jer. xxxiii. 16. "In those Days shall Judah be saved, and Jerusalem shall dwell safely: And this is the Name wherewith she shall be called, The Lord our *Righteousness*" [Salvation, Justification, צִדְקָנו. This manifestly refers to some temporal Salvation.]

353. Jer. li. 10. "The Lord hath brought forth our *Righteousness* [Justification, Salvation, Deliverance from Babylon, צִדְקָתֵינוּ]: come and let us declare in Sion the Work of our God."

354. Dan. ix. 16. "O Lord, according to all thy *Righteousness* [Mercy, Goodness, כְּכֹל-צִדְקָתֶיךָ, εν παση ελεημοσύνη σου.] I beseech thee, let thine Anger and thy Fury be turned away from thy City Jerusalem," &c. —Ver. 24. "Seventy Weeks are determined—to make an End of Sins,—and to bring in everlasting *Righteousness*, [Justification, Salvation, צִדְקָה עֲדָמִים, δικαιοσύνη αιωνιον.]

355. Hof. x. 12.—"It is Time to seek the Lord till he come and rain *Righteousness* [Salvation, צִדְקָה, δικαιοσύνης] upon you."

356. Mic. vii. 9. "I will bear the Indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, until he plead my Cause, and execute Judgment for me: He will bring me forth to the Light, and I shall behold his *Righteousness*" [Goodness, Salvation, Justification, בְּצִדְקָתוֹ, την δικαιοσύνην αυτου.]

357. Mal. iv. 2. "But unto you that fear my Name, shall the Son of *Righteousness*

Righteousness [Salvation, Justification, צדקה *δικαιοσύνης*] arise with healing under his Wings."

358. I pretend not to have collected all the Places, but only those that are most full and direct to the Purpose. And those are sufficient to shew, That *Righteousness*, or Justification, [צדקה, צדק, *δικαιοσύνην*] frequently signifies, Mercy, Goodness; a Grant of Favour, or any Deliverance or Salvation, which the Mercy of God, in any Case bestows. And hence it will clearly appear how *δικαιοσύνην*, *Righteousness*, Justification, is to be understood in the New Testament. Frequently it signifies Moral Rectitude in general, and is opposed to Unrighteousness; sometimes it signifies Goodness, Mercy, and is opposed to Wrath*; sometimes it signifies Deliverance, Salvation, and is opposed to Condemnation and Death.

359. 2 Cor. iii. 9. "For if the Ministration of *Condemnation* be glorious, much more doth the Ministration of *Righteousness*, [Justification, Pardon, Deliverance, Salvation, *δικαιοσύνης*] exceed in Glory."

360. 2 Cor. v. 21. "He hath made him to be Sin for us, who knew no Sin, that we might be made the *Righteousness*, [Justification, Salvation, *δικαιοσύνη*] of God by him." That is, that by him we might obtain the Salvation of God, being pardoned and accepted in him, his beloved Son.

361. Gal. ii. 21. "I do not make void the Grace of God, for if *Righteousness* [Justification, Salvation, Deliverance from Sin and Condemnation, *δικαιοσύνην*] be by the Law, then Christ died in vain."

362. Gal. iii. 21. "Is therefore the Law against the Promises of God? By no Means? for if a Law were given able to make us to live, truly *Righteousness* [Salvation, Justification, *δικαιοσύνην*] would be by Law."

363. Gal. v. 5. "For we through the Spirit wait for the Hope of *Righteousness* [Salvation, *δικαιοσύνης*] by Faith."

364. Phil. iii. 9. "And be found in him, not having for my *Righteousness* [Salvation, Justification, *ἐμὴν δικαιοσύνην*] that which is of the Law; but that which is by the Faith of Christ, the *Righteousness* [Salvation, *δικαιοσύνην*] which is of [the Grace of] God by Faith."

365. 2 Tim. iv. 8.—"There is laid up for me a Crown of *Righteousness* [Salvation, *δικαιοσύνης*] which Christ the righteous [merciful] Judge will give me in that Day."

366. Heb. xi. 7. "By Faith Noah being warned of God of Things not seen as yet, moved with Fear, prepared an Ark to the saving of his House; by which he condemned the World, and became Heir of the *Righteousness* [Salvation, *δικαιοσύνης*] which is by Faith," [namely as he was saved from the Deluge.]

367. 2 Pet.

* That the Word, which signifies Goodness, Mercy, should also signify moral Rectitude in general, will not seem strange, if we consider, that "Love is the fulfilling of the Law." Goodness, according to the Sense of Scripture, and the Nature of Things, includes all moral Rectitude; which, I reckon, may every Part of it, where it is true and genuine, be resolved into this single Principle. And we justly call a Man of Virtue and Piety, a good Man.

Ε. δὲ δικαιοσύνη συλλεγέσθην πᾶσ' ἀρεταῖς.

Πᾶς δὲ τ' αὐτῆς ἀγαθός, Κυρ., δικαίος ἐστίν.

Theog.

In iustitia autem comprehenditur omnis virtus:

Omnisque vir bonus est, Cyrne, justus qui est.

367. 2 Pet. i. 1. "Simon Peter a Servant and Apostle of Jesus Christ, to them that have obtained like precious Faith with us, through the *Righteousness* [Mercy, Goodness, *ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ*] of God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ."

368. The Sense of *δικαιοσύνη*, Righteousness, Justification, being so far settled, it will be easy to determine how it is to be understood in the Epistle to the Romans. In Chap. iii. 5. vi. 13, 18, 19, 20, it signifies moral Rectitude, in Opposition to Unrighteousness. And it may have the same Sense Chap. viii. 10. ix. 28. xiv. 17. In all the other Places, I doubt not, but it denotes saving Mercy, Goodness, or Salvation, Deliverance. As Chap. i. 17, "For therein the *Righteousness* [Salvation] of God is revealed from Faith unto Faith." iii. 21, "But now the *Righteousness* [Salvation] of God without the Law is manifested."—Ver. 22, "Even the *Righteousness* [Salvation] of God which is by Faith."—Ver. 25, "Whom God hath set forth,—to declare his *Righteousness* [saving Goodness] for the passing over of Sins."—Ver. 26, "To declare, I say, at this Time his *Righteousness* [saving Goodness] that he might be just [kind and merciful] and the Justifier [the Saviour] of him that believes in Jesus." iv. 3, "Abraham believed, and it was counted to him for *Righteousness*" [a Grant of Favour.]—Ver. 5, "His Faith is counted for *Righteousness*" [Salvation, Deliverance from Condemnation, and the Grant of Benefits and Blessings.] So Ver. 6, 9, 11, 13, 22.—v. 17, "They which receive the Abounding of Grace, and of the Gift of *Righteousness*" [Salvation.] Ver. 21, "That as Sin has reigned by Death, so Grace might reign through *Righteousness* [Deliverance from Death] unto eternal Life." vi. 16, "Know ye not that to whom ye yield yourselves Servants to obey, his Servants ye are, to whom ye obey, whether of Sin unto Death, or of Obedience unto *Righteousness*" [Salvation, Deliverance from Death.] ix. 30, "What shall we say then? That the Gentiles, who followed not after *Righteousness*" [Salvation.] So Ver. 31.—x. 3, "For being ignorant of God's *Righteousness* [the Salvation which God has prepared] and going about to establish their own *Righteousness*" [a Salvation of their own devising, or such as would serve only themselves.]—Ver. 4, "For the End of the Law is Christ unto *Righteousness* [Salvation] to every one that believes." So Ver. 5, 6.—Ver. 10, "For with the Heart Man believes unto *Righteousness*, [Deliverance from Condemnation, and the being interested in Gospel Blessings.] And with the Mouth Confession is made unto Salvation."

369. And the Sense of *δικαιοσύνη* Righteousness, Justification, leads us easily and naturally to the Sense of *δικαιοσθαι*, to be justified, or made righteous. For the one is derived from the other; and therefore may have the same Force and Signification. If *δικαιοσύνη* Righteousness, Justification, signifies Deliverance, Salvation; then *δικαιοσθαι* to be justified, or made righteous, may signify to be saved, delivered. And we find, in fact, that it is so used in Scripture.

370. Isai. xlv. 25. "In the Lord shall the Seed of Jacob be justified [saved, delivered] and shall glory*."

371. Acts

* Eccles. Chap. i. 22. "A furious Man cannot be justified, for the Sway of his Fury shall be his Destruction."

Chap.

371. Acts xiii. 39. "And by him all that believe are *justified* [acquitted, delivered] from all Things, from which ye could not be justified [acquitted, delivered] by the Law of Moses."

372. Rom. vi. 7, "For he that is dead is *freed* [in the Greek it is *justified*, *δικαιωται*, delivered] from Sin."

373. James ii. 25. "Likewise was not Rahab the Harlot *justified* [delivered, or saved from the destruction in which Jericho was involved] by Works, when she had received the Messengers, and had sent them out another Way."

374. From all this it is apparent, that Righteousness, or Justification, and to be justified, or made righteous, have Relation to *any* Grant of Favour, *any* Instance of Mercy and Goodness, whereby God delivers, or exempts from any Kind of Danger, Suffering or Calamity; or confers *any* Favour, Blessing or Privilege. Thus Rahab was justified, when she escaped the common Carnage of Jericho; Noah was justified, when saved from the Deluge; for he was then "made Heir of the Justification which is by Faith," Heb. xi. 7. David was justified, when delivered from his Enemies; Phineas, when he had the Honour of perpetual Priesthood entailed upon his Family; and Abraham was justified, when his Idolatry was pardoned, and he and his Posterity were taken into God's peculiar Covenant*.

375. Now this being duly considered, it will not appear at all strange if the Apostle applies the Terms Righteousness, or Justification, and

Chap. ix. 12.—"They shall not go *unpunished* unto their Grave." [Gr. *ἐπεὶ οὐ μὴ δικαιοῦσθαι*,] they shall not be justified, [or escape Punishment] unto their Grave.

Chap. x. 29. "Who will justify [save] him that sinneth against his own Soul?"

Chap. xxiii. 11, "If he swear in vain he shall not be justified, [preserved,] but his House shall be full of Calamities."

This Book is Apocryphal; but wrote by a Jew, in the Hellenistic Greek; and therefore of Authority sufficient to establish the Sense of a Word in that Language.

* This Enquiry into the Sense of Righteousness, &c. may serve to shew wherein the true Learning of a Christian, and especially of a Divine, consists; namely, in understanding the Language of the Spirit of God in the sacred Writings; for which we have all desirable Advantages, and without which the Knowledge of Christian Doctrine can never be revived. For how should we know what is the Sense of the Spirit, if we do not understand the Language of the Spirit? But the common Way of Education in Christian Schools leads the Mind quite out of this Track of Knowledge. The first Years of our Learning are employed chiefly in profane or heathen Authors, whose Language and Sentiments are quite remote from that of the sacred Writings, and of true Religion. And then our Academic Studies are almost wholly exercised in a spurious, fictitious Learning, and in a Language invented by Men to explain, but which indeed serves only to obscure, Theology; and to draw away our Thoughts from true Knowledge and Understanding into the Pursuit of Spectres and delusive Shadows. Christian Scholars should be brought up principally in Christian Learning; or the most accurate Knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, to which classical Learning, and the Study of the Ancients (which is indeed a valuable Branch of Literature) should be made subservient.

and being justified, to the important Affair of our Deliverance from the Power of Heathenish Darkness, and our being admitted into the Church and Covenant of God. As we were idolatrous Gentiles, and Enemies through wicked Works, God might have executed Wrath in our Destruction. But in his Mercy and Goodness, for ever to be adored, he pardoned our Sins, and prepared a great Salvation for us by his Son from Heaven, Jesus Christ our Lord. In whom we are justified freely by the Grace of God, as we are delivered from the Wrath we deserved, and are admitted to all the Honours, Privileges, Grants, and Donations belonging to the peculiar People of God. This is our *first* Justification. Which, if duly improved, will issue in our *full* and *final* Justification, or the Possession of eternal Life.

C H A P. XVII.

That the Apostle argues about the first, and not the final Justification, in the Epistle to the Romans demonstrated.

376. **T**HAT the Apostle might apply the Terms, "Righteousness," or Justification, and "being justified," to our *first* Justification, or the general Pardon which God granted to the Heathen World, and their Calling and Admission into his peculiar Covenant, upon their professed Faith in Christ, is sufficiently clear from what has been advanced in the foregoing Chapter. And that he actually thus applies those Terms I shall demonstrate by the following Arguments.

377. 1. It cannot be full and final Justification, or that Justification which gives an unalterable Right to eternal Life; because, in order to that, the Scriptures always, and positively and clearly insist upon *Works*, doing the Will of God, or Obedience. Whereas, the Justification the Apostle argues for, he expressly declares is of *Grace* without *Works*, moral Works, or Works of Righteousness. True indeed, our full and final Justification is of Grace, 2 Tim. i. 18. Jude 21. And therefore St. Paul was in the Right (Phil. iii. 9.) in seeking to be "found in Christ, not having for his Righteousness [or Salvation] that which is of the Law *," [which results from legal Privileges and Dependencies, (See Ver. 4, 5, 6.) on which the Jew rested for Salvation, and which excluded the Grace of the Gospel; as appears from what follows,] but that which is by Faith of Christ, the Salvation which is of God by Faith;" that is, the Gospel Salvation. Our full and final Justification is of Grace. But yet so of Grace, that it will be given only to them that overcome the Temptations of the World, and "by patient Continuance in *well-doing* seek for Glory, Honour and Immortality." Whereas, with
 Regard

* So it should be read; for it is in the Greek; ουκ εχων ημεν δικαιοσυνην της

Regard to the Justification, for which the Apostle contends in the Epistle to the Romans, he affirms, that we are justified "without Law," Rom. iii. 21, and (Ver. 28.) "that a Man is justified by Faith [alone] without Works of Law;" Rom. iv. 5. That "Faith is counted for Righteousness to him that worketh not." Now these Expressions plainly signify, that the Apostle is speaking of a Justification which is not only of Grace, but which also wholly excludes Works of Law; not only Ceremonial Works; not only sinless, perfect Obedience, but universally all Works of Law, all Works of Righteousness, as they stand opposed to the wicked Works of Jews and Gentiles, mentioned Chapters 1, 2, 3; and from which wicked Works he concludes Chap. iii. 20, "That by the Deeds of Law there shall be no Flesh justified in the Sight of God." This proves the Apostle doth not speak of our full and final Justification. Therefore, he must speak of our first Justification: For besides these two we know of no other.

378. II. The Apostle evidently distinguishes two Sorts of Justification, or Salvation. The one of Free Grace, and by Faith without Works, Chap. iii. 20—25; the other, according to which God would "give eternal Life to them only who by patient Continuance in Well-doing seek for Glory, and Honour and Immortality. Glory, Honour and Peace to every Man that worketh Good," Chap. ii. 7, 10. By the first Justification, he tells us, "God declared his Righteousness," or saving Goodness, ΕΝ ΤΩ ΝΥΝ ΚΑΙΡΩ, "in the *Now Time*," the then present Time, Chap. iii. 26; and that it had Relation to the Sins that were past at that Time, "through the Forbearance of God," Ver. 25. The other Justification, he tells us, will be "in the *Day* of the Revelation of the righteous Judgment of God," Chap. ii. 5; and again, Ver. 16, "In the *Day* when God shall judge the Secrets of Men by Jesus Christ according to my Gospel." This clearly establishes two Justifications. And as the latter, upon which he discourses Chap. ii. 1—17, is undoubtedly the full and final; so the former, about which he argues Chap. iii. Ver. 20, to the End, must be the first Justification, or that according to which God pardoned the past Sins of the Heathen World, for which he might have destroyed them, and, upon their Faith, admitted them into his Kingdom and Covenant. But the Justification, about which the Apostle argues Chap. iii. 20, to the End, is that Justification about which he argues in the five first Chapters of the Epistle. Consequently, the Justification about which he argues in the five first Chapters, must be the first Justification.

379. III. The Apostle is arguing for the Gentiles being admitted to that State, which was opposed to the Jewish Peculiarity. For when he had argued, that the Gentile had as good a Right as the Jew, the Jew replies, "what Advantage then hath the Jew, and what Profit is there of Circumcision?" Chap. iii. 1: And again, Ver. 9, "Are we [Jews] better than they [Gentiles?]" He is arguing for the Gentiles being admitted to that State, which was opposed to the Jewish Peculiarity, and which the Jews opposed. Now the State, opposed to the Jewish Peculiarity, was the Being of the believing Gentiles in the Church and Kingdom of God, as his Covenant People; and it was this the Jew strenuously opposed. Therefore the Justification, for which he pleads, is that which introduced

duced the Gentiles into the Church and Kingdom of God, or the first Justification.

380. IV. The Query, Chap. vi. 1, "Shall we [Gentiles] continue in Sin?" and the Answer to it, have evident Reference to the State of Christian Gentiles, *after* they had believed, and were ingrafted into Christ, Ver. 5; *after* they were baptized and admitted into the Church. Therefore, the preceding Arguments relate to their State prior to their *Faith*, and to their being taken into the Church. For it is plain, the five first Chapters refer to one State, and the sixth Chapter to another, and very different State. Consequently, in the five first Chapters he considers Works *antecedently* to Faith; in the sixth Chapter he considers Works as *consequent* to Faith. The five first Chapters speak of something conferred upon them by Grace and Faith alone, without Works of Law, or of Righteousness: The sixth Chapter speaks of a State wherein they were indispensably obliged to do Works of Righteousness. But had the Apostle spoke of the same Kind of Justification or Salvation in the sixth Chapter, as in the foregoing Chapters, then the Justification in the sixth Chapter must also have been without Works, as well as that in the five Chapters foregoing. Therefore, in those different Places, he certainly speaks of two different Kinds of Justification. And, as that in the sixth Chapter clearly refers to their Christian State; the other, in the five first Chapters, must refer to their Heathen State; and must be that Righteousness, Justification, or Salvation, by which they were delivered from the Power of Darkness, and translated into the Kingdom of Jesus Christ.

381. V. The Election of God, Chap. ix. 11, and the Election of Grace, Chap. xi. 5, certainly refer to the original Cause of that Justification, which the Apostle is arguing about, in the five first Chapters. For as that Election was "not of Works, but of Grace, and of him that calls, of God that shews Mercy," Chap. ix. 11, 16. xi. 5, 6: So also is that Justification, which the Apostle argues for in the five first Chapters. But the Purpose or Election of God, in the 9th, 10th, and 11th Chapters refers to their being admitted to the Privileges of God's Kingdom and Covenant in this present World: Therefore the Justification in the five first Chapters refers to the same; or is the first Justification.

382. VI. Again; The Righteousness the Apostle speaks of Rom. ix. 30, is the same he is arguing for in the five first Chapters. For *that* there is "of Faith, and not of the Works of the Law, Chap. i. 17. iii. 20, 28. And so is *this* here Chap. ix. 30, "The Gentiles, which followed not Righteousness, have attained Righteousness, the Righteousness which is *of Faith*. But Israel, which followed the Law of Righteousness, has not attained to the Law of Righteousness;" Ver. 32, "Wherefore? Because they sought it not by *Faith*, but as it were by the *Works* of the *Law*." And he is also in both Parts of the Epistle speaking of the same subjects, Gentiles and Jews; and with Reference to the Righteousness of God, which the Jews rejected, and the believing Gentiles embraced. Chap. x. 3; "For they [the Jews] being ignorant of God's Righteousness, and going about to establish their own Righteousness, have not submitted to the Righteousness of God."—

Compare Chap. i. 17 ; “For therein [in the Gospel] is the Righteousness of God revealed.” iii. 12 ; “ But *now* [by the Gospel] the Righteousness of God is—manifested ;—even the Righteousness of God by Faith.” Therefore, the Righteousness the Apostle is arguing for Chap. ix. 30. x. 3, is the very same he argues for in the five first Chapters ; and his Arguments relate to the same Persons. But the Righteousness, Rom. ix. 30, refers to the preceding Discourse, concerning God’s rejecting the Jews and calling the Gentiles. For [τι εἰς μὲν] “ what shall we say then ? ” evidently connects this 30th Verse with what goes before. But in the Discourse which goes before, he argues about being called to be the People, and Children of God in this World ; and being admitted to the Privileges of the visible Church. Therefore he certainly argues about the same Subject in the five first Chapters ; and consequently, the Righteousness, and being justified, he pleads for, is the *first* Justification ; and relates to our Admission into the Church and Kingdom of God in this World. Compare also Chap. x. 3——14, with Chap. i. 16. iii. 29, and Chap. xi. 7. with Chap. ix. 30, 31.

383. VII. The Justification, the Apostle argues about, in the five first Chapters, is such as may be applied to collective Bodies of Men, as well as particular Persons ; as appears from Chap. iii. 9 : “ Are *we* [Jews] better than *they* [Gentiles ?] ” And Ver. 29 : “ Is he the God of the Jews only ? ” Doth he confine his Favours only to Jews ? “ Is he not also the God of the *Gentiles* ? Yes of the Gentiles ? ” This is one Argument he advances to prove the Justification of Gentile-Believers. But it is evident, he here considers them in a general, collective Capacity. Consequently, the Justification, he is arguing for, is such as suits this collective Sense ; though no Doubt but it is intended for the Benefit of Individuals : But primarily, and in the Apostle’s Argument, it is to be considered as affecting the whole Body of believing Gentiles, as contra-distinguished from the Nation of the Jews. Therefore, it is the *first* Justification he is arguing about. For full and final Justification is applicable only to good Men, in Opposition to the Wicked ; not to any Body of Men, whatever they believe or profess, in Opposition to the Jewish Nation.

384. VIII. Full and final Justification is not compleated till the End of our Course. Mat. x. 22, “ He that endures unto the End shall be saved. So run that ye may obtain. I have fought the good Fight, I have finished my Course,——henceforth there is laid up for me a Crown of Righteousness, which Christ, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that Day. To him that overcomes will I give,” &c. But the Justification, the Apostle pleads for, was then compleat, by the free Gift and Grace of God. Therefore it is the *first* Justification*.

385. From

* But the Justification which the Apostle James discourses about, Chap. ii. 14, to the End, is *full* and *final* Justification. Which I prove thus. St. James evidently speaks of *Works consequent* to Faith ; or such Works as are the Fruit and Product of Faith. For he saith, Ver. 17, “ Faith without Works is dead being alone.” Which evidently supposes Faith to have a Being without Works, though it is but a dead Faith. Again ; Ver. 22, “ Seest thou how Faith wrought with his [Abraham’s] Works, and by Works was Faith made perfect.” If Faith was made perfect by Works, then those Works must be additional

385. From all these Considerations, it seems very clear to me, That the Justification the Apostle is contending for, in the five first Chapters of this Epistle, is the Calling of the Gentiles, and their being admitted, upon Faith, into the peculiar Family and Kingdom of God. And we need not wonder he has so much laboured this Point, if we consider; That this Salvation of the Heathen World, or the bringing the Gentiles into the Church, made a glorious Figure in the Promises and Prophecies of the Old Testament, how low soever our Sense of it may now run.—Besides, it was the grand Article in the Apostle's Commission, and the great Point in which he was opposed by the Jews. It was *here* they laboured to unsettle the Gentile Converts, and to demolish all that the Apostle had built up, by his Preaching. Therefore the Right of the believing Gentile to a Place in the Church, and an Interest in the special Covenant of God, was the first and principal Thing the Apostle had to establish; which if it were not true, both his Ministry and his Gospel, as well as our Faith and Hope, must come to the Ground.

386. And that the Admission of the Gentiles into the Church and Covenant of God should be expressed by being *justified* *, will not seem strange, when we consider; that it is expressed by other Terms, which are full as strong as this. For instance; it is expressed by being *saved*. Rom. x. 1, "My Heart's Desire and Prayer to God for [unbelieving] Israel is that they might be saved." xi. 26, "And so all Israel [who are now in Unbelief] shall be saved." 1 Thes. ii. 16, The Jews "forbid us to speak to the Gentiles that they might be saved." It is also expressed by *obtaining Mercy*, Rom. xi. 30. 1 Pet. ii. 10. Whence we may conclude, that being *justified* is not too strong an Expression, when rightly understood, to denote our being taken into the visible Church and Kingdom of God.

387. And indeed it was in itself a great Deliverance and Salvation; considering

to Faith; and Faith must have a Being before they were produced; "and [by the Addition of Works to Faith] the Scripture was fulfilled, [or had its full and compleat Sense], which saith, Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for Righteousness." Ver. 23, The Apostle James manifestly speaks of Works *consequent* to Faith, or of such Works as are the Fruit and Product of Faith. Whereas St. Paul, Rom. iii. 20—29, speaks of, and rejects, Works considered as *antecedent* to Faith [380]. According to St. Paul, Abraham's Justification refers to his State *before* he believed; or when he was *αρενης*, ungodly, Rom. iv. 5. According to St. James, to his State *after* he believed; or when Faith wrought with his Works. But Justification, or Salvation, by Works, after a Man believes; by Works produced by Faith, is full or final Justification. And of this he speaks, when he saith, Ver. 14, that "Faith without Works cannot *save* a Man;" that is, cannot save him finally. And St. Paul argues as strenuously as James, or any of the Apostles, for Works *consequent* to Faith; or, for a Life of Piety and Virtue, as absolutely necessary to full and final Justification, or Salvation; as appears from all his Writings; especially Rom. vi. and Heb. xi.—Thus St. James and Paul are truly and perfectly reconciled.

* Possibly the Apostle chose the Term Righteousness, or Justification, and consequently Justify, to signify our Title to the Blessings of the Covenant, because it is the very Word by which the Grant of Pardon, and of Covenant Blessings, is signified to Abraham, Gen. xv. 6.

considering how obnoxious the Gentile World was to the Wrath of God. This Mercy the old World, exceeding corrupt and wicked, did not obtain; but were all cut off by the Flood of Waters. And our being preserved from a like Destruction, and being put into a State of Pardon, and a Capacity of being finally and for ever saved, ought to be regarded as a great Instance of God's Grace and Goodness. The Sense of being justified, saved, and not destroyed, but taken into the Bosom of God's Love, would stand more clear and full before the Thoughts of those, who had been immersed in all the Darkeness, Error and Wickedness of an Idolatrous State; and were then turned to the Light and glorious Privileges of the Gospel. And indeed, this inestimable Benefit of Pardon and Salvation, whereby the World is preserved from Wrath, and still enjoys the great Advantages and Blessings of the Gospel, would much more affect our Hearts, even at this Time, and engage our Attention, were it not for the following Causes.

388. (1.) The Wickedness of the Christian World, which renders it so much like that of the Heathen *, that the good Effects of our Change to Christianity, or of our being the People and Children of God, are but little seen; and therefore the Grace, which grants us the Privileges and Blessings we abuse, is but little regarded and valued.

389. (2.) Wrong Representations of the Scheme of the Gospel have greatly obscured the Glory of Divine Grace, and contributed much to the Corruption of its Professors. For, not only have very gross Absurdities been introduced into the Gospel Scheme, which have prejudiced great Numbers against it, and confounded the Understandings of the Generality, who have embraced it; but such Doctrines have been, almost universally, taught and received, as quite subvert it. Mistaken Notions about Nature and Grace, Election and Reprobation, Justification, Regeneration, Redemption, Calling, Adoption, &c. have quite taken away the very Ground of the Christian Life, the *Grace* of God, and have left no Object for the Faith of a Sinner to work upon. [268, 269.] For such Doctrines have represented the Things, which are *freely* given to us of God, as uncertain; as the Result of our Obedience; or the Effect of some arbitrary, fortuitous Operations, and the Subject of doubtful Enquiry, Trial, and Examination of ourselves: As, whether we "have an Interest in Christ," whether we are "in a State of Pardon, delivered from the Power of Darkeness, and translated into the Kingdom of God's Son;" whether we be "called into the Fellowship of his Son," whether we "have obtained Redemption by him," and "have a Promise left us of entering into his Rest;" whether we be "elected, adopted," &c. All which Things are the free Gift of God's Grace; and therefore are not the Subject of Self-Examination; but of Praise and Thanksgiving. The proper Subject of the Christian's Self-Examination is; whether he lives agreeably to those

* As God in his righteous Judgment gave up the Gentile World to corrupt and dishonour themselves; because they had abused their Understanding, and corrupted the Religion of Nature: So in like Manner, God has given up the Christian World to corrupt and debase themselves by the vilest Affections, Principles and Practices; because they also have shamefully abused their Understanding, and have corrupted, in a Degree very astonishing, the Christian Revelation.

those great Favours conferred upon him by the Divine Grace. But those Favours have been represented as *uncertain*; as the Result of our Obedience or Holiness; and as the Subject of Self-Examination. This is to make our Justification, as it invests us in those Blessings, to be of *Works*, and not by *Faith* alone. Thus the very Ground of the Christian Life, the Grace of God, is taken away, and no Object left for the Faith of a Sinner to act upon.

390. (3.) The Christian Church, chiefly through Ambition and worldly Views, has, for many Ages, been broke into various Sects and Factions, distinguished by some peculiar Opinions, or Modes of Worship; which have been made the Tests and Terms of Admission into particular Churches. And the Zeal and Thoughts of Christians have been so much employed about these party Tests and Terms of Communion, that they have lost Sight of the *only* Condition of a Right to a Place in the Church, which Christ and his Apostles established; namely, that professed *Faith* in Christ, upon which the first Converts were baptised, and of the Advantages and Privileges thence resulting. Instead of attending to what the Apostles have taught, concerning our common Justification, and Admissions to the Blessings of the Kingdom and Covenant of God, they have been busy in supporting with great Zeal their various Pretences and Peculiarities. Hence have arisen the bitterest Animosities and Quarrels. And thus the Minds of Men have been so far led astray from the pure, simple Doctrine of the Gospel, that it would, probably, have been wholly lost to the World, had not the good Providence of God preserved the Writings of the New Testament, as a Mean and Standard of Reformation. Which Writings the more we study with Care and Impartiality, the more we shall discern the Truth and Glory of the Christian Scheme; and, if we are wise to submit our Hearts to its Influences, it will be an infallible Guide to eternal Life. *Amen.*

P L A I N R E A S O N S

FOR BEING A

C H R I S T I A N.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

AS I was born of parents, who bear the Christian Name, and was instructed by them from my earliest infancy in the principles and duties of Christianity, though this in itself is no reason why I should believe and submit to it; yet I think in gratitude to them for their care in my education, and from the deference I owe to their natural authority over me, I am bound to examine the Religion in which they have brought me up, that I may know whether it be consistent with the truth and reason of things, and consequently worthy my acceptance and belief.

I am, indeed, abundantly persuaded, that religion ought to be my own free and rational choice, and that conviction, and not human authority, must be the rule of my judgment concerning it; and as I was directed by my parents to examine and judge for my self, and find the Christian Religion in particular appealing to the reason and consciences of mankind, I have endeavoured to make the most impartial enquiry I am capable of, and upon the strictest examination.

I. The reason of my mind tells me, that there is a God, *i. e.* an eternal, all-perfect Being, the original cause and preserver of all things, the great author of all the relations and dependences of things upon each other, the creator, proprietor, and therefore natural lord and governor of all the reasonable creation.

From hence it follows, that all creatures who are capable of understanding their derivation from him, their dependance on him, and their

their relation to him, are indispensably and necessarily obliged to pay him those acknowledgments and services, which result from, and are suitable and proper to their respective circumstances and conditions.

And by consequence religion, *i. e.* the worship and service of God, is the necessary duty of every reasonable creature, and ought to be maintained and kept up in the world; and every man in particular is bound to make choice of that religion, which appears to him most consonant to reason, and to carry in it the most evident marks of its being from God, and most agreeable to his nature and will.

II. As I find that religion is the necessary duty of every reasonable creature, I am farther convinced of my obligation to make use of all the helps I can, to understand wherein the nature of it doth consist. And upon enquiry, I can think of but two ways by which I can come to the knowledge of it; and these are either the dictates of my own mind, and reason, or some informations, discoveries and revelations from God, the great object of my religious worship.

The reason of my mind is that which renders me capable of discerning what is fit and unfit in disposition and behaviour; and from hence I derive the notion, and infer the reality of *moral* obligation: and when I farther consider the first independent mind as the author of these relations, and fitnesses which arise from them, I am convinced that it is his will that I should act suitable to them, and that I offend when I do not; and from hence I infer the certainty of *religious* obligation. And since this moral and religious obligation owes its rise only to my reflections upon the nature of man, and the relation I stand in to God and other beings, this is properly natural religion, or the religion of Nature.

Now tho' the religion of Nature be prior to and distinct from revealed religion, and gives the characters by which we are to judge of the truth of revelation; yet the insufficiency of it, and therefore the expediency of a divine revelation, to lead men into a due knowledge of the principles, duties, and advantages of religion, appears;

From that gross ignorance of God, and duty, which sprung from the general corruption and degeneracy of mankind; which rendered it highly improbable that any one in such circumstances should arise, who should be able to make the necessary discoveries of God and his perfections, and with clearness and solidity to represent men's obligations in their proper extent and compass; at least not without those mixtures of weakness and superstition, which might occasion the vicious and prejudiced to disregard his instructions, and thus abate the general success of them.

But if we could suppose his doctrines to be pure and unmixed, it is not probable, they would have a general or indeed any considerable influence over the strong byass that vice universally practised had given to men, without the marks of a proper authority to awaken them to consideration; especially as those doctrines could not but want the motives and encouragements proportionate to such an effect.

'Tis indeed probable, that in such a situation men might be led to see, that by acting contrary to the reason and fitness of things they had offended the first and most perfect mind; the natural consequence

quence of this would be fear of punishment. This fear must be infinite and boundless, as the power of God is conceived to be unlimited, and the nature and duration of the punishment would be absolutely unknown. A consideration highly disfavoured to all endeavours to break off their sinful habits, and attain to the contrary habits of virtue.

However, if we could suppose men by such a fear of punishment persuaded to repentance, *i. e.* to cease from acting contrary to the fitness of things, and to conform themselves for the future to it; their former violation of this unalterable law of reason would remain, and can't in strict speaking be undone by any better behaviour afterwards; and of consequence their fears of punishment must remain.

If we suppose that men's natural notions of the divine goodness, and the forbearance that God exercises in the course of his providence, would lead them to think it probable that repentance would secure them from the dreaded punishment; such probability would in the nature of things be mixed with the greatest uncertainty, especially because upon consideration, men, in the circumstances we now place them, would find, after all, their deviations from the law of reason many, and their virtue imperfect; and therefore there would still be uneasy suspicions whether it be consistent with the wisdom of the supreme governour, entirely to remit the punishment due to such repeated offences.

If we suppose that men might reason themselves into this firm persuasion and hope, that a return to a sincere, tho' imperfect virtue, would secure them from the deserved evil; yet this will not lay a solid foundation to expect that happiness, and those marks of the divine favour, which might have been hoped for, if there had been no deviations from the rule of right and fit. Here the light of nature is at an entire loss, and can never give men the necessary assurances in this important article.

If it should appear inconsistent with the perfections of deity not to make a distinction between those who return to virtue, and those who obstinately continue to act contrary to the fitness of things; yet the degree and manner of doing it, will still remain doubtful and uncertain, this being wholly dependant on the unknown pleasure and wisdom of God. And of consequence the light of nature cannot determine, whether an imperfect virtue may not have suitable degrees of punishment in another State; or if the probability should preponderate on the other side, that God would reward a sincere, tho' imperfect virtue, reason could never assure us, of what nature that reward should be, nor how long its continuance.

As every man finds himself liable to death, a resurrection could scarcely be made appear by the light of nature probable, much less a resurrection accompanied with such favourable alterations as the christian religion discovers. In a word, if the light of nature could assure me of a future state, it could never make me certain that it should be a state of rewards, since the virtue of this life is so very imperfect, that the other life might prove a new state of farther trial.

But if it could go so far as to render it probable, that it should be a

state

Rate of recompence; yet wherein the rewards of it consist, and how long their continuance and duration shall be, it is so little capable of giving any distinct account of, that the greatest and wisest of men, who had no other guide but this, appear to have lived and died in the greatest uncertainties about them; a full proof that the light of nature is not sufficient to instruct us in these important articles, with any clearness and certainty: the consequence of which is, that men would want the proper arguments and motives to become virtuous with steadiness and constancy, against all the difficulties and temptations of a general and universal degeneracy.

III. Since therefore the natural reason of my mind appears thus greatly defective, and insufficient, I have considered the other method of discovering the will of God, and the principles and duties of religion, *viz.* immediate revelation from God himself; and as this involves no contradiction in the nature of the thing, it must be possible to him, to whom belongs supreme and unlimited power. *Shall not he that made the eye see?* He that gave us all our conversable powers, shall he not be able to converse with us himself? Shall not the father of spirits, who is intimately present to every being, have an access to his own offspring, so as to assure the mind, that it is he himself, by such evidence, as shall make it unreasonable to deny, or impossible to doubt it? If men can make themselves known, and discover their secret thoughts to each other, surely God can make himself known to men; else we must suppose his power more bounded than theirs, and that he wants a real perfection which they are possessed of.

And as this is possible, my reason farther tells me, 'tis highly desirable, the better to instruct me what God is, and what I am my self; what I must do, and what I shall be; to save men the labour of a slow and tedious compass of observation, experience, and argument, which every one is not fit for, and which those who are, would be glad to be assisted in; to free me from the uncertainties and fears of my mind, that arise from the consciousness of guilt, the sense of my being accountable, and the apprehensions I have of a future state; to regulate my conduct, and guide me with safety in the midst of prevailing ignorance and darkness, the mistakes and corruptions of mankind, the snares of bad examples, and the numerous temptations to folly and vice; to establish my hopes, by fixing the rule of worship, settling the conditions of pardon, assuring me of necessary assistance, and promising such rewards as are proper to support me under all the difficulties of my present duty. These things *the world by wisdom knew not*; they were vain and mistaken in their imagination, and their foolish heart was darkened.

And as such a revelation is both possible and desirable, the probability that there hath been one, may be fairly argued from the universal ignorance and corruption that hath overspread the world, the characters of God as Father and Governour of mankind, the acknowledged goodness and equity of his nature, the sudden and astonishing reformation that hath once been in the world, the numerous pretences that have been made to revelation in all ages and nations, which seem to argue the general consent of mankind, as to the expediency and reality of

of it, and its necessity to give Religion its proper certainty, authority, and force.

If then there be any religion in the world that fairly makes out its title to be a revelation from God, by such internal characters belonging to it, and such external proofs attending it, which are fit and proper in themselves to convince a reasonable and impartial enquirer, and may be justly expected in a matter of such importance; I am bound to acknowledge and submit to such a Religion, and to receive it under the honourable character of a divine revelation. And as the Christian Religion makes its pretensions to such a character and authority, I have endeavoured fairly to examine the proofs and evidence that attend it, as they are contain'd in those books which are known by the name of the New Testament, to which christians appeal, as to the infallible rule of their faith and practice, and the sole judge of all controversies in their religion. And upon the most unprejudiced enquiry, I find,

IV. That there is the highest reason to believe, that these books are authentick and genuine, there being the same, or rather greater proofs, of their being written by the persons whose names they bear, and to whom they are ascribed, than any other ancient books have, tho' of the clearest credit, and most unquestionable authority. This is supported by the testimony of many writers, who either were the contemporaries of the authors of the books of the New Testament, or lived immediately after them; who frequently quote and refer to them, both amongst christians themselves, who transcribe many parts of them in their works, and amongst the Jews and Heathens, who expressly mention them as the authors of the books ascribed to them, tho' they had the greatest aversion to the christian religion, their interest obliged them to disprove it, and they had all the opportunity and power in their hands to do it. So that here there is an universal agreement, without any contrary claim, or pretension to other authors.

That the accounts they have given us in these writings are genuine and true, I argue from the characters and circumstances of the writers themselves. They were persons of undoubted integrity, as appears by the innocence of their lives, their solemn appeals to God, the strict obligations they were under to truth by the principles of their own religion, their inculcating truth and sincerity upon others by the noblest motives, their having no worldly interest to byass them, and their chearfully sealing the testimony they gave by their blood.

They had the most certain knowledge of the things of which they wrote, which were either doctrines that they received immediately from Christ himself, or the inspiration of his Spirit; or facts, done in their own times, and of which they were either eye-witnesses, or principal agents, and which have been preserved by public memorials and solemn rites, that have obtained in all ages of the Christian Church.

Their education, capacities, and circumstances of life, render'd it impossible for them to invent so rational, consistent and grand a scheme as the christian religion contains; they wrote at divers times and places, upon different occasions, sudden emergencies, and important controversies, which prevented any reasonable suspicions of combination or united fraud.

The several accounts they give of the people, and affairs of the time in which, according to their own relation, the things they report, happened, entirely agree with other writers of undoubted authority, which is a very strong presumption of their being authentick and agreeable to truth.

That these writings are still the same, without any material alterations, is evident from the great value and credit they have been always in amongst Christians, who ever esteemed them as the rule of their faith and life, and the ground of their comfort and hope; from their being publickly read in the christian churches, as a part of their solemn worship; their being early translated from authentick copies, which long continued in the Christian Church, into most of the known languages of the world, and the harmony and agreement of such translations; from the quotations made from them, still remaining in antient writers; from the constant appeals made to them by the various sects, that appeared amongst christians, in all matters controverted by them; for which reason they could not be corrupted in any material points, either by common consent, or by any particular parties amongst themselves. So that they have no marks of fraud and imposture upon them, but are attended with every character of their being genuine and pure; and have been handed down in the main without any adulteration or mixture, thro' many successions of ages, notwithstanding the violence of persecution, the strict search and enquiry into them, the errors and corruptions that have been introduced into the church, the interest of crafty, superstitious, and designing men to add or to take from them, and the endeavours of tyrants utterly to destroy them, by their own intrinsick excellency and evidence, and the special protection and care of providence.

Upon these considerations, I am abundantly convinced, that the books of the New Testament have all the evidence which any ancient writings have or can have, of their being authentick and genuine; and that therefore 'tis unreasonable to call this matter into question, when so many other writings are universally owned upon much less evidence; no man of common sense pretending to doubt of the genuineness and truth of them. And therefore, whatsoever account these writings give of the nature of the Christian Religion, I am bound to receive as the true account, and to examine its authority by those facts, which they relate as the proper evidence and proof of it. Now as I should naturally expect to find in a revelation that is really from God, suitable and worthy accounts of his perfections and attributes; so

V. I farther find to my great satisfaction, that the things spoken of God in the christian revelation, are suitable to those notions of him, which I can prove the truth of by the reason of my own mind, and which have been entertained by the wisest and best of men in all ages and nations of the world. The light of nature can firmly demonstrate, and the most thoughtful and learned heathens have agreed in, the necessity of God's existence, the absolute perfection of his nature, his immensity and absolute unchangeableness; his comprehensive knowledge, his infinite wisdom, and his almighty power; the rectitude of his nature, his boundless and extensive goodness, and his impartial equity and

and justice; his being the creator of the world; his being the supreme Lord and governor of universal nature, and the father and friend of mankind; his being a lover of virtue, and determined finally to accept and reward it.

Now the records of the christian revelation are so far from containing any thing contrary to these apprehensions, that they confirm, enlarge and enforce them. They speak of his necessary existence in a noble and comprehensive way. They describe him as filling all things, and as without the least *variableness or shadow of turning*. As *the King immortal, invisible, and eternal*. As having life in himself. As the searcher of the heart, and knowing all things. As God only, *i. e.* supremely, infinitely wise. As irresistible in power. As absolutely holy. As rich in goodness. As just in his procedure. As the creator of the worlds visible and invisible. As upholding all things by the word of his power. As the observer of men's actions, a lover of their virtue, and ready to assist them in it and reward it. It gives the noblest representations of his claims of worship and obedience from all his reasonable creatures, of his peculiar love to mankind, and his especial favour to all the virtuous and good. It describes him to our minds as seated on his throne of grace, as sending a person of the highest character, to lead men by his example and instructions to knowledge and piety, to peace of conscience and eternal happiness. As dispensing by him pardon to the penitent, comfort to the afflicted, hope to the miserable, and life to sinners under the condemnation of sin and death. As having appointed a day for universal judgment, as judging all in righteousness according to their deeds, and the advantages they enjoy, as the final punisher of the impenitently wicked, and as the everlasting portion and reward of all, who *by a patient continuance in well doing, seek after glory, honour and immortality*. These representations of God my mind and reason highly approve of, and when I read them in the christian records, they awaken my admiration, fill my soul with the warmest love, and excite within me a becoming reverence and godly fear.

VI. As the Christian Religion gives the noblest representations of the attributes of God, I farther find that it requires the most rational and excellent worship of him, the *worshippers whom the Father declares he now seeks*, being such only as *worship him in spirit and truth*. The rule of the gospel extends only to decency and order, but contains no directions about external pomp and pageantry. The method of worship it prescribes is not so much by positive rites and ceremonies, that have no intrinsic worth and excellency in them; as by a steady belief and worthy apprehensions of his perfections and providence, by fervent love, by reverence and godly fear, by hope in his mercy, by submission to his will, by the sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart, by gratitude, adoration, and praise, and by fervent humble supplication and prayer. In a word, by the exercise of all holy dispositions, by purity of soul, and a constant careful imitation of God in all the virtues of an holy life.

I find all the writings of the New Testament abound with precepts of this kind; and as to such positive institutions as are enjoined by it, they

they are but few, and these not burthensome in their observance, not pompous and costly, not tending to and encouraging of superstition; but plain and significant, designed either to represent the peculiar purity of the christian profession, when men take it on them, or as memorials to perpetuate the remembrance of those important facts, upon the certainty and knowledge of which the authority and efficacy of Christianity doth entirely depend: and at the same time suited in every part of them to promote the purposes of piety, and universal fervent charity; appointed as obligations upon men to be more careful and exemplary in their behaviour, and to abound in all the virtues of a good life; and to assure them on the part of God, that if they act agreeable to their obligations and professions as christians, they shall be made partakers of the most valuable and durable blessings in his everlasting kingdom and glory.

And tho' these institutions are supported by the authority of an express command, yet in order to prevent all possible abuse of them, the Christian Religion farther expressly declares, that whatever claims men may hereafter make to the rewards of a better world, from their having worn the name of Christ, or enjoy'd the external privileges of his religion, they shall not be accepted upon this foundation; but that they themselves shall be rejected, if they are found workers of iniquity; and that none but such as fear God and work righteousness, shall receive the recompence of righteousness and glory.

And therefore I am pleas'd farther to observe, that as the Christian Religion places the worship of God in the exercise of suitable affections, and in the regular piety and virtue of a good life, it farther lays down and inculcates such rules and precepts of substantial holiness, as are reasonable in themselves, perfect in their kind, and well approved of by my judgment and conscience. Such which I find are in their nature conducive to promote the health, the honour, the reputation, the usefulness, the worldly prosperity, the peace and satisfaction of every individual person living and dying; such which are suited to the particular stations, characters, and circumstances of men in life; and which are therefore calculated to promote the ends of civil government, and the peace and welfare of civil society; enjoining all to cultivate and maintain the most fervent charity and love, to be merciful in disposition and practice, to follow the things that make for peace, not to receive men to doubtful disputations, not to censure or judge one another upon account of differences in opinions, but that such as are strong should bear with the weak, and all endeavour to maintain the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace; doing good for evil, loving and praying for our enemies, and chearfully forgiving offences and injuries against us. So that however Christianity may have been abused by some, to support a secular interest, I am abundantly convinced 'tis not from any tendency of its precepts to disturb the order of civil government, or alter the constitution and form of it amongst any nations of the world; the great view of it being to engage men to govern their passions, to be of the most just, generous and friendly dispositions to others, to discharge the duties of their respective stations, either employing themselves in honest labours, or publick services; magistrates ruling

ruling diligently as ministers of God for good, and subjects living quiet lives in all godliness and honesty.

VII. As the worship which the Christian Religion enjoins is thus worthy of God, and all its precepts for the conduct of life thus rational and perfect; so I farther find the motives it proposes are weighty and sufficient, if duly considered and attended to, to determine men in the choice of that course which it recommends, all of them worthy the perfections of the blessed God, and suited to the circumstances of his degenerate, offending and guilty creatures.

The assurance of pardon thro' the Blood of Christ, and of the assistance of his good spirit under all the difficulties of our present duty, are exceedingly favourable, and carry in them the noblest encouragement to obnoxious and disabled sinners, when they entertain the thoughts of returning to God their sovereign and happiness; and indeed absolutely necessary to reconcile them to, and render them successful in such an attempt. For what heart can any one have to begin the difficult work of breaking off his sins, and to enter upon a life of holiness; or what prospect of success, but under the comfortable assurance that his past offences shall be forgiven, and that he shall receive all necessary assistances from God for the future, in struggling with the difficulties that attend the practice of virtue?

The intercession of so compassionate and powerful a friend with God, as Jesus Christ is represented to be, is a very firm ground of support, and inspires considerate minds with a cheerful hope of having their persons and services accepted, and of receiving all the necessary supports and blessings of life, whatever opposition they may meet with from the enemies of true religion, and even tho' they should be exposed to the severest persecutions upon account of their adherence to it.

The prospect and full assurance of his coming to raise the dead, and judge the world, and give eternal life, to reward his faithful followers with everlasting happiness, and to punish the wicked with an everlasting destruction, is an argument abundantly sufficient to persuade men immediately to enter upon the ways of holiness and virtue, and to engage them to persevere in them with cheerfulness to the last. Especially considering, that good men are assured that all the inconveniences of life shall be made tolerable and useful to them, and death, the dread of nature, shall be their introduction into rest, and the commencement of their felicity. In a word, the Gospel sets before men every consideration to encourage virtue, and deter from vice, and gives them particularly such assurances of retributions in the other world, as that no stronger motives whatsoever can be desired or needed to make them wise, and good, and happy, if they will but suffer them to have their proper and natural influence upon their minds.

VIII. As the Gospel-precepts of religion and virtue, and the motives set before men to engage them to the love and practice of it, are worthy of God, and suitable to their circumstances and desires, so the peculiar doctrines of Christianity relating to Jesus Christ, the great author and dispenser of it, are such as demand the highest regard; such as no founder of any other religion could ever pretend to, and yet such as are

entirely

entirely consistent with the principles of natural religion, and all the certain discoveries of reason; such as are sublime and grand in themselves, uniform and consistent with each other, plain and intelligible in the main and essential points; and such as add great strength and force to natural religion, as they have an entire and absolute tendency to promote godliness and virtue.

Thus 'tis declared of him, that he was before the formation of the world, the word that was with God, and God, the brightness of his father's glory, and the express image of his person, that the father by him created all things, that by him all things consist; that he came down from a state of heavenly glory to be made flesh, and dwell amongst us; that he came from the very bosom of his father, and had that perfect and compleat knowledge of his father's will, that no other messenger from him ever had or could have; that to enable him the better to reveal it to mankind, he had a body miraculously prepared for him, which was conceived, and born without sin, but in all sinless infirmities like unto his brethren, in the present suffering, afflicted state of the human nature; that in this body he chose such a condition of life, as gave him an opportunity of conversing most familiarly with all sorts of persons, became an example of the most perfect purity and goodness, by his own lowliness and meekness disgracing the pride and passions of the world, and teaching men to place all real excellency and greatness, in honouring the great God and father of all, and doing good to their fellow-creatures, even to the worst and meanest of mankind.

That so much greatness should condescend to put on such a veil, and so glorious a being give such amazing proofs of goodness, is beyond all parallel. It is indeed peculiar to the character of Jesus Christ, to be possess'd of the glories of deity, and yet to stoop to the lowest state of human nature; to be lord of lords, and yet the meekest, humblest man, that ever dwelt on earth; to appear amongst men under the form of a servant, and to be made of no reputation, and yet at the same time to be honoured by a voice from heaven, declaring *this is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased.*

However, notwithstanding this amazing condescension, great humility, and meanness of outward form, he is represented as assuming an authority worthy the son of God; an authority and right to settle the terms of men's acceptance with God, according as he had received power from his father; an authority to forgive sins on earth, so as that they should be forgiven in heaven, and so to retain sins, as that they should remain unpardonable in a future state; and authority and power to send the spirit of his father, and constitute him the prime minister of his kingdom amongst men; that by his extraordinary and miraculous gifts he might confirm the gospel, and make it successful upon its first publication; and afterwards, in every age, continually accompany it with such impressions on the hearts of men, as, in the efficacy and design of them, should correspond to those more extraordinary gifts, which were poured out on Christians in common, at their first embracing the gospel: And finally, an authority to raise the dead, and judge them when restored to life; to send all the workers of iniquity

into everlasting punishment, and to reward all who sincerely believe in him and obey him, with eternal happiness.

But notwithstanding these high pretensions, 'tis farther declared of him; that he died the ignominious and accursed death of the cross, that he died a sacrifice for the sins of the world, that by his death he drew all men to himself, and brought to pass that great mystery of calling in the Gentiles, taking away the difference between them and the Jews, making them one household and family; thus founding his kingdom upon his own blood, and not on the blood of his enemies and opposers.

But tho' he died to answer these ends, yet the same records testify, that in spite of all the malice and opposition of his enemies, he rose again the third day, effectually to remove the offence and scandal of his own cross, and to give an exemplar and sure proof of the resurrection of others by his power, at the end of the world: That after his resurrection he abode forty days on earth, to settle the affairs of his kingdom with his disciples, commanding them to preach his gospel, sending them forth in such a style of majesty, as could never be equal'd by any earthly monarch, or author of any other revelation: *All power is given me in heaven and in earth*; and assuring them that the terms upon which they should declare men acquitted or condemned, partakers of eternal life or death, under the infallible conduct of his spirit, should be ratified and confirmed in heaven: in this sense entrusting them with, not only the erection and ordering his kingdom upon earth, but also with the keys of heaven and hell.

After this commission granted to his Apostles, 'tis declared of him, that in their presence he ascended into the heavens, a cloud receiving him out of their sight, leading captivity captive, triumphing over those powers of darkness, whose works he came into the world to destroy, spoiling those principalities and powers, those spiritual wickednesses in high places; that he was seated on his father's right hand, angels being made subject to him, and the God of this world, the spirit that works in the children of disobedience, being put under his feet, and reserved by him to be finally bruised at the judgment of the great day.

And lastly, the same records that give an account of his investiture with this high dignity and office, do with great consistency and propriety declare, that the father hath committed all judgment to him, that all shall appear before his judgment seat; that when he shall come to execute this important trust, he shall appear in his own glory, and in his original form of God, all the holy Angels attending him, and solemnly waiting round his tribunal. That then he shall be seated on the throne of his glory, that all nations shall be gathered before him, that he shall separate them one from another on his right hand, and on his left, pass sentence on them, and thereby determine their everlasting state; that the wicked shall go away into everlasting punishment, and the righteous be adjudged to life eternal; that he shall present them blameless before his father's glory, and that, as the conclusion of all, he himself shall lay down all rule, and all authority and power, deliver up the kingdom to God even the father, become subject unto him who put all things under him, that God may be all in all.

A scheme so sublime and grand, so consistent with the prerogatives of the great God, so suitable to the high dignity and infinite merits of the Son of God, so calculated to awaken men to virtue and piety, carries in it all the characters of probability and truth, and highly deserves the most attentive consideration and regard.

IX. As these peculiar doctrines of Christianity carry their own recommendation along with them, and appear worthy to be received for their intrinsic excellency, so they come to us attended with many clear and convincing demonstrations, that it is the will of God we should regard them as truths coming from him, and as revealed to us by his special order and appointment, for our recovery, improvement and perfection.

Jesus of Nazareth, the person from whom these doctrines receive their general name, and are called *christian*, was called the *Christ*, because he made pretensions to a divine mission, and always thought and spoke of himself as *anointed* and empowered by God to make these discoveries of his will to men, declaring himself the Son of God, and that person whom the Jews, with whom he lived and conversed, had been all along trained up and taught to look for. And of the truth of these pretensions he gave sufficient evidence to every unprejudiced and attentive observer.

It was very wisely ordered that, just before his appearance in the world, there should arise one who should prepare men for his coming, and give notice of his approach. This John the Baptist did, preaching in the spirit and power of Elias, and saying, *Prepare ye the way of the Lord*; and tho' he did no miracle, yet by his virtuous and strict deportment, his self-denial, his pathetick exhortations, his bold and impartial admonitions and reproofs, he obtained the character of a great prophet. This man bare witness concerning Jesus, and the things he said of him could not but attract the eyes of men towards him, and raise great expectations from him; and the gradual accomplishment of several things which John had foretold of him was at least some evidence that Jesus was a very extraordinary person, and was suited to keep every honest and impartial mind open to any farther proofs that Jesus might produce of his pretensions and mission from God.

And of these he gave many during his life and ministry that were beyond all reasonable exception. He wrought many great miracles, *i. e.* did many things evidently and confessedly above all human power and skill to effect. He healed the sick and cured all manner of diseases, such as by all the art and efficacy of medicine had been found incurable; inveterate palsies and lunacies. He opened the ears of the deaf, loosed the tongues of the dumb, made the lame to walk, rendered the maimed perfect, opened the eyes of those that had been born blind, and raised the dead. These amazing works he performed in an instant, even by the speaking of a word, in the cities and towns of the country where he lived, in places of the most publick resort, before multitudes of his enemies as well as friends, and at such seasons, and such particular places, on the sabbath, and in the synagogues, as he well knew would occasion the most critical and narrow enquiry into all the circumstances of the facts. All these things he performed with-

out any ostentation or vain-glory. In all his most publick miracles there was always some circumstance or other, which plainly shewed that they were intended for the conviction of those who saw them, and not to gain applause to himself.

But besides these extraordinary works, he answered all those characters which the prophets of former ages had given of the Messiah. As he was promised under the Character of a *prophet like unto Moses*, but whose office was to be more general and extensive than that of Moses, as one who was to be *a light to lighten the Gentiles, as well as the glory of his people Israel*; he accordingly came furnished and commissioned to instruct all mankind, Jew and Gentile, in every important truth, that they were concerned to know, in order to their obtaining the divine acceptance, and the happiness of a future state; commanding all nations to be disciplined, taught and profelyted, that *all men might come to the knowledge of the truth, and be saved*.

As he was foretold under the Character of a King, as *the Son of man* to whom should be given a kingdom, dominion and power; so Jesus came asserting his right to a kingdom, setting up the kingdom of God amongst men, and claiming and exercising a rightful authority, over their hearts and consciences.

He appeared just at that time when a person of such a character was generally and reasonably expected; just as the Scepter was departing from Judah, and at the period fixed and determined by the prophecy of Daniel.

He came of the nation, tribe, and particular family, from which it was prophesied he should descend, being of the seed of Abraham, the tribe of Judah, and house of David; and by a wonderful interposition of providence born at Bethlehem, the Place from whence was to come forth he who was to be ruler in Israel.

When he appeared and conversed amongst men, his disposition and behaviour were suited both to the character he sustained, and to the prophecies that had been given out concerning him. He was meek and lowly in heart, holy and without blame, so that his most inveterate and malicious enemies could not convince him of sin.

His circumstances in life were exactly such as they were foretold they should be. He was *despised and rejected, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief*. He lived in want of many of the conveniences, and sometimes of the very necessaries of life, and was subject to reproach, and the most ungrateful and inhuman usage. At last he was led as a lamb to the slaughter, suffered death as a malefactor, and was cut off for the transgressions of the people. All this he endured without murmuring, complaining, reviling again, or threatening. His enemies and accusers, his judges, executioners and guards, his friends and relations, and a numberless multitude of curious and inquisitive spectators judged, saw and knew him to be dead. He was taken from the cross, buried in his sepulchre, and yet rose again from the dead, and by this resurrection he was declared to be the Son of God with power, beyond all possible contradiction.

During his life and ministry he had often mentioned this great event as what should certainly come to pass, resting and laying the stress of his

his pretensions upon it; sometimes in plain words, at other times in figurative expressions, declaring how long he should continue in the grave, and in the state of the dead, *viz.* three days and three nights, *i. e.* part of three days and three nights. Accordingly on the third day he rose, and shewed himself alive to his disciples, whom he had chosen to be his stated companions, with this particular view, that they might be qualified to testify the most remarkable facts which occurred in his life, and that they might be proper and unexceptionable witnesses of his Resurrection from the dead.

And as they have unanimously declared this to the world, there is no just reason to object to their testimony. For in asserting this, they assert what they so knew themselves as that they could not be deceived in. They knew the person, features, manner and speech of Jesus. They were allowed to handle him, that they might be sure they were not imposed on by an airy Phantasm, and delusive appearance only. They had free and familiar converse with him, and that repeatedly in the space of forty days. He discoursed to them largely on subjects, of which he had before his death given them more general hints, and renewed the great promise he had made them in his former life, of pouring out his spirit on them, with this additional circumstance, that it should be made good to them not many days from the time of his speaking to them.

Upon these accounts it can't be supposed that these witnesses could be deceived themselves in what they relate, nor is there any reason to think that they attempted to deceive others, by bearing witness to the truth of a known imposture. For as to what appears, they were persons of honest minds, not crafty, covetous, ambitious and designing: they had no temptation to invent such a story, or publish it if they had not known it to be true. They had no prospect of gain or worldly grandeur, however successful they might prove in propagating the story. The doctrine they taught enjoins the strictest regard to veracity, and the greatest abhorrence of fraud and guile, under the most solemn and awful sanctions. Their testimony was uniform and consistent in all the parts of it. If the story had been forged, those who opposed and endeavoured to stifle it, might easily have detected the forgery; the surest, nearest, and plainest way to expose the authors, abettors, and believers of it, and to prevent its spreading in the world. But instead of this, they loaded the witnesses with hardships of every kind. Reproach, shame, poverty, bonds, imprisonments, scourgings, &c. were the arguments made use of by their enemies to stop their mouths. Nothing of this kind silenced them, or made any one of them to retract. They cheerfully underwent the severest persecutions, and submitted to death itself, rather than they would deny or conceal what they knew to be a truth of the last importance to mankind.

In short, a testimony so circumstanced as this is, in any other case, never did, nor ever can be disputed or disbelieved, but in any age and place would, and in any time or country still will meet with a general credit and reception from all reasonable and fair men, without any cavil, hesitation, or demur.

As Jesus Christ did in his life-time, and after his resurrection, pro-

mise his disciples, that they should receive his spirit, or power from on high, he accordingly poured it down upon them, in all its extraordinary and miraculous gifts, and thereby manifestly proved his ascension to the right hand of power and glory.

Besides this the divine mission and authority of Jesus Christ is farther established by the actual and exact accomplishment of those important events, which he expressly and clearly foretold many years before they came to pass.

He publicly declared before multitudes that heard him as well as his own disciples, that the city of Jerusalem, and its glory the temple, should in a few years be utterly laid waste and destroyed, and that the gospel which was at first offered to the Jews and rejected by them, should be taken away from amongst them, and be tendered to the Gentiles; and that persons of all nations and languages under heaven should receive and become proselytes to his religion; and that the gates of hell should not prevail against his church, but that he would be with it to the end of the world.

These remarkable events, tho' at the time when he foretold them they were far from being probable, tho' there appeared no signs or tokens that should lead to such a conjecture, did nevertheless come to pass exactly according to his prediction. Before the generation of men to whom he addressed himself had passed away, Jerusalem became desolate, and the nation was destroyed; and the history of that dreadful calamity, as it is related by Josephus, doth remarkably agree with the prophetick account given by Jesus concerning it, as it is very circumstantially recorded by the evangelists.

And after the Apostles had in vain attempted to persuade the Jewish nation and people to receive the Christian Religion, they turned themselves to the Gentiles, who in almost every place, where the gospel was preached to them, shewed a better disposition, and minds more open to evidence and conviction; multitudes of the Gentiles receiving the word with gladness and all readiness of mind.

And notwithstanding the tares that have been sown, the strifes and divisions, which have been excited and fomented, the declensions and degeneracy of many christian professors, the persecutions with which the avowed enemies of the christian church have frequently worried it, and the antichristian spirit that for many ages hath shewn itself amongst the greater part of those who have born the christian name; notwithstanding christianity hath been often moved from one place to another, and in many nations entirely suppressed; notwithstanding the objections that have been urged against the doctrines of christianity, and the contempt, ridicule, and insolence with which the person and miracles of Jesus have been treated; yet still the religion of Christ continues unto this day, in its external profession and internal efficacy: Not by might nor power, but by the spirit and favour and blessing of God, and its own native excellency and intrinsic worth.

From these considerations, I am even forced to acknowledge and reverence the divine character and mission of the Son of God, and to receive his religion in all the parts and branches of it as a revelation immediately from God.

X. As Jesus Christ himself, the great founder of the Christian Religion, had this full evidence and substantial proof of his own authority and commission from God; and that he was a man approved of God, by wonders, signs, and miracles, which God did by him; and as he was sent to publish a new institution of religion, not only for one nation and people, but for all nations and people of the earth: so the same books which shew this, farther shew that he took care to propagate and confirm the religion he taught by chusing the most proper means and instruments to carry on and perfect it, and persuade men to receive it.

And therefore, before he left the world himself, and ended his own personal ministry, he chose several persons to be his Apostles and messengers, who should afterwards publish his religion to the world with sufficient authority, and qualifications for so great a work as the delivering a new revelation and rule of religion to mankind.

By a near acquaintance and constant conversation with him, they were proper persons to be credible witnesses of all his miracles, and in particular of his Resurrection, that great evidence that he was approved of God; and farther to acquaint the world what were the truths he taught, and what were the rules of worship he appointed, having had such opportunity to know them by his personal and private instructions.

To give the greater weight to what they should teach the world as his religion, he gave them authority by a solemn commission, in virtue of that full power that was given him in heaven and earth, to teach all nations, and make them his disciples, and to enter them as such by baptism, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, requiring them to observe all things whatsoever he had commanded them. And such authority and commission from one already approved a teacher sent from God, justly gave credit to what they should teach, in his name, or declare concerning him, either as to what they had seen themselves, or received in command from him to deliver unto others.

But besides this, their authority and qualifications to publish this religion to all nations are evidenced by many other plain and convincing proofs. For they had not only the benefit of his personal instructions and directions, all the time of their conversation with him, but he had promised to send to them the spirit of truth after his removal from them, and that this spirit, when he came, should guide them into all truths, farther necessary to perfect his institution of religion. This promise was again solemnly repeated after his resurrection to his Apostles, whom, being assembled together with them, he commanded, that they should not depart from Jerusalem, *but wait for the promise of the father, which, says he, ye have heard of me; for John truly baptized you with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence; and ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth.*

This remarkable promise was soon after accomplish'd; for whilst they were together upon the day of Pentecost, there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other

tongues as the spirit gave them utterance, tho' before they had been utterly unacquainted with them. Their minds were in an instant illuminated, and filled with a clear and distinct knowledge of those important truths, which to that time had been absolutely, or in a great measure unknown to them. They had at the same time convey'd to them a power of healing all manner of diseases, of doing miracles, even of raising the dead to life, of prophecy or predicting future events, and of conferring these extraordinary gifts and powers of the Holy Ghost upon others; which was so commonly done, and so well known, that Simon, who by his sorceries had deceived many to account of him as the great power of God, offer'd money to the Apostles, that he like them might have the power to give the Holy Ghost by laying on of hands.

These gifts of the spirit of God were such in their nature, as no humane power or wisdom could confer, such as none of the exorcists or forcerers of those times, with all their cunning and art, management and reputation amongst the people, could counterfeit. They were so many and publick, as gave the most clear and undeniable evidence of the Apostles mission from God and Christ, greatly animated them in the work they were called to, and contributed much to their success. This effusion of the spirit was a publick affirmance of their private testimony concerning Christ, and added the weight of prophecy and miracles to the credibility of true and faithful witnesses.

But besides all this, the manner of their instruction greatly recommended the testimony they gave, and the doctrines they taught. This was in all respects such as it became the best of men, and the wisest of religions to use. Never did men give greater instances of honesty and sincerity, and a firm persuasion of the truth of what they taught. Never did men appear more disinterested and faithful in what they declared they had received from God. In all distant places, and on many different occasions, there still appeared an exact harmony of doctrine, and a constant union in promoting the same cause, so that the same spirit of truth appeared to direct them all, as they had all received the same spirit of power. Their hearts and lives were under the constant direction and influence of the power and spirit of real religion. As they had all receiv'd the same miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost, they were all animated with the same just and regular zeal. All shew'd the same firmness of mind, tempered with the same modesty, meekness and humility. Their own religion gave them the noblest supports under the many and great sufferings they endured; and that no proof of their sincerity and faithfulness might be wanting, they sealed the truth of the doctrines they taught with their blood, and gave up their own lives to the hopes of that future happiness, they proposed in the name of their master to others.

And lastly, as truth and religion stand in no need of artifice and violence, the Apostles openly renounced all such methods of propagating the religion of Christ, directing men to hold the mystery of faith in a pure conscience. They imposed on no man's judgment, they openly disclaimed all dominion over their faith and consciences, they reasoned with them out of the scriptures, and instead of forcing their own interpretations

pretations upon them, commended them for searching the scriptures whether the things were so. With all the authority their commission gave them, confirmed by many signs and wonders, they yet appealed to the judgments of men by fair arguments, and aimed at persuading the conscience by the conviction of reason, not to overbear it by the force of authority.

It was indeed highly fit and necessary, that when they had approved the religion they taught to men's consciences, and their own authority and commission by sufficient evidence, they, as the ministers and apostles of Christ, should both command and exhort in his name, and publish the rules of his religion, as his commands of binding obligation and authority; for this reason, that he is the lawgiver of the church. Thus the Apostles acted. When they had first proved the truth of their doctrine by fair reason and argument, and their own commission by the demonstration of the spirit and of power; that the faith of the church should not stand on the wisdom of men, but on the power of God, it was necessary that they who were to publish Christ's religion, should teach whatever he commanded them, and themselves command and exhort Obedience to them.

These were the methods the Apostles of Christ used in teaching his religion, and it accordingly met with success beyond human expectation. And tho' the prevalence of an opinion is no sure argument of truth, yet when principles contrary to men's inclinations and interests make their way only by evidence, and the force of reason and argument, against all methods of long and violent opposition, it is a very strong presumption of their truth, and that such success must be owing to the power of God attending it. And to suppose that such a religion as Christianity should prevail as it did, and by such means, without a miracle, would itself in reality be one of the greatest of miracles.

XI. From these arguments and evidences I cannot but be convinced that Jesus was a person sent from God, and that his Apostles acted by his commission and authority, and that therefore the whole Christian religion, as contain'd in the New Testament, is a revelation from God.

As to the difficulties and objections that may be urged against its divine authority, I think they are far from carrying in them any evidence or proof. For as to those which are of greatest weight, they do not affect the truth of the facts recorded, nor destroy at all the credibility of them. There have never been any objections offer'd that render it unlikely or improbable, that Jesus Christ lived an holy life, taught excellent doctrines, did many great miracles, died on the cross, rose again from the dead, ascended into heaven, and poured down his spirit on his apostles. And therefore whilst these facts, which support the credit of Christianity, stand upon this sure foundation of certainty, I must necessarily believe the divine authority of the Christian Revelation, tho' the difficulties pretended were much greater than they are.

Some of them may arise either from not knowing some particular circumstances and customs referred to, from the shortness of the accounts which are delivered, or from some lesser errors that may have

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cast some obscurity on those accounts. But from whencesoever they arise, they cannot invalidate the proof which arises from real and well-attested facts, nor make me doubt of things that stand upon the strongest foundation of evidence.

I find indeed that many things, which have appeared for a long while to wise and thoughtful men, as difficulties of great weight, have at length been fully cleared up, and set in a very plain and rational view; and I therefore please myself with the hope, that in the course of providence, those things which still remain dark and perplexed, may be explained and set in a just light, and made appear as easy and consistent, as they are now obscure and intricate.

Besides, these difficulties which are pretended, do not in the least affect the main and substantial parts of Christianity; they do not cast any obscurity over the precepts, and promises, and principles of the Gospel, and of consequence do not affect my duty or my happiness. Notwithstanding all the objections that can be urged, I still find that the directions to serve God, and obey Christ, and secure my eternal salvation, are very obvious and plain, and therefore I am not under any pain or fear upon account of things I do not understand, or cannot explain.

But what is of more importance, is, that the principal objections that are urged against the divine authority of the Christian Religion, are fairly to be answered, so as to give satisfaction to any impartial and unprejudiced mind. It hath been objected against the prophecies relating to Christ, that they are to be interpreted of him only in an *allegorical* and *mystical sense*, and that they are in their nature obscure, and do not so plainly point out the Messiah as might be expected and desired. Whereas the truth is, that tho' there may be a difficulty in interpreting some of them, yet that there are others, which are exceeding plain and clear, have an evident reference to Christ, do agree to the circumstances of no other person, are accomplished in him, and in him only. And if there are any prophecies, originally relating to other persons and things, applied to Christ, and the circumstances of his appearance and kingdom, they are never cited as originally belonging to Christ, but only as applicable to him in their proper meaning, and the times and events to which they are referred.

When 'tis objected against the miracles of Christ, that they were the effect of magick, this appears to be absolutely impossible; for it was never yet heard of, that magicians could raise the dead, and do the other wonderful works that Jesus did. Besides, the end of his miracles was so great and good, as a wicked impostor and magician can never be supposed to have in view; and till it can be shewn that the Christian Religion is a wicked Religion, I must believe that the miracles recorded in the New Testament were wrought by an holy and good person, under the immediate influence of God.

If it be objected that some of the miracles recorded, are attended with some very absurd and improbable circumstances, I think this charge hath not, and cannot be proved. And from the late unsuccessful attempts that have been made this way, I have reason to believe,

that

that the more the miracles of Christ and his Apostles are consider'd, they will appear more and more wonderful in themselves, and more worthy the interposition and assistance of God.

If it be objected that there is no sufficient evidence or proof that these miracles were ever wrought, I apprehend this objection to be of little weight ; because as there is the same ground of certainty for these, as there is for any other antient facts, which obtain universal belief, they deserve to be equally credited ; and I think nothing can be more unreasonable and unfair, than to allow the same evidence to be sufficient as to some facts, and to deny the sufficiency of it as to others, which are equally possible in themselves, consistent with all the perfections of God, and designed to answer the most valuable ends and purposes amongst men.

If it be said that miracles are in their nature impossible, I think this can never be allowed but upon the supposition that all things are governed by, or rather subjected to an absolute and unalterable fatality. Because if the supreme and eternal cause of all things be possess'd of liberty and power, the miracles recorded in the sacred writings are as possible to him as any other actions whatsoever, and according to my conception, much more easily perform'd than the work of creation, which is a much higher exertion of power, and is by all sober deists ascribed to the will and agency of God ; and of consequence I can never allow the impossibility of miracles, because such a notion appears to me destructive of the being and perfections of God.

As to the doctrines of Christ, if it be urged that some of them are unintelligible and mysterious, I have this to satisfy myself, that 'tis not much wonder if they should be so, because many of them relate to God, whom *none by searching can find out to perfection*, and that this is no more than may be objected against many of the most certain truths of natural religion. For whoever will enter into the consideration of the immensity and eternity of God, attributes which certainly belong to him, will find himself lost in the infinite and boundless subject. As far as they are mysterious and incapable of being understood, I am sure that my acceptance with God doth not depend on my understanding them ; and as far as they are intelligible, they increase my adoration, reverence and love of God, awaken and excite me to the care and practice of godliness and virtue, and thus help me on in my preparation for heaven and happiness.

If it be objected, that any of the doctrines of Christianity are irrational and absurd, I apprehend this hath never been proved by any of the enemies of the Christian Revelation. Many principles which they have endeavoured to expose to ridicule, have not been the doctrines of the Gospel, but either their own mistakes, or the corrupt additions of weak and designing men to the simplicity of the truth of Christ. Other doctrines that have been excepted against, have not been revealed in their full extent and compass, and therefore can never be proved absurd by any particular inferences drawn from them ; because those very inferences may themselves appear false and absurd, when the doctrines are placed in their full light, and men are rendered capable of clearly discerning and fully understanding them. As to

others which have been excepted against, they have stood their ground both against ridicule and malice, and the objections that have been urged have had no other effect, than to expose their own weakness, and to render the principles of the Gospel of Christ more evident and convincing.

If it should be objected, that the very possibility of revelation itself may be questioned, I answer that this must be upon one or other of these suppositions; either that God himself, who hath established the order and course of nature, cannot vary from it, or else that 'tis not to be conceived how he should discover himself to any person, so as that he shall be sure it is God and no other.

If the former be asserted, that God himself cannot alter and vary from the course of nature, which he himself hath fixed, it will follow, that he was obliged by some external necessity to form all things as they are, or else by a fitness of things absolutely independent upon his own pleasure and will.

If the first be asserted, that God was obliged by some external necessity, or the agency of some Being prior and superior to himself; this is to assert eternity to be prior to itself, and infinite wisdom and power capable of being controuled by wisdom and power more than infinite; which is absurd.

If the latter be asserted, that God was obliged by a fitness of things independent upon his own pleasure and will, this will appear equally absurd; because if he was under no external necessity to constitute the present frame, and consequently the present fitness of things, the actual constitution of the one and the other, can be owing to no other cause or reason, but what is in God himself, and which therefore cannot be independent upon God; which cause or reason can be no other than the will of God, directed by the dictates of his own wisdom and Goodness. And of consequence the present frame of things, and the fitness that results from it, is owing to the good pleasure and free choice of God, directed by the perfections of his own mind; which perfections do not destroy any natural power of acting or not acting, but only direct to the wisest and best use of it. The very essence of liberty doth indeed consist in wisdom to direct, and power to execute.

Hence it follows, that if the present frame of things be the result of the most perfect freedom and choice in God, the same free choice will and must take place, in every other circumstance to which perfect wisdom and goodness do direct. And therefore, if it be agreeable to the dictates of such perfections in God, to vouchsafe an external revelation to mankind, in the case of an universal ignorance and degeneracy, such a revelation is as possible as the original constitution of things, and may be accounted for upon the very same foundation of reason.

But if it be said, that it can't be conceived how God can so discover himself to any person, as that he shall be sure it is God and no other. I answer, that supposing we are not able to describe the method by which God makes himself known to men, it will by no means follow, that 'tis impossible for God to do so, unless our conceptions are the measure of all possibilities. If God be the universal Creator, he is surely the Creator of the Souls of men, and hath implanted in them

all their perceptive and reasonable powers and faculties; and of consequence being the Former of spirits, he must be capable of acting on them, which sufficiently proves the possibility of revelation.

Besides, if, as the whole visible creation around us shews the possibility and great probability of, there are reasonable spirits of natures, orders, and powers superior to us; I suppose they will not be thought to be incapable of converse, and of communicating their ideas to each other: for this would be to suppose spirits less happy than men: and if created spirits can thus convey their minds to each other, so as that they shall be absolutely sure who it is they converse with, can it be imagined that God the infinite spirit should not be able to convey his will to spirits, and reasonable beings, so as that they shall be sure that it is God who converses with them?

Nothing is more certain than that God, who is an absolute spirit, acts on the material world; and yet we cannot tell the manner how God acts upon it: and it is very wonderful to consider how one nature absolutely distinct, and of quite different attributes and properties from another, should thus continually act upon and influence it. But that spiritual beings, between whose natures, as spiritual, there is a necessary likeness and conformity, should act upon each other, and be capable of conversing with and communicating their ideas to each other, is a much more easy and rational supposition; and as probable, as that body should act upon body, of which the whole frame of the material world is an absolute, constant proof.

The account which revelation itself gives of the manner in which God convey'd his mind to men, is, either by an audible voice, attended with an appearance of visible glory, or else by making certain very clear and strong impressions on their minds. As to the former way, it is as reasonable to think that the voice and presence of God may be of so very peculiar a nature, as to be as well known, and as certainly distinguish'd as the voice and countenance of a friend: And as to the latter, it appears to me extremely probable, that impressions made on the mind may be attended with such peculiar circumstances, which may as truly and certainly discover God, as a friend may be known by his resemblance and image, or as tho' we were meer spirits, and God was conversing with us as such.

If it be allow'd that revelation is possible, it may be denied that it is necessary, because the natural reason of men's minds is abundantly sufficient to demonstrate to them whatever God requires of them. I very readily grant, that the reasonable powers and faculties of men's minds are very capable of leading them into the knowledge of some of the most important truths that we are concerned to know, and duties we are obliged to perform; and that men are criminal in the sight of God, if they run into ignorance and vice, thro' a neglect to improve those excellent faculties of reason which God hath given them.

But then it ought to be considered, that the powers of all men are not alike capable, and that tho' truths of importance when offered to them may be discerned and approved by them, yet that the generality would scarce ever have been able, by a long course of argument and inference, to have reasoned themselves into a clear knowledge of all those principles,

principles, which are necessary to be known, effectually to support the interest of true religion, and the practice of virtue; especially if we consider them as wholly taken up with the affairs of the present life, educated with strong prejudices in favour of superstition and error, and trained up from infancy in idolatrous practices, and criminal courses. In such circumstances, what reason may be capable of doing, I know not. But that it hath not in fact led men to the knowledge of all the necessary principles and truths of religion, is evident from the history of almost all nations, who have been destitute of revelation: And therefore to argue against the necessity of revelation, because possibly men's own reason might have been sufficient without it, when in reality they did need it, is to set up meer supposition against positive fact, and to reason from possibilities against experience and certainty.

Reason, *i. e.* men's reasonable powers are unquestionably capable of great improvements, and of making very considerable discoveries, with proper assistance and cultivation. But without suitable helps and means of information, I apprehend that no man can affirm they would lead him into the knowledge of all the necessary principles of religion. Cicero, the greatest genius of the age in which he lived, did not owe his superior knowledge and wisdom to himself only. He had the writings of Rome and Greece to instruct and inform him. From these he understood the principles of the several sects of philosophers that were before him, the arguments with which they confirm'd their respective sentiments, and the objections that were urged by some against the schemes and principles of others. Upon this foundation it was easy to reason, and in whatever respects his sentiments were nobler than others, they were not properly the meer discoveries of his own mind, but inferences from, or the improvements of the discoveries and principles of others. And I cannot help thinking, that if any men are now capable of forming to themselves a compleat scheme of rational religion and morals, they owe it to the discoveries of the Gospel Revelation, tho' they assume the glory of it entirely to their reason.

Besides, tho' Reason might possibly discover the duties of religion and virtue without any revelation, it cannot in the nature of things certainly discover what the rewards of being religious and virtuous shall be. Reason will indeed inform us, that a being perfectly virtuous, and who constantly acts agreeably to the reason and nature of things, without any deviation from it, cannot be finally miserable, but must be in some measure happy in the divine approbation and acceptance. But of what degree and duration that happiness shall be, depends wholly on the good pleasure of God. Being itself is the voluntary gift of the supreme cause, and of consequence the continuance of being must depend on his will who first gave it. And tho' perfect virtue will always be entitled to a proportionable reward from God, yet that such a being, and the happiness consequent upon his virtue, shall and must be of an everlasting continuance, can never be proved from the reason and nature of things, and of consequence the knowledge of it can be derived from nothing but the voluntary discoveries of God himself.

This I think is plain upon the supposition of a being perfectly virtuous.

uous. But if any reasonable beings deviate from the law of their creation, and act contrary to that fitness of things which reason assures them ought to be the rules of their actions; in such a case reason will be so far from giving any positive assurances of a reward, that it will rather lead men to the expectations and fears of punishment, there being as natural a connection between vice and punishment, as there is between virtue and a reward. Whether God will pardon, and upon what conditions, whether repentance and a sincere amendment for the future, shall entitle to happiness, and especially the same happiness as would have been the reward of perfect virtue, here reason can never determine. And of consequence, if the certain knowledge of these important articles be in any sense necessary to encourage the repentance and reformation of men, it is in the same sense absolutely necessary they should have a revelation from God concerning them.

If it be said, that supposing a revelation actually given, such revelation can be nothing but a revival of the principles and duties of natural religion, because men's acceptance with God can depend on nothing but their acting agreeable to the law of their reason and nature: I answer, that if by the principles and duties of natural religion, be meant such principles and duties, which when discovered appear reasonable to the minds of men, it may be allow'd that revelation doth not, and cannot place the happiness and acceptance of men with God, upon any thing that is not reasonable and fit for them to know and do, and of which they cannot in some measure discern the reasonableness and fitness; for then one certain mark of the truth of revelation would be plainly wanting, which is its placing the happiness of men upon such a foundation as appears reasonable in itself, and therefore worthy of God; because I cannot believe that to be worthy of God, which by reason I cannot in some measure plainly discern to be so.

But if by the principles and duties of natural religion, be meant such principles and duties which natural reason, without any divine revelation, will lead men to the certain knowledge of, then the assertion is evidently false, that revelation can contain nothing but the principles and duties of natural religion. Because, as hath been observed, one great end of revelation is to give men certainty of such important principles as natural reason is never able to do.

If we consider men in circumstances of degeneracy, and as having acted contrary to the law of reason, a revelation meerly to revive the law of nature, would evidently be insufficient for their peace and happiness. For tho' this would be a direction of their future conduct, it would be no security to them against the punishment due to them for their past transgressions, which would prove the highest discouragement to their obedience for the time to come. And of consequence a revelation from God, vouchsafed to mankind in such circumstances, must contain more than the meer law of nature, *viz.* the method and conditions of God's extending his forgiveness to his sinful creatures; without which it would want one essential mark of its being from God, *viz.* its suitability to the wants and necessities of mankind.

Besides, if God hath given men a revelation of his will, attended with sufficient evidence and proof, the belief of such a revelation is a

moral duty, and a necessary instance of respect and reverence due to God; it being as reasonable and fit, that I should attend to the voice and will of the Supreme Being in external revelation, as that I should submit to the voice and will of God by reason or internal revelation.

Upon this foundation depends that command of Jesus Christ: *Ye believe in God, believe also in me.* It is possible in hypothesis that men may govern their passions, and act well in society, who do not believe the being of a God. But yet to *believe that God is, and that he is a rewarder of those who seek him,* is a principle of natural religion; and, as I imagine, necessary to every man's happiness in the divine acceptance. And by consequence, if it be the will of God that I should believe in Christ, and if there be evidence to convince me of the reasonableness of believing in him; it doth not seem more unreasonable that God should require me to believe in Christ, than it doth that he should require me to believe in himself, in order to my receiving a reward of grace and favour from him; because if the sufficiency of evidence be a reason for God's requiring belief in any case, it is a reason that will hold good in every one without exception.

Besides, if the observance of the religion and law of nature be allow'd to dispose and prepare men for happiness in the favour of God, and tho' revelation cannot set aside the obligations of the one or other, but is principally designed to recover men to the knowledge of and a conformity to the original fitness of things, yet I apprehend that revelation may enforce the practice of them by such considerations, and motives, and special precepts, as have no certain foundation in natural reason and light; *i. e.* which men's reason would never have led them to have thought of, without a divine direction and command.

If the religion of nature be of God's constitution and appointment, and results from those relations which he himself hath been pleased to order and fix, I apprehend that such positive institutions which have a direct tendency to establish and promote men's regard to and observance of it, may be ordained of God, and thereby become obligatory upon men. Because if the law of nature itself necessarily and universally obliges mankind, and their happiness depends on the observation of it; such institutions which render the observation of it more easy and practicable, however voluntary and positive in themselves, are consistent with all our notions of the divine perfections, and ought to be so far from being objections against the truth of any religion that contains them, that they are rather arguments in favour of it, as they are evident proofs of the wise and tender concern of God for the perfection and happiness of his creatures.

If then the particulars of the christian religion have all of them this tendency, as I apprehend they have, it follows, that God's requiring us to observe them is a reasonable and fit command, as it is a command resulting from his unerring wisdom, and his gracious regard to our welfare and interest. And therefore in this respect internal and external revelation, or the religion of nature and revelation may certainly differ, and the latter command what the former would never discover or oblige to.

If it be objected against the christian revelation, that it is not explicit

cite and clear, but that those who search it fall into very different sentiments and opinions as to several articles of importance, and that 'tis scarce to be supposed that God should be the author of a revelation, which, when given, is incapable of being understood; I have this that gives my mind satisfaction and ease: that if there are any intimations of doctrines in scripture, that sincere persons who do the will of God, and lay aside all prejudice, and desire to receive the truths of God as far as they can understand them, cannot, after all their endeavour and care, come to the certain knowledge of, the knowledge of such doctrines cannot be necessary to their acceptance and salvation; because Christ Jesus expressly declares, that *if any man doth the will of his father, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God or no.*

As to those doctrines, upon the acknowledgment of which the New Testament writings do expressly make salvation to depend, I find to my very great comfort that they are very plain and intelligible in themselves, such as the existence of one God, the resurrection of Christ from the dead, and there being one mediator between God and man, thro' whom God dispenses all blessings to his creatures. These and other truths of like importance are set in the clearest light; and if any have obscured and perplexed them by intricate distinctions, and philosophical speculations, the gospel of Christ gives no sanction to them, and the plain christian hath no concern and business with them.

If it be said that the christian religion hath no better effect upon mankind than the light of nature had, and that therefore it can scarcely be imagined that God would be the author of so ineffectual an institution; I answer, that I suppose it can never be made appear that mankind are now as universally in the same circumstances of ignorance and vice, as they were before the revelation of the gospel.

The knowledge of one God, the universal creator and father, doth certainly more universally obtain than it did in the times of deep *Paganism* and Idolatry; the precepts of religion and virtue are more generally understood; and the rewards and punishments of a future life more certain as to their evidence, and more extensive as to the acknowledgment of them.

And tho' many who profess to believe these things act contrary to their own principles, yet there have been many in every age, and now are, who, under the influence of this faith, *live soberly, righteously and godly in the present world.*

And as to those who do not, 'tis not owing to the insufficiency of the principles and motives of christianity, but to the want of consideration and a serious regard to them, and to those powerful habits which they have contracted, and continue to strengthen by a wilful and allowed indulgence.

And therefore if the gospel be objected against as insufficient to reform men, and engage them to the love and practice of religion and virtue, it must be because it doth not necessitate and compel them, and lay an irresistible force on the mind to comply with it. Whereas if this were the case, it would be an unanswerable objection against it, because this would destroy that freedom and choice of the mind, which is essen-

tially necessary to give virtue itself its proper value, and render it capable of a reward from God. And of consequence if the christian religion contains every argument and motive that is proper to be laid before and influence reasonable and free creatures, its not always proving effectual is no argument of its insufficiency, nor the least shadow of proof that it is not worthy of and actually from God.

And lastly, if it be objected that it hath been the occasion of such confusions, disorders, mischiefs and calamities in the world, as that it can never be imagined that God would be the author of an institution that should be attended with such fatal consequences; I answer, That *genuine* christianity hath never been the cause of any of the distractions and miseries that have afflicted mankind, since its entrance into the world; tho' that which hath been substituted in the room of christianity too often hath. Nothing is more visible and plain, than that the christian religion is designed to calm the passions, and cure the vices of mankind. And if its principles were but duly attended to, and its precepts heartily submitted to, christians would maintain the most excellent dispositions, and lead the most inoffensive and blameless lives; and this world would be, what I please myself the next world shall be, an habitation of righteousness, peace and joy. The perfection of the christian law as to all its moral precepts, and important motives, abundantly justifies the wisdom and goodness of God in giving it; and he is no more answerable for men's corrupting and abusing it, and refusing to act agreeable to it, than he is for their abusing the blessings of his common providence.

Upon a full view therefore of these and other objections, I think they are capable of a satisfactory answer; and as the evidence for the truth and certainty of the Christian Religion stands in full force, I think myself bound to receive it as a revelation from God, and to regulate my faith, and hope, and practice by it.

XII. AND that I might not be chargeable with partiality in my regards and attachment to Christianity, I have not only carefully examined the credentials it brings to prove its divine original, but I have also endeavoured honestly to compare it with other religions that are in the world, as far as I am capable of understanding and judging concerning them; and this comparison confirms me in the belief of the christian religion, and increases my esteem and value for it.

Paganism carries in it innumerable marks of its impiety and falsehood. The number of gods it hath introduced, the superstitions it countenances, the impure and barbarous rites it warrants and prescribes, are demonstrative proofs it hath no foundation in the reason and nature of things, and cannot be the appointment of or agreeable to the will of God, the supreme unchangeable purity, wisdom and goodness.

As to Mahometanism, tho' it pretends to the character of a revelation from God, yet it hath all the evident marks of a real imposture. The character of its author appears too suspected ever to support the honour of his being a messenger from God. His disclaiming miracles to attest the truth of his mission, is a plain acknowledgment of the weakness

Weakness and falsehood of his pretences. The few wonderful things related of him appear at first view to be fable and romance. His forbidding enquiries into the nature and principles of his religion, evidently shews he was conscious to himself that it would not bear them. His propagating it by the sword, is proof sufficient that he knew it would not prevail with the weapons of reason and argument. The falsehoods it contains as to matters of fact, demonstrate the ignorance or wickedness of its founder. The indulgences it gives to the appetites and sensual desires of men, is a strong argument of the badness of his own inclinations, and shews his resolution to sacrifice chastity and virtue to the more prevalent views of ambition and power. Many of his precepts are absurd and ridiculous, and unworthy the nature of true religion. And lastly, the motives and rewards set before men, and promised by him to encourage them to embrace and continue in his religion, are suited only to such whose minds are oppressed with sensuality, and enslaved to vice; no way worthy of the known perfections of God, nor any way suited to the rational spiritual nature of man. And of consequence a religion thus defective in its evidence, and false in its very constitution and frame, can never be the institution of God, nor worthy of my reception and belief.

As to the *Jewish* religion, tho' this appears to have many genuine marks of its being the appointment of God, yet I find that it could not in its nature be intended for the religion of the world, because several of its precepts were such, as that by far the greatest part of the world could not possibly comply with them. It was an institution peculiar to one particular nation and country, and of consequence as such never did or could oblige the rest of mankind. And as it was calculated for one peculiar people, so it appears to have been constituted for a time only; the books themselves, which contain the accounts of it, intimating that the *scripter should depart from Judah*, that *another prophet should be raised up like to Moses*, and declaring that *the days should come when God would make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah, not according to the covenant that he made with their fathers, when he took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt*. Besides this, there appear to be various prophecies relating to a more excellent and durable state of things, to commence under the government and reign of a particular person, foretold in different ages, described by various persons, as to the time of his coming, the place of his birth, the nature of his works, his sufferings and death, his resurrection and kingdom, and other remarkable events that attended him. And as these predictions and circumstances do all center in Jesus Christ, I plainly discern that *Judaism* is so far from demanding my submission to it, that it directs me to Jesus Christ, and is accomplished and perfected in him.

Upon all these accounts, I declare myself to be a Christian; and am conscious that I have not taken up the profession of Christianity by chance, or in compliance with the custom of my country, or merely thro' the force of education: But as my faith is the result of a serious examination and impartial enquiry, and as I am persuaded that its pre-

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tences to revelation and a divine original are supported with all the strength of argument and proof that the nature of the thing will bear, or a reasonable mind can desire, I think it both my duty and interest to submit to it as an institution from God. And till I can see the evidence of it disproved, or the religion of Christ itself demonstrated to be irrational and absurd, I am determined by the grace of God to hold fast my profession to the end, seeking after the kingdom of everlasting glory by the practice of that righteousness which prepares for and leads to it; in a firm dependance upon the truth of that comfortable declaration of Jesus Christ, *That God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten son, that whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life.*

END OF VOL. III.







